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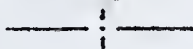


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*Map of the Western Coast of Africa, from Cape Blanco to the River of Sierra Leone with the Courses of the Rivers SENEGAL and GAMBIA, Showing the Journey of MDURAND from SENEGAL to the River of Sierra Leone*



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A  
COLLECTION

OF

MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY

VOYAGES

AND

TRAVELS:

CONTAINING,

I.

TRANSLATIONS FROM FOREIGN LANGUAGES, OF VOYAGES  
AND TRAVELS NEVER BEFORE TRANSLATED.

II.

ORIGINAL VOYAGES AND TRAVELS NEVER BEFORE  
PUBLISHED.

III.

ANALYSES OF NEW VOYAGES AND TRAVELS  
PUBLISHED IN ENGLAND.

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VOL. IV.

---

*complete.*

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR RICHARD PHILLIPS, 6, NEW BRIDGE STREET,  
BLACKFRIARS,

*By J. G. Barnard, 57, Snow Hill.*

1806.

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VOYAGE  
TO  
SENEGAL;

OR,

HISTORICAL, PHILOSOPHICAL, AND POLITICAL  
MEMOIRS,

RELATIVE TO

THE DISCOVERIES, ESTABLISHMENTS, AND COMMERCE  
OF EUROPEANS IN THE ATLANTIC OCEAN,

FROM

*Cape Blanco to the River of Sierra Leone.*

TO WHICH IS ADDED AN

ACCOUNT OF A JOURNEY

FROM

ISLE ST. LOUIS TO GALAM.

BY

J. P. L. DURAND,

FORMERLY GOVERNOR OF ISLE ST. LOUIS.

*Translated from the French, & embellished with numerous Engravings.*

complete.  
LONDON:

PRINTED FOR RICHARD PHILLIPS, 6, NEW BRIDGE STREET,

*By J. G. Barnard, 57, Snow Hill.*

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## PREFACE.

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SINCE the activity of commerce, and the necessity of understanding its relations, induced the maritime powers of Europe to attempt fresh discoveries, all their efforts have been directed towards the new world. When the most fertile parts of that continent, and its still more productive isles, were discovered and explored, the enterprising spirit of navigators carried them even to the south pole; in short, the most distant and hazardous expeditions were undertaken, and immense sums were disbursed to find out a few corners of the earth which were uninhabited.

While, however, those navigators were pursuing their adventures; the discoveries which had long before been made, and the establishments which had been formed in the richest country in the world, a country most proper for producing colonial goods, and one situated nearest to Europe, were neglected. That country would probably have been abandoned altogether, if the necessity of obtaining for other regions its robust cultivators, had not drawn many vessels towards the part which exclusively afforded such a resource.

I allude to the western part of Africa, which, whether on the shores of the sea, or in the interior districts, is of the greatest importance in the double respect of agriculture and commerce. It appears that the ancients were only acquainted with the northern coast of Africa, which extends from the straits of Gibraltar to the isthmus of Suez, and with the eastern coast, contiguous to the Red Sea. The southern part was totally unknown to them; while their notions of the western coast were very confined, and they did nothing but sail along it: even this route, which is now so easy, was to them a dangerous adventure: the Phenicians, Persians, Greeks, Carthaginians, and Romans, successively attempted to re-

connoitre in this direction; and it is said, that the Phenicians cleared the pillars of Hercules, passed the straits, and established colonies and factories on several parts of the coast. But the accounts which we have received of all those expeditions, are so replete with fables, and evident contradictions, that it is difficult to place in them any degree of confidence.

According to Herodotus, a few Phenicians left the Red Sea during the reign of Necas, king of Egypt; and after a three years' voyage, returned to their country by the straits of Gibraltar, but they saw only the coast. Eudoxia, to avoid the wrath of Ptolemy Lathyrus, succeeded in the same enterprise; but no advantage was derived from her voyage. Satas, in the time of Xerxes king of Persia, and Hanno and Himilcon, by order of the republic of Carthage, made similar attempts at discovery, by proceeding from the pillars of Hercules; but they failed in their undertaking. The Nasamones, or ancient inhabitants of the kingdom of Tunis, undertook a similar voyage, though without success. Hence, all those navigators, and many others who might be mentioned, far from affording us information, only gave rise to doubts, and prove the general ignorance and fear which pervaded the ancient sailors. Certain it is, that if such expeditions did take place, the ships kept at a great distance from the continent: for we have no proofs of the appearance of these people, much less their residence, on the coast of the Atlantic Ocean.

The Romans, who were so ardent in extending their empire, did not succeed in fixing it on the western coast of Africa. It is believed that they penetrated from the isthmus of Suez as far as the Niger, and thence to Mount Atlas. But if they reached this famous mountain, it certainly stopped their discoveries in that part of the world: for they thought, that under the torrid zone, the lands burned, and the rivers were torrents of fire; an opinion which was long credited, even by the learned men of those times: and when the Christians, who were the first

that presumed to suppose, the countries under the torrid zone to be inhabited; expressed such an opinion; they were looked upon as heretics.

The Spaniards, in more modern times, pretended to have examined all the coasts of Africa, several centuries before the birth of the Messiah; but they said nothing of the interior, and we must give them credit for their reserve. They pretended to have conducted to America the vessels of Solomon and Hiram, when they went in search of the treasures mentioned in scripture; but this pretension was seriously combated by the Portuguese, who insisted on the honour of having made the first discovery of those countries; and with such obstinacy did the latter maintain their opinions, that the subject was brought under legal discussion, and a verdict given in their favour. At this period, some Frenchmen of Dieppe interfered in the famous dispute, and proved, that they were the first navigators who had entered the Senegal, and that they had formed establishments on that part of the coast, long before the Portuguese and other navigators had made their appearance.

These expeditions of the merchants of Dieppe, took place at the commencement of the fourteenth century, and from that time they established themselves on the Senegal, and along the coast as far as Sierra Leone. In September, 1365, they engaged with some merchants of Rouen; and the next year they undertook the strongest maritime expedition which had till then been seen on the African coast. They formed factories at certain distances, which served as an asylum for their merchandise and the persons in their employ, by which the Africans always found a ready market, and the French vessels constant cargoes. From this beginning were produced the establishments of the Senegal, Rufisque, Goree, the river Gambia, Sierra Leone, and two others on the coast of Malaguette, one of which was called "Little Paris," and the other "Little Dieppe." In 1382, they erected forts at the gold mine on the coast of Guinea,

at Agra, and at Cormentin. The consequences of these discoveries, were immense wealth, and the best profit was probably that afforded by ivory. In 1392, owing to the violent agitation of France, in consequence of the civil war and the illness of Charles VI. the commerce of Africa was entirely abandoned; and the factories for which such great sacrifices had been made, fell into the hands of the Dutch, the Portuguese, the English, and the Spaniards. The Portuguese were the most ardent plunderers, as they were authorised by the Popes, who conceded to them in perpetuity all the territories which they might discover from Cape Bojador to the Indies inclusively; they therefore made several fortunate expeditions, and for a long time enjoyed a decisive superiority.

Pope Martin V. in the plenitude of his divine authority, very liberally granted to Portugal, the right of seizing and confiscating all the property of infidels, in order that they might have the opportunity of becoming converts, to which he added a plenary indulgence for the souls of those who might fall in such pious expeditions. This donation, which was made in 1432, was afterwards confirmed and augmented by Popes Eugene IV. Nicolas V. and Sextus IV.; and the kings of Portugal assumed the title of "Lords of Guinea and the Coast of Africa."

Spain now became anxious to have a share in the acts of temporal authority of the sovereign pontiffs; and in 1492, Alexander VI. divided his liberalities, by investing Spain and Portugal with the territories of the East and West Indies.

The English were slow in their courses, and were restrained by the express orders of their court, which, out of respect for the Popes, and consideration for Portugal, would not permit its subjects to proceed towards the western coast of Africa; nor did they emancipate themselves from this restriction, till the middle of the sixteenth century, when being at war with Portugal, they directed their arms against her establishments, and gradually succeeded in destroying their power.

The French, who were the legitimate proprietors, recovered their rights, and regained several of their ancient possessions; but as these events took place gradually, and at different periods, I shall not here describe them, though I ought to say, that we maintained for a long time by force of arms, the possessions which we had acquired from Cape Blanco to the Cape of Good Hope; and that the French have always considered that vast extent of coast, as dependent on their commercial operations.

It will be equally needless to trace the progress of our commercial companies in Africa down to the present period. It is known, that in 1664, the merchants of Dieppe and Rouen sold their establishments to the West India Company, for the sum of 150,000 livres; and that the new owners, by the extent of their speculations, had more than they could manage, and were crushed beneath the weight of their own projects.

The English captured isle St. Louis and Senegal in 1758; the French regained them twenty years afterwards, and had the possession ensured to them by the treaty of peace with England in 1783, which also guaranteed to France, the isle of Goree, all the coast between Cape Verd and the river Gambia, and the factory of Albreda, situated at the mouth of that river; which, however, as well as fort James, is in the possession of England.

From the left bank of the river Gambia, which forms Cape St. Mary, as far as the river of Sierra Leone, the coast belongs exclusively to no foreign nation; but the French share with the English, the Portuguese, and all commercial people, the right of frequenting, and that of forming new establishments on such points as are not occupied.

Soon after the peace of 1783, it was proposed to create a company for the Senegal; when the king granted to the Guiana company the exclusive privilege of the gum trade for nine years; and this company ceded its new privilege in 1785, to a body of

merchants, who assumed the title of the Gum Company. By a decree of the council on the 10th of November, 1786, the king subjected the company to pay the colonial expences, which were fixed at 260,749 livres; and granted them in return, the exclusive right of the slave trade, with an extension of the commerce in gum for three years longer. It then took the name of the Senegal Company; but being badly organised, it met with little success, and was abolished by a decree of the Constituent Assembly in 1791.

Previous to this time, I belonged to the naval department, when the marshal de Castrées appointed me principal director of the company at Isle St. Louis. I therefore left Havre on the 13th of March, 1785, and arrived at my new destination on the 10th of April following; at which time, M. de Repentigny was governor-general, and to whom I was particularly recommended by M. Vergennes, the minister for foreign affairs. This wise and modest officer received me with the greatest kindness; and we lived together in the most perfect harmony, till he was succeeded by M. de Boufflers, whose talents and celebrity were of the greatest advantage to the country.

My memoirs were begun at Senegal, and terminated at Paris. I have shewn them to several persons; and the two great authors, Lalande and La Harpe, have published reflections on my journey to Galam; in consequence of which, and at the urgent desire of many friends, I have submitted my manuscript to the press. I shall only observe, that all the people of Africa are so much alike, that I have found it impossible to give a just and precise idea of them, without making what may be deemed repetitions; and as to the style of my work, I declare that I have no literary pretensions: I have only occupied myself in describing facts with accuracy and truth; while my object is to promote the power and riches of my country, with the hope that the inhabitants of Africa may thereby become more happy.

# VOYAGE

TO

## SENEGAL.

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### CHAP. I.

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CAPE BLANCO AND ITS ENVIRONS.—DANGERS OF THAT PASSAGE.—BARBAROUS AND CRUEL CHARACTER OF THE MOORS WHO INHABIT THE COAST.—SHIPWRECK OF M. DE BRISSON.—CAPTURE OF HIM AND HIS COMPANIONS.—CHARACTER OF A MOORISH CHIEF.—HARDSHIPS OF CAPTIVITY IN THE DESERTS.—LIBERATION OF M. DE BRISSON AND ONE OF HIS COMPANIONS.

ON reaching the western coast of Africa, navigators meet first with Cape Blanco, which is situated in  $20^{\circ} 55$  m. 30 sec. lat. and  $19^{\circ} 30$  m. long. It is a spot almost circular, insomuch that, on account of its far projections, it is more difficult to discover than any other point on the coast: it is surrounded with dangerous banks, which are with difficulty avoided; and it derives its name from the white colour of its burning and arid soil. The next point is Cape St. Anne, which is to the eastward on the same parallel; the distance from one cape to the other, is computed at eight leagues. They form between them a large and deep bay, about twelve leagues north and south, which contains various mouths of torrents or rivers, in which the sea ascends so high as to spoil the fresh water, and thus deprives vessels of the only resource which this part of the coast would otherwise afford them.

From Cape St. Anne to Salt Cape, the coast runs S. E. for about six leagues. This cape received its name from a variety of natural and abundant salt-pits which it contained, and from which, before the rainy season, a quantity of salt used to be collected. The Europeans, however, have abandoned them; but it is probable that the Moors turn them to advantage. About six leagues farther, at the point called Hof, is another bay as large and deep as the former: it contains three isles, the largest of which is to the eastward, and is called Arguin. It is necessary to pass all these capes, in order to arrive at the French posses-

DURAND.]

sions. The coast is uncommonly dangerous for navigators, on account of the frequent storms and continually heavy sea; while there are numerous currents which set violently in towards land, and which prove a new Taurida to such vessels as have the misfortune to fall in their tracks. The natives, who are subjects of the emperor of Morocco, are, in every sense of the word, barbarians, with whom it has hitherto, and doubtless always will be impossible to trade. They consider wrecked ships as presents sent them by heaven; enrich themselves by the plunder they afford, and reduce the unfortunate mariners to the most disgusting slavery. From this state of bondage, indeed they have not the least hope of escaping, as they can only regain their liberty by means of a serious demand on the part of their country at the emperor's court; in which case, the monarch compels his subjects to give up the slaves when they can be discovered, but, to which they do not consent, without receiving a considerable ransom. We have several instances of the payment of this ransom, by the emperor of Morocco himself, when he has wished to make his court to the French government. Sometimes these savages, in order to avoid the demands of their emperor, and keep the slaves they have seized on, retire to inaccessible parts of the desert, where I have good reason to know that they amuse themselves by subjecting the unfortunate Europeans to the most shocking torments and cruel death. But navigators may avoid these dangers by sailing to the westward of the Canaries.

I shall give an account of a shipwreck, which happened on this coast while I was at isle St. Louis, which will be the best means of illustrating the dangers I have mentioned, while it will afford some interesting information relative to the desert which borders on the Senegal.

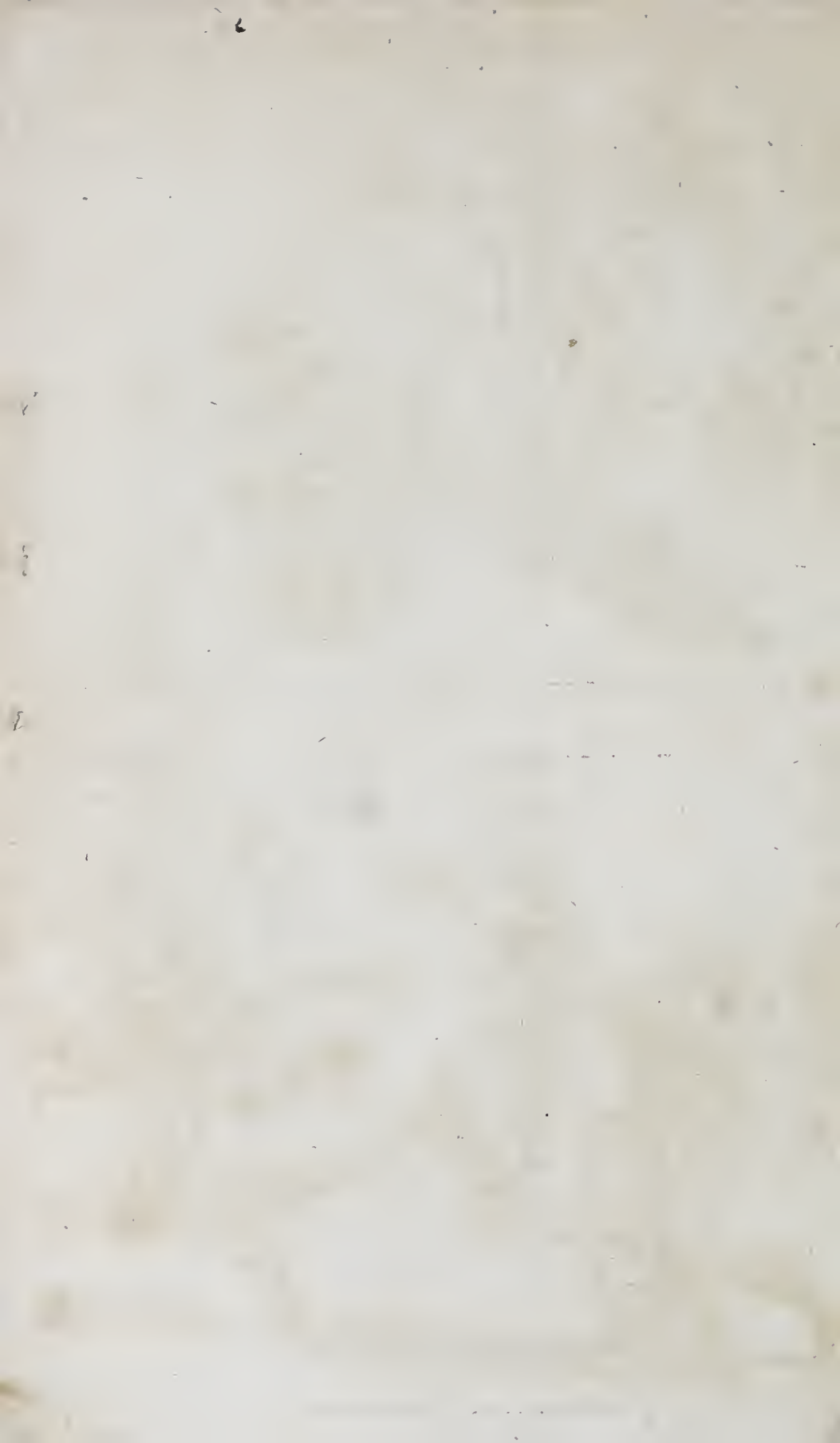
M. de Brisson left France in the month of June, 1785, for isle St. Louis, in a vessel called the St. Catharine, Captain Le Turc. On the 10th of July following, they found themselves at midnight, between the coast of Africa and the Canary islands, in a sort of creek formed by rocks. The captain being alarmed, steered the ship towards the shoal; and the vessel being driven with great force by the currents, struck three times, and then remained motionless. During the whole night, it resisted the attacks of the sea, which seemed ready every instant to swallow it up; but towards morning the storm abated, and M. de Brisson, with all the crew, got to land. But these unfortunate people found themselves on a barren and unknown country; they ascended the highest rocks, and could perceive nothing but an immense plain covered with white sand, on which a few plants were interspersed, similar to branches of coral; they bore a small seed of the same colour, resembling in size and shape that of mustard.



*Shipwreck at Cape Blanc.*



*Catching Slaves.*



The Moors call it *avezoud*, and make a paste of it, with which they regale themselves. In the distance, they discovered several hillocks, which, being overspread by a kind of wild fern, resembled a vast forest.

They advanced towards the hillocks, and soon perceived a number of camels feeding, from which they had no doubt that the neighbourhood was inhabited. This was a valuable discovery for the poor mariners, who were almost perishing with hunger and thirst. Some men who were watching the camels, as soon as they perceived the Europeans, gave the alarm to a neighbouring encampment, and they soon found themselves surrounded by Moors, who appeared to be overjoyed, and made the most dreadful shouts and cries. The shipwrecked crew not being together, were seized by the collar with a ferocious eagerness, and immediately stripped; while those who attempted resistance, were wounded and thrown almost expiring on the sand.

During this barbarous transaction, M. de Brisson perceived a Moor unarmed, and from his costume, he recognised him to be one of those who had accompanied the king Alikouri on a visit which he paid him at isle St. Louis. He therefore ran and threw himself at his feet, as did M. Devoize, the second officer of the ship, and five of the crew who had not left him: but they soon perceived that they were as unfortunate as their companions; for the Moor received them with contempt. He asked M. de Brisson in a severe tone, who he was, from whence he came, and what brought them all there? This officer answered by drawing on the sand the form of a ship, and by means of expressive gestures, with the assistance of a few Arabic words, which he had learned at isle St. Louis, he made him understand that they had been shipwrecked, and begged his assistance to conduct them to their destination; adding, that he possessed the means of rewarding him for his trouble. This last remark was perfectly understood, and gave great pleasure to the Moor, who immediately composed his features, and placed his fingers between those of M. de Brisson, as a testimony that they were friends, and would be always united. He demanded the effects of which M. de Brisson had spoken, and received two watches, one of them a repeater; two chains, a gold stock-buckle, two pair of silver shoe-buckles, a brilliant ring, a silver goblet and cover, and 220 livres in specie. The money gave him more pleasure than all the other articles; he secreted the treasure very mysteriously in his blue shirt, and promised M. de Brisson that he would never abandon him. The surrender of this property had induced our countryman to think that he should gain the kindness of those into whose hands he had fallen; but it proved to him a source of the greatest misfortune. The Moor then asked M. de Brisson, at what

part he had been shipwrecked; and on being informed, he called several of his fellows, and made a sign to them to follow him. By the manner in which they approached, M. de Brisson perceived that his protector was a man of some consideration; and he afterwards learned that he was one of the priests, whom they called a Talba.

On reaching the sea-shore they shouted with joy; but their eagerness for plunder soon set them at variance. Several of them swam off to the remains of the wreck in order to get what they could, while those who remained behind were afraid that they should not obtain their share: the women, in particular, became quite outrageous.

The news of this shipwreck becoming known in the country, the savages ran towards the shore in great numbers; and their disputes about the plunder attained such a height that several lives were lost. The women, enraged at not being able to get to the ship, fell upon the unfortunate Frenchmen, and partly stripped them naked, disputing all the time who should possess the clothes of M. de Brisson, which were better than the rest.

The talba, who had become the master of the ship-wrecked crew, but who, though a priest, was a warrior by profession, perceiving that the number of savages increased every instant, found himself obliged to join with two friends in order to secure the portion of plunder which he had obtained. The arrangements being made, as well concerning the share of plunder as that of the slaves, the three Moors retired from the crowd for the purpose of hiding their booty. The Frenchmen were conducted to a miserable hut covered with moss, about a league distant from the sea, where they were crowded together and rigorously searched in case they might have concealed some valuables; but nothing being found on them, they were stripped quite naked, and even robbed of their shirts and handkerchiefs. M. de Brisson then learned that his master was called *Sidy Mahammet-del-Zouze*, of the tribe of *Labdesseba*, the most ferocious of any in the desert, and the irreconcilable enemy of the *Wadelims*, who are not much better.

After having buried in the sand the treasure which he had acquired, Sidy-Mahammet returned to the shore to get his share of the plunder of the ship; and during his absence a troop of Wadelims attacked the retreat of the Europeans, pulled them out by the throat and the hair of the head, and then began to fight amongst themselves for the few clothes which M. de Brisson had about him; and in their jealous fury they not only stripped him to the skin, but pursued him behind some heaps of sand, where they knocked him down, and almost beat him to death. They were preparing a rope to strangle him, when one of the

men whom the talba had associated with him, came running out of breath, and accused them with having violated the asylum of Sidy-Mahammet, carried off his slave, and trodden under foot the sacred book of their religion. He told them that the priest, indignant at the indecency of their sacrilegious conduct, had demanded that the old men of both parties should meet to try the criminals in full council, and that the only means of appeasing his wrath would be to give up his slave. This menace had a good effect, and M. de Brisson was immediately set at liberty. The person who had interfered in behalf of the French officer was called Nonegem; he conducted M. de Brisson to the place where the council was assembled, and the trial immediately began; when the liberator, as avaricious as he was cunning, pretended that M. de Brisson was a slave of his own, as he had taken him from those who would have carried him off. He also founded his pretensions on having seen this Frenchman give his master several articles which he conceived to be very valuable. These audacious remarks, and particularly the disclosure of the little treasure, rendered Sidy-Mahammet furious: he darted at Nonegem a look of rage and indignation, and exclaimed, "This christian belongs to me; he came of his own accord to throw himself into my arms, and I have promised to protect him and conduct him to king Alikouri. I gave him my word that I would do so; and I hope the tribunal will give a verdict in my favour, instead of declaring for Nonegem, who deserves to be severely punished." To this Nonegem replied, "As thy slave cannot be mine, he shall die by my hand." On which he drew a poniard to kill M. de Brisson, who stood appalled with terror. Sidy-Mahammet, however, without expressing the least emotion, threw over him a kind of chaplet of a considerable length; and then took up a little book which hung at his waist, when in an instant the women rushed towards M. de Brisson, took him from Nonegem, and delivered him over to the enraged priest: for they dreaded lest he should issue an anathema against his adversary. The whole of the council immediately applauded the act of authority of the talba, and approved of the conduct of the women. I should add by the way, that the talbas, or marabouts, always wear a long string, which contains one hundred and fifteen little black balls, and which they use as the catholics do chaplets.

M. de Brisson was then taken to his comrades who were in the vicinity, and whom he found in a pitiable state. They were almost starved; for during the three days which they had been in captivity they had had no food but a little wheat-flour spoiled by sea-water, mixed with some barley-flour, which had for a long time been preserved in goats-skins. While they were enjoying this wretched meal, a friend of Sidy-Mahammet came

and told them to hide themselves without delay, as the Wadelims were coming from all parts to carry off the slaves and treasure. The talba profited by this advice, and they all hid themselves behind some hillocks of sand, where they remained till some Moors of the other tribe, who were interested in preserving their plunder, came to reinforce their comrades. A guide went before the Frenchmen, and pointed out to them the road they had to take, by erecting at certain distances little pyramids of stones. This precaution was necessary in order to avoid the outskirts of the enemy, particularly those of the Wadelims. Indeed, these people are so avaricious, that whether friends or enemies they are equally to be dreaded. At break of day all those who possessed christian slaves came with them, and joined the Frenchmen; when the whole body marched off for the interior of the country, at which resided the families of their respective owners.

This journey was to the Europeans toilsome in the extreme: they were dying with hunger and thirst, by which they experienced such pain, on moving the tongue, that they were afraid to ask the simplest question. Being forced to follow the steps of the camels, whose pace was hastened, they were exhausted by fatigue: and to avoid being surprised, they made several counter-marches, in consequence of which they were a fortnight in making a journey which was generally performed in five days.

After climbing mountains of a prodigious height, covered with small greyish flints as sharp as those of muskets, they descended into a sandy plain, interspersed with thistles, and here the cavalcade rested. M. de Brisson having walked till his feet were excoriated, could proceed no farther; on which his master made him get up behind him on a camel, whose rough movements caused him to experience insupportable pain. Being naked, and having no means of preventing the friction of the camel's hair, he was soon so chafed, that his blood ran down the camel's sides. This was a sight which afforded much amusement to his master; and the better to enjoy it, he pressed the camel to a quicker pace. At length M. de Brisson, no longer able to endure the torture, threw himself down on the sand, and experienced no other injury than a few scratches from the thorny thistles.

Towards evening they met their guide and halted. M. de Brisson being no longer able to move, and suffering all the horrors of starvation, threw himself behind a bush and implored death; but they soon roughly pulled him from his retreat to make him unload the camels. Being, however, tired of his life, he made some resistance, and knocked down the Moor who disturbed him, on which the latter ran off and fetched his master, who assured his captive that he had nothing to fear. This, and many other instances of a similar nature, prove that the Moors

are not insolent, and that they only shew courage when they meet with no resistance.

The shipwrecked mariners, while sitting beneath the bushes, perceived some arrangements which made them tremble with horror. The Moors put a quantity of stones in a brasier, and made them red hot; they then lifted up a large stone, and dug a hole in the ground, occasionally making shouts of laughter, and repeating the name of Brisson. At length they called him to them, and made him approach to the hole which they had dug; but what was his surprise when he saw them draw from the hole which they had just dug, and in which he thought they were going to bury him, a large skin full of water, a sack of barley-flour, and a newly-killed goat. His fear subsided, and the sight of the provisions gave him a new life; he saw them fill a large wooden bowl with water in which they put a quantity of flour, and then, by throwing into it the red-hot stones, they made it boil. By this means they produced a sort of gruel which they kneaded in their hands, and ate without chewing. The slaves had for their repast the same steeped flour, and a very small quantity of brackish water: the goat was reserved for the next day. The guide who went before them had procured those provisions in a neighbouring village, and had concealed them under the stone. M. de Brisson observed, that the resentment of the Moor whom he had struck was converted into acts of kindness and complaisance: for this man brought him a larger share of provisions than was allotted to the others. The meal being finished, each man laid himself down to sleep behind the bushes.

The next morning as soon as day appeared, a signal was given for their departure; and M. de Brisson, with the other slaves, were ordered to collect the camels and load them; after which the troop set off, and at noon stopped in a plain where there was not a single tree to shade them from the rays of the sun. Having unloaded the camels, the slaves were employed in digging up roots to make a fire; a labour which, in this country, is the more troublesome, as all the trees, roots, and grasses, are thorny. As soon as the fire had imparted a sufficient heat to the sand, they covered the goat entirely with it; and while the slaves were keeping up the fire, their masters regaled themselves with the raw fat of the animal, for which they seemed to have a great relish. When the goat was dressed, the Moors, without taking the trouble to knock off the sand, ate it with a most incredible voracity, gnawing it to the very bones, and pulling off the skin which remained on them with their nails: they then threw the bones to the slaves, telling them to make haste and get their dinner, that they might reload the camels.

Towards evening they perceived some tents on a little eminence,

with a few herds grazing: the inhabitants of this village came in crowds to meet the travellers; but far from expressing towards the unfortunate slaves the mild laws of hospitality, they overwhelmed them with insults, and subjected them to the most inhuman treatment. Two comrades of M. de Brisson were used with extreme rigour, and the women were more ferocious than the men. Their owners made but feeble resistance; for they were very glad that the people occupied themselves more with the slaves than with the burdens of the camels. M. de Brisson, who was at a little distance from his camel, perceived a man who was aiming at his face with a double-barrelled musket, on which he presented his breast to him and told him to fire; when the assassin, struck by his firmness, let the piece fall from his hands. At the same instant he was struck on the head by a stone, and for a moment lost his senses; but on recovering himself he burst into a rage, and loudly demanded vengeance. There needed no more to spread terror through the village, and the savages who had come to see the travellers took to flight; one of them, however, before he ran off, gave M. de Brisson a blow on the breast with his musket, which made him vomit blood, and the unfortunate man was unable to recognise the fellow who had injured him; but by complaining loudly he excited the curiosity of several of those monsters, who asked him a number of questions, and seemed pleased with his answers.

M. de Brisson, to prove that he knew the king Alikouri, and that he had been his *friend* at isle St. Louis, attempted to imitate the *egeums* or buffoons, whom that king had in his suite: by this kind of drollery he so highly pleased his master, that he made him repeat his mimickry several times, and at last employed this stratagem to divert the people, who, he feared, would steal his property. No sooner had he mentioned the talent of his slave for imitating the *egeums*, than M. de Brisson was surrounded by crowds of men, women, and children, who were constantly pressing him to sing, and for which they rewarded him with a little camel's milk.

The travelling party remained one day in this canton; but the inhabitants, though they had received them coldly, supplied them on their departure with provisions for three or four days. They proceeded eastward, and passed over large plains, which were covered with white, flat, and round flints, but not a single plant was to be seen; and the horizon appeared to be loaded with a reddish vapour, which resembled in different parts the flames from volcanoes. The small pebbles pricked the feet of the Frenchmen, and produced a sensation similar to the burning of sparks. The air contained neither birds nor insects; and the silence which prevailed was so profound, as to produce a sort of

terrific effect on the mind. If by chance a breath of air arose, the traveller immediately experienced an extreme lassitude; his lips became chapped, his skin parched, and his whole body covered with painful carbuncles. The Moors, who had retired to live in these countries in order to avoid certain tributes which they did not wish to pay, were afflicted by the atmosphere as much as their slaves; for so inhospitable is the region, that the most ferocious animals dare not penetrate it.

On leaving this plain they entered another, where the wind had raised from space to space the sand into hillocks, and the intervals of which produced a few odoriferous plants, which the almost famished camels devoured with avidity. They afterwards came to a valley surrounded by mountains, the soil of which was white and saponaceous; and here, for the first time, they found some pools of water: it was very brackish, covered with green moss, and had a pestilential smell; but such was their thirst, that they drank it with indescribable pleasure. Towards evening they had the good fortune to meet with an hospitable horde by whom they were well received, and who pointed out to them the road which led to some other villages where they could obtain provisions to last them for the remainder of their journey. This information was very seasonable, as their guide had lost his way.

The brother-in-law of the master of M. de Brisson was one of the chiefs of the burgh, and took particular care of all the slaves: he sent them a meal of ostrich-flesh and camel's milk. He appeared affected at the fate of M. de Brisson, and said to him, with much tenderness, "Unfortunate Christian! my brother has long been my debtor; if you will attach yourself to me, I will make arrangements with him to obtain you." This proposition, though it affected M. de Brisson, nevertheless made him tremble, as it indicated a long captivity, while he flattered himself that his present state would soon be changed; he therefore sought for his master, and intreated him not to consent to such an arrangement. "Be easy," said the Moor; "you shall not leave me except to go to Senegal or Morocco, and that shall soon take place." This assurance gave indescribable joy to the captive.

They rested three days amongst the Moors of the tribe called *Laroussye*, and then continued their journey to the spot at which resided the families of their conductors. It was not till they had travelled sixteen days, and suffered the most dreadful fatigue and misery, that they arrived at the place of their destination, reduced to skeletons.

At break of day they discovered a village which apparently occupied a fertile spot. Several tents were pitched under large shady trees, and innumerable herds were grazing on the hillocks,  
DURAND.] c

which made them conceive the place to be the residence of peace and plenty. But this proved an illusion.

The travellers were soon perceived ascending a hill which led to the residence of the Moors who were approaching; and several black slaves came to meet them, prostrated themselves, and kissed their feet. At a short distance the children made the air resound with shouts of joy; and the women placed themselves erect at the entrance of the tents to give their husbands a respectful reception. As the latter approached, the women came forward, and with a submissive aspect, placed the right hand on the men's heads, which they kissed after prostrating themselves to the ground. This ceremony being over, they looked towards the Christian slaves with much curiosity, and then insulted them in the most odious manner: they spat in their faces, and threw stones at them; while the children, imitating their example, pinched them, pulled their hair, and tore their flesh with their nails, their cruel mothers stimulating them to the commission of such injuries.

A division was now made of the slaves; and Messrs. Devoise, de Brisson, and Beaudré were taken by Sidy-Mahammet. As soon as his family had done carressing him, M. de Brisson asked which of the women who surrounded him was his favourite, on which he pointed her out. The captive then approached her, and presented her with a double handful of cloves, which her husband had carefully kept for her, that he might meet with a favourable reception; for these women are passionately fond of aromatic scents, and that of cloves beyond others. She received the present with an insulting hauteur, and then kicked him from the tent. A minute afterwards this despotic woman commanded the slaves to unload the camels; after which she set one to clean a sort of kettle, and sent another to pull up roots for fuel. While she was giving these orders, her dear husband was fast asleep, with his head on the lap of one of his concubines.

The unfortunate Frenchmen, though thus condemned to an excess of fatigue, misery, and opprobrium, nevertheless occasionally experienced some relaxation, owing to the interference of their master; but the cruelty of his wife was incessant, and at length became unbearable. The Moors never inhabit the same place for a length of time; but when the half-starved herds have devoured all the pasturage, they change their position, and remove to a spot which is more favourable. The care and labour attendant upon such changes were the task imposed upon the French slaves; and from the frequency of these movements they were absolutely exhausted. One day Devoise and Beaudré were beaten almost to death, and left senseless on the sand, because they were unable to perform the required service. For a long

time they were compelled to the dire necessity of seeking their food along with the cattle; and on these occasions their only nutriment was plants and live snails.

M. de Brisson was possessed of sufficient strength and firmness of mind to resist all these hardships; but he was soon subjected to others. He was compelled to harness the camels to the plough, to attend to the tillage and sowing of the lands; and his master, when he had finished his own jobs, would let him out to other Moors for a portion of milk. He would infallibly have fallen under the fatigue, if some hope of liberty had not remained with him, and if he had not been enabled occasionally to steal some barley and mutton in addition to the small quantity of food which they allowed him.

The unfortunate M. Devoise being older, and not so strong in constitution, could not long withstand such hardships. Every day he prayed for death, who at length came to his assistance. This gentleman was the brother of the present French commercial commissioner at Tunis. I was on terms of the strictest intimacy with him; and when I heard of his shipwreck, I sent to the deserts with the most pressing requests that he might be delivered up; but all my endeavours were unsuccessful. M. de Brisson paid him the last duties of humanity. Beaudré also died, and his body was devoured by ravens and serpents.

M. de Brisson at length obtained the permission of his master to write to Mogador, which the Moors call Sovia. He addressed his letter to the French consul, and gave a melancholy account of the hardships he suffered. It was conveyed by a Jew, who travelled through that part of the desert; for the Jews who are born in the desert live on good terms with the Moors, and adopt nearly the same customs; but the Jewish inhabitants of the towns being more rigid observers of their religious maxims, receive far worse treatment.

A second favour more important than the first occurred by chance. Another Sidy-Mahammet, who was sheriff of the tribe of the Trarzas, had occasion to pass through the place where M. de Brisson was enslaved, and they recognised each other. The sheriff spoke so highly of him to the brother-in-law of his master, Sidy-Sellem, that the latter, who was naturally humane and compassionate, made a second attempt to purchase him, and the bargain was at length concluded. The price of his transfer was five camels.

Sidy-Sellem was the first who informed M. de Brisson of the change, which was soon confirmed by his former master, and they separated on the best terms. M. de Brisson, on returning with his new owner, met with a companion of his misfortune, who had been baker to the wrecked ship, and they travelled together.

under the protection of Sidy-Sellem. Their master had given them a camel to ride on without a saddle, and they proceeded in this manner for some days; but the motion of the animal was so fatiguing, that they were obliged to quit it and travel the rest of the way on foot.

This journey was difficult, but much less so than the former, as their master took them through villages where water was plentiful, and the people were more feeling. M. de Brisson, however, had a shocking rencontre with some Moors of the tribe of Telkannes. They fired two muskets at him, but which luckily missed him. Two Moors then seized him, and were about to carry him off, when Sidy-Sellem, who was some distance behind, came forward on the report of the guns, and loudly complained of the outrage; but the Moors told him that they had taken the slave for a thief who had run away. Sidy-Sellem pretended to believe them, and the travellers continued their journey.

The Moors of this tribe are the worst off of any in the desert. They live amongst hills which are formed entirely of sand raised by the wind; and it is so difficult to penetrate into their retreats, that it is a common saying, that they endeavour to conceal themselves from the rays of the sun: the plains in the neighbourhood contain great numbers of enormous serpents, which do not permit the cattle to approach them.

At length our travellers reached the town of *Gouadnum*, which is the refuge for all the rebels of the desert: it is divided into two parts, each of which has a governor; but the only superiority between them is that which is given by fortune. All the houses are built alike, and receive their light from the door and the roof, which is uncovered. Four large walls surround the space which contains the houses; and the whole circumference has only one gate, which is guarded by large dogs. Each individual has also a dog for his own security, because they have as much to fear from their neighbours as from strangers. The town, however, carries on a considerable trade, and has several markets which resemble our fairs. They have for sale great quantities of the most beautiful wool, and fine woollen stuffs, of which they make their clothing. The merchants who carry them into the interior of the country give in exchange camels and gold from the mines of Bambouk: they also receive for those articles wheat, barley, dates, horses, tobacco, salt, gunpowder, combs, mirrors, and other articles of hardware. This commerce is chiefly carried on by Jews, who are exposed to the most outrageous insults, which they nevertheless bear patiently, on account of the great advantages they derive from the traffic, and the pleasure they experience in cheating the Moors.

Our travellers remained eight days at Gouadnum. From

thence to Mogador they met with nothing but villages, and castles built on the summits of high mountains. At a distance these look like superb palaces; but on approaching them, their walls are found to consist of nothing but mud, and are built in the most shapeless and disgusting form. They were now not so well fed; and the nearer they approached to a town, the less hospitality they received.

At length, after a journey of sixty-six days, they arrived at Mogador, where Messrs. Dupras and Cabannes came to them, and without being disgusted at their revolting appearance, assured them that their misfortunes were at an end. They took with them Sidy-Sellem and his son, and their house became the asylum of the whole.

The same day M. de Brisson and the baker were presented to the governor of the place, who informed them that they must proceed to Morocco, as the emperor desired to see all the Christian slaves, and give them their liberty.

Mogador is advantageously built; the batteries are strong, and have a cannon at each embrasure; but the mouth of the cannon rests on the bottom of the aperture, so that the pieces can be of no use but for shew. It is the same at Rabat, Salep, and Tangier; the emperor having neither workmen capable of mounting them, nor timber fit for making the carriages.

Eight days afterwards Sidy-Sellem and the party set off for Morocco: they were furnished with mules, a tent, provisions, and men to wait on them; and after a journey of four days they reached the capital.

The city of Morocco is every thing but handsome; the houses are of clay, and in the style of those of Gouadum, but lower, more dirty, and close. The streets are covered with filth of every kind, including the bones and offal of the cattle that are killed. The emperor's palace is of the same kind as the other buildings, being of clay, and surrounded by walls: it consists of six vast squares. The mosque is built in the same manner, and the whole of the palace has a disgusting appearance.

The unfortunate captives repaired to the house of the French consul-general, where they were to remain till they could be sent to France; they were afterwards taken before the emperor, whom they found sitting in a sort of coach body. He looked at M. de Brisson for some time, and then told him that he had been wrecked through his own fault, by not keeping far enough from the shore. He then asked for ink and paper, and traced with a reed the four principal points of the compass to indicate that Paris was northwards; after which he scratched about a dozen Roman characters, and gave the paper to M. de Brisson, asking him if he could read it? On repeating a few other questions to shew

how well he was informed, he added, that the rebels of the desert had ill-treated him, and desired to know what they had taken from him. M. de Brisson told him all that had happened; on which he said, "I do not command in the country where you have been taken, that is the people are beyond my authority." He wished to know how M. de Brisson had got to his capital; and on being told, he ordered Sidy-Sellem to be brought before him. He asked him, if he had given a high price for the Frenchmen, and what he intended to do with them. To which Sidy-Sellem replied, that he had no other intentions than to prostrate himself at the feet of his sovereign, and do the homage of a slave. He then enquired, whether the Wadelims and Lebdessebas had any other Christian prisoners. Sidy-Sellem, in the most submissive manner, answered, that there were several whom he could easily collect, if the emperor would give him orders. The emperor, however, dropped the conversation; but he ordered the Frenchmen to be guarded for the present, and supplied with provisions from the royal kitchen.

The next day the consul claimed them, and they were given up. The emperor does not supply the ambassadors or other foreigners in his capital with any household furniture, though he assigns them a residence, and distributes to them a certain number of oxen, sheep, poultry, and a quantity of bread.

The inhabitants of Morocco are almost white, and are not quite so barbarous as those of the desert, which, perhaps, is only owing to the presence of the emperor. One day M. de Brisson rode out on horseback with the French consul and American envoy: they were followed and pressed hard by the mob, till at last they were obliged to dismount, although escorted by a guard; without this precaution their lives would have been in danger. M. de Brisson was struck on the head by a stone, and it was impossible to discover the offender.

A few days afterwards the emperor again ordered the slaves before him in the court where he gives his public audiences. He was sitting on a beautiful charger, caparisoned with blue and scarlet cloth covered with gold fringe. Beside him was a squire or prince holding a long pole, on the top of which was a parasol to shelter his majesty from the solar rays. Behind him stood the body guard in the most profound silence. The looks of the emperor seemed to spread consternation around him: indeed, he is always preceded by terror; for he orders the heads of several of his subjects to be struck off, and beholds the execution with the most perfect apathy. His will is a law, and is executed instantaneously; but when a rich criminal purchases his pardon, he is never put to death, whatever may be his crime. At this audience the Frenchmen were permitted to depart.

M. de Brisson and the baker embarked for France; and Sidy-Seliem retired well satisfied with the generosity of the consul.

## CHAP. II.

ISLE OF ARGUIN.—PORTENDICK.—HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE DIFFERENT NATIONS WHO HAVE OCCUPIED THOSE PLACES.—EUROPEAN COMMERCE AND FISHERIES.—CAPE VERD.—GOREE, ITS POSSESSION BY EUROPEAN NATIONS.—ACCOUNT OF THE MANNERS AND TRADE OF ITS INHABITANTS.

THE ships which leave Europe for the establishments in the Atlantic ocean, along an extensive coast of about three hundred and fifty leagues, cannot relay more conveniently in Africa than at the isle of Arguin, at which their commercial operations may be said to begin. The most safe anchorage is at the southern point, where vessels that draw only ten or twelve feet water may approach very near to land. Between the isle and the continent is a canal in which vessels of heavy burden, and even frigates, may anchor at the spot on which formerly stood the fort. When the Dutch took the place, they regularly fortified it, and built a fort with four bastions and deep fosses. In short, they neglected nothing that might enable them to keep perpetual possession of the isle, but this fort has disappeared; and of all their works there only remain two cisterns, which seem to have been respected both by time and men. The largest is ten fathoms wide, sixteen long, and about fifteen deep, and is about two hundred fathoms from the part containing the remains of the face of the fort. It appears to have been dug in the rock. In the midst of this spacious vault is a large well fifteen feet deep, in which all the waters unite, whether they proceed from springs or filtrate through the rock from the soil which covers it. It is asserted that the cistern contains five thousand six hundred muids of water. The smaller cistern is to the north of the first, and is an artificial vault dug like the other by the hand of man, with the assistance of explosion. The capacity of the parts which receive the water is estimated at half that of the cistern first mentioned. These two cisterns were formed by the Portuguese between 1445 and 1481, when after the fall of the Norman company they first occupied the isle of Arguin.

### PORTENDICK.

Portendick is a bay about half way between Arguin and isle St. Louis. Its entrance is very difficult, being closed by two sand banks, which have only two or three fathoms of water; but

in the middle between the two banks is a passage from 70 to 80 fathoms wide, and six deep, by the north bank; and from seven to eight on the south. On proceeding some distance you discover another pass, which cuts the northern bank at about one third of its length, and contains about five fathoms of water. The bay is only six fathoms deep; the bottom is uneven, and it is impossible to remain long here during the greater part of the year, on account of the heavy sea and breakers which are driven in by the wind. The Dutch have erected a wooden fort at Portendick, for which all the materials were prepared at Amsterdam.

Arguin and Portendick have been disputed by several European nations with inconceivable rancour. The Portuguese were driven from them, after possessing them two hundred years, by the Dutch, who took the isle and fort of Arguin in 1638; but in 1665 they were captured by the English. The Dutch, however, retook them in the following year, but lost them in 1678, after sustaining an obstinate siege from the French. The French destroyed the fort, carried off the artillery, with every thing else that was worth removing; but the possession of the isle was secured to them by the treaty of Nimeguen, concluded between France and Holland 1678.

The loss of this factory did a serious injury to the Dutch merchants, and they resolved to retake it; but fearing to violate the treaty, they attacked it in 1685, under the mask of the flag of the elector of Brandenburg, who had become king of Prussia. They then restored the fortifications, and kept the isle during the war, which began in 1688 and lasted till 1698, when it was terminated by the treaty of Ryswick. This war enabled the Dutch to renew their alliances with the Moors; and the latter, who were engaged in the negociations, had their warehouses near the cisterns.

The French company in 1721, fitted out a squadron at L'Orient and Havre, to retake that valuable possession. It consisted of three ships of war, a frigate, and three sloops, with land forces; the squadron was commanded by M. P. de Salvert, who landed, and finding the Dutch disinclined to surrender, erected batteries to attack the fort. He was given to understand, that the Moors, who were then numerous, were determined to assist the Dutch, and perish to a man, rather than surrender the place. After a vigorous bombardment, the Moors finding themselves incapable of farther defence, retired during the night, and passed over to the continent.

The French entered the fort by the same ladder by which the Moors had left it. They found in it only two negroes, an old female Moor, and two children belonging to M. Both, the former French governor of Arguin. The Dutch governor, M. Jan de Wine, voluntarily followed the Moors, who took with them prisoners to the continent, several Frenchmen who resided in the

fort; they also carried along with them all the merchandise. The French repaired the breaches, and M. J. du Bellay, who had been appointed governor of the Settlements, transferred the command to M. Duval, and embarked in the squadron for isle St. Louis. Duval was of all others in the service of the company, the least proper for such a command; he was a violent man, cruel in prosperity, and cowardly and irresolute in adversity. The Moors had been informed that they might come back to Arguin, and would be well received, as it was a matter of much consequence to attach them to the French interest. Duval, however, counteracted these orders, and was guilty of the blackest perfidy.

The Moors returned with confidence, when this infamous governor ordered them all to be massacred. Their bodies were cut in pieces and exposed in different parts, as an example to their countrymen of the treatment they were to expect.

After this horrible execution, no accommodation with the irritated Moors could be hoped for; and the Dutch did not fail to keep up the resentment of those people towards the French. In the mean time, the Moors and pretended Prussians had retired to Portendick. Duval was superseded in his command; and the Moors having landed on the island in concert with the Dutch, they gained possession of the cisterns, and seized on M. Leriche and four other Frenchmen, who had been sent to them with a flag of truce; and after springing a mine, which injured the fortifications, they compelled the French to surrender the fortress on the 11th January, 1722, when the latter were obliged to solicit the protection of the Dutch, to prevent the Moors from cutting their throats. The captors acquired on this occasion an immense quantity of merchandise. Shortly before the surrender, a French vessel was stranded about five leagues from Arguin, and the crew, eight in number, having effected a landing, were seized by the Moorish chief Homar, and instantly put to death. Duval became the victim of his atrocity and imprudence; for Homar meeting with him off Cape Blanco, as he was returning home, boarded his vessel, cut off his head, and put to death the whole of the crew, sixteen in number, Duval not making the least resistance.

This sanguinary warfare lasted for some time; the Moors revenged the outrages they had suffered; and the Dutch obtained a momentary triumph.

It would be useless to trace the various operations which were incessantly carried on against these two possessions. M. de Salvert in 1724, re-acquired possession both of Portendick and Arguin; since which, the Dutch have not appeared as enemies in that quarter.

The result of this statement is, that every nation which has en-  
DURAND.]

deavoured to establish itself at Arguin and Portendick, had no object but to share or monopolize the gum trade, which the French, who were firmly established in the Senegal, wished to concentrate amongst themselves. Indeed the gum trade with the Moors, was the most important of the operations which took place in those roads. The forests of gum trees are at no great distance from the shore; and the trade likewise consisted of gold, elephants' teeth, oxen, sheep, raw hides, and ostrich feathers; besides which, it is asserted that ambergrease was formerly found in considerable quantities. But though I made and caused to be made the most vigorous researches, I could never obtain any. M. Pelletan, my successor, was more fortunate, nevertheless he mentions only a single instance in which he found it; and that was in a different part of the coast; which proves at least that this substance is very scarce.

The fisheries on this part of the coast are very abundant. All the capes, as far as the mouth of St John river, afford shelter to multitudes of fish, which find plenty of nutriment. Indeed these gulphs are like so many vast ponds completely stocked, with the only difference that they cannot be exhausted. The Europeans derive much advantage from these fisheries, which afford them a number of seals: the fish forms the chief subsistence of the garrisons, and are exchanged with the Canary and Azores islands, as well as with the Moors on the coast of Guinea. The green species of turtle also delights in these roads, and the shell is much sought for in commerce.

When the French directed their commercial operations to the Senegal, they abandoned the fisheries.

About 30 or 35 leagues from Portendick, and in 15° 15' lat. you arrive at the mouth of the Senegal. To reach Goree, either from Europe or from the Senegal, it is necessary to pass Cape Verd, which is the most western point of Africa; its elongation into the sea, makes it a vast peninsula. The soil is good, and covered with fine trees: it is fit for all kinds of cultivation, and is fertilized by several rivulets; all which render it very desirable for the establishment of the colony. Its trees being always green, have given rise to its name, as it is distinguished by its appearance from all the other capes on the coast, which are dry and barren. The bay of Yof forms a considerable space between the point of Barbary and Cape Verd; and the currents set violently into this bay in a S. S. E. direction.

The approach of a ship towards this cape is known by two mountains, which are called the Breasts, from an idea that they resemble those organs in form. As soon as they are perceived, precaution must be taken to avoid a rocky point, which projects about two leagues into the sea, and which causes the ships to

make a considerable offing to the S. W. in order to double it: they are obliged to do so, till the two Breasts appear on the same line, so that one obscures the other. Thus you arrive at Cape Verd, on doubling which, you reach Goree, at a distance of two leagues. This cape, from the two Breasts to Cape Bernard, was ceded to France by two treaties in 1763 and 1765, between the king Damel and the governor of Senegal, as well as the villages of Daccard and Bin, from which the inhabitants of the isle of Goree derive their subsistence.

The passage from the Senegal to Goree is made in about twenty-four hours; but the return is generally longer, from the opposition of the winds and currents. It sometimes even takes a month to return this short distance. The island received its name Goree, which means "*Good Road*," from the Dutch, who obtained it in 1617 by treaty, from Biram, king of Cape Verd. They built a strong fort upon it on a steep mountain to the N. W. and another which commanded the creek, and secured their magazines. The Dutch enjoyed their acquisition till 1663, when it was taken from them by the English, to whom this conquest was the more important, as they had established themselves in the river Gambia: but next year they were expelled from the isle by the Dutch admiral de Ruyter, who attacked them with a powerful squadron. The French took it from the Dutch in 1677, by which time the latter had put it into an excellent state of defence, and mounted the batteries with forty-two pieces of cannon. From that time to the present it has often been contested; and fallen into the possession of the English, French, and Dutch. The English possessed it during the last war. The government of the island when the French retained it, was the same as that of isle St. Louis; and the religion, manners, and customs of the inhabitants of both places are nearly similar.

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### CHAP. III.

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FARTHER REMARKS ON GOREE, AND COMMUNICATION FROM IT TO THE SENEGAL.—KINGDOMS ON THE COAST OF GOREE, VIZ. CAYOR, BAOL, SIN, AND SALEM.—CURIOUS PARTICULARS OF A RACE OF NEGROES.—JOURNEY FROM GOREE TO SENEGAL, &c.

THE commerce of the isle of Goree, extends from Cape Verd to the kingdom of Salem, about seven leagues from the mouth of the Gambia; but there is no establishment on that part of the coast. The three factories of Rufisque, Portudal, and Joal are abandoned, the French administration of Goree merely keeping as residents, while they had the island, an inhabitant and a negro,

who relieved each other alternately, and whose business was to treat for provisions. An establishment was projected at Cahone, a village belonging to the kingdom of Salem, nearly at the part where the river Gambia divides into two branches, the most northerly of which takes the name of Salem. It would have been very advantageous, as the Mandingos, from the kingdoms of Tombuctoo, Bambara, and the other states to the eastward, come to Cahone with their merchandise. It was not carried into execution; but it is evident that such an establishment would at any time be of the greatest advantage, as it might receive the commerce which formerly existed between Goree and the numerous isles formed by the river of Salem. Some inhabitants still go to trade at that river, and always turn their merchandise to the best account. It was on the banks of this river, that the famous lump of ambergrease was found, which M. Pelletan acquired; I will give an account of its discovery.

An inhabitant of Goree, named St. Jean, a well informed man, one day observed his negroes employed in careening their canoe, with a substance which they had melted, and of which they neither knew the nature nor the value. St. Jean discovered it by the smell, and caused what remained of the lump to be carried home. The whole had weighed upwards of a hundred pounds. To shew that this branch of commerce might become very important, I shall only observe that M. St. Jean sold the substance at from nine to ten francs per ounce, and it was resold in France for thirty-six francs.

Besides the means of commerce which Goree might have on this coast, it has opened a communication by land with Senegal. The distance between those two establishments is about forty leagues, but it is commonly made in five or six days; and the journey used to be one of pleasure to the French merchants, who went in parties, carrying with them provisions and tents for encamping on the most agreeable spots. The route is now so well known, that a sort of barracks have been built as an asylum for travellers. The greatest difficulty on the journey is that of procuring water, which it is necessary to carry with one, though wells have been dug at different distances. Milk, however, may always be procured in great quantities and at a cheap rate.

About half way up Cape Verd is a large lake, the water of which is brackish, though formed by a rivulet which is perfectly fresh. It is difficult to explain the cause of this singularity. Some suppose that the bottom of the lake consists of a nitrous earth, which communicates its flavour to the water; while others think, and perhaps with more reason, that the sea water filtrates through the ground, and mixes with that of the lake. But whatever may be the cause, it is remarkable that the water agrees equally well with sea and river fish. The negroes take im-

mense quantities of fish between Capes Verd and Manuel, where the lake empties itself into the sea; and the vast flocks of birds, which live on its banks, also devour quantities of fish. Amongst the birds is a species which seems to belong to the falcon tribe: they have a brown plumage, with some white feathers at the neck and extremities of the wings. Their beak is thick and curved like a sickle, so that the fish which they take cannot escape. They have short thighs and claws; and the latter are armed with strong and sharp nails. They fly easily, and keep themselves for a considerable time on the surface of the water with the head inclined. When a fish appears they dart upon it, and carry it off to devour amongst the reeds. They have been sometimes shot, but they cannot be eaten, as their flesh has such a rank and fishy taste, and is full of oil. Near this lake, and in several parts of the route lately mentioned, are numbers of trumpet birds, whose notes resemble the sound of that instrument. They are black, and of the size of a turkey-cock, to which they are nearly similar in shape. Their lower beak is hollow and sonorous; and it is by this that they produce the sound described.

The lake just mentioned is named after the Cereses or Serays, some tribes of negroes who inhabit its banks: they form, as in every other part where they establish themselves, a sort of democratic republic, without knowing the principles of that kind of government; but following in this case their instinct and wishes, they never choose to acknowledge any master. They live in a complete state of nature, without any other rules than what she inspires: they have no idea of the divinity, and are persuaded that the soul dies with the body. They go almost entirely naked, speak a particular language, which differs from that of all their neighbours, and never intermarry with the other negroes, whom they dislike to such a degree, that they seem to be as averse from trading with them, as they would be from a contagion. One of the principal traits in their character is the resentment which they bear for offences, which they never pardon: and if they do not take vengeance themselves, they transmit their hatred to their children, and it subsists in the family till reparation be made for the real or supposed injury. In other respects they are a good kind of people, mild and simple in their manners, and hospitable even to officiousness. They give a particularly kind reception to the whites who pass through their country, carefully cultivate their lands, and raise a great number of cattle.

They have a great respect for the dead, whom they inter without their villages, in round or square spots, like those which they inhabit. After exposing the body on a bed they plaister the stakes, which form the square of interment, with a kind of clay, and also encompass it with a wall about a foot thick, which ends

in a pointed roof, and incloses the spot. This collection of burying grounds resembles another village, and is often larger than the inhabited one to which it belongs. These people do not know how to write; but to distinguish the bodies which rest in these little huts, they put a bow and arrow on those which contain the men, while the women's sepulchres have at top a pestle and mortar, being the instruments which they use to pound their rice and millet. In other respects, as they marry amongst each other, and thus form only one family: they have no object in transmitting to posterity the names of the dead or their parentage.

The route from Goree to Senegal is in general woody, and the woods contain many banyan and latane or palm trees. The fruit of the former, and the wine of the latter, are too well known to need any description. There are also great numbers of a shrub, whose leaves resemble those of the pear-tree, and have an aromatic flavour combined with the smell of the myrtle: it communicates its delicious flavour to the flesh of the cattle, which feed on it in preference to any other vegetable. There is likewise a tree which is called the soap-tree: its fruit is of the size of a small walnut, and the negroes, who use it to wash the cotton cloths which they wear round their waists, beat it between two stones to separate the nut from the shells; and it is with the latter that they rub what they are about to wash. It dissolves easily, and completely cleanses the cotton, but burns the cloth: this circumstance, however, though serious to the wearers, is of great advantage to our commerce, which supplies them with such articles.

In some parts they cultivate tobacco upon a large scale; for the negroes, though they only use it for smoking, consume vast quantities. They merely bruise it when ripe, and make it into bunches; and notwithstanding this slovenly way of preparing it, the flavour of it is tolerably good.

In the journey to which I have alluded we meet with no dangerous animals, excepting serpents, which are both large and numerous, being sometimes from fifteen to twenty feet long, and a foot and a half in diameter. It is asserted that these are less dangerous than the small ones, which are but two inches thick, and four or five feet long: it is, however, remarkable that the human species are very seldom injured by these reptiles. To observe the *sang froid* with which the negroes let the serpents enter the hovels to creep about, hunt the rats, and sometimes the fowls, without feeling the least alarm at their appearance, one would suppose that there was a reciprocal contract between them to live together in harmony. Nevertheless the negroes are sometimes bitten by these animals, on which occasions the remedy

they apply is the actual cautery. When they happen to possess gunpowder; they cover the puncture with it and explode it, which produces a scar that draws out the venom. These accidents, however, are not frequent, and the negroes in general do not appear to apprehend them. The Cereses, on the contrary, dread the serpents, and keep them from their habitations as much as possible: indeed, they are continually at war with them, lay snares for them with much adroitness, and, on finding them, eat their flesh, which they think very good.

The serpents have other and still more terrible enemies, which are the eagles that abound throughout the country: they are of the same species as those in Europe, but far superior in size and strength.

We also meet in the journey above described numerous herds of elephants; but they do no injury, nor ever disturb travellers: and likewise with parties of apes, who amuse by their watching and singular antics. There is also an aquatic animal sometimes found which the Cereses call *bourba*. This animal is something between the bear and the hog: its hair is short, thin, and whitish; and its feet have tolerably strong and pointed claws, which it uses to climb up trees like the bear. Its head is more like the bear's than the hog's; and though wild, it has not a terrific aspect. Its eyes are small and half closed, notwithstanding which it is very active. Its mouth is large and furnished with long and sharp strong teeth. It lives almost constantly in the rivers, notwithstanding which it is ascertained to be amphibious: its size is equal to that of a hog about a year old; and its flesh is fat and succulent.

Several persons have published their accounts of this little journey, and they all agree in stating that it is easy and agreeable. Indeed, I never heard of the slightest accident happening to those who performed it. The travellers arrive unfatigued at the village of Gandiollé, which is situated at the mouth of the Senegal, where they embark in canoes, and proceed to isle St. Louis in two or three hours, ascending the river by means of their oars.

The coast on which the commerce with Goree is established, as has been specified in the preceding passages, is divided amongst, and governed by, four negro kings. The most important and considerable of these states is that of Cayor, which is worthy of particular attention on account of the influence which its king, named Damel, has had in the success or disasters of the French establishments in this vicinity.

The kingdom of Cayor begins in the province of Toubè on the continent, and is about six leagues distant eastwards of Senegal, from which it is only separated by some marshes and the isle of Sor. It extends along the sea as far as the village called Grand

Brigny, the frontier of the kingdom of Baol. Its continent is only a short league from Goree, but it stretches nearly sixty leagues in the interior. It was joined to the dominions of the provinces of Baol in 1695, after a sanguinary war, in which the latter were conquerors, and possessed both states to the year 1717. The king gave himself the name of Danel, which is the particular appellation of the king of Cayor; but at the death of Tinmacodon, the inconvenience arising from so great an extent of country being under one governor was seriously felt, and the kingdom was again divided, when Amarizone, brother to the deceased monarch, ascended the throne of Baol.

The royal family of Cayor is called Bisayou-ma-Fatim. The king who at present reigns was not the first in the order of succession, but was elected; but he was elected without any intrigue on his part: he took the title of Danel, and established his common residence at Guignis, a village about thirty leagues from Senegal. After his election, the great people came to pay their homage to him, and all the ceremonies usual in such cases were scrupulously attended to: they prostrated themselves at some distance from the king's feet without any other clothing than a simple piece of cloth round the loins; and afterwards, on approaching, they bent the knee three times before him, putting at each declension a handful of sand to their foreheads. The marabouts or priests were exempted from these humiliating ceremonies; and on coming to acknowledge their new sovereign, they merely took the oath of fidelity, which was administered by himself.

The order of succession to the throne is regulated as follows: The brothers of the king succeed him by seniority; and the children of the deceased prince only ascend the throne when there are no brothers to take possession of it, a circumstance which very rarely happens; but when it does, the eldest son takes precedence. The first wife is the queen; the prince marries her publicly, and the festival lasts three days; nearly all his subjects attend it and make him presents. The children by this marriage are the legitimate children, and natural heirs to the throne; and after them the children by the second wife have the right, as well as those of the other women whom the king has simply declared to be his wives. The king may also have other women to whom he gives no qualification; and their children, who are reputed legitimate, may also pretend to the throne according to their age, in case their father should die, and leave no children by his first queen or other acknowledged wives.

This succession to the throne in the collateral lines is not peculiar to the kingdom of Cayor. It is also the case in that of Hoval, which is contiguous, and the king of which takes the title of Brack; but a different method is adopted by the family of

the latter; as it is always the eldest son of the eldest sister of the deceased king who succeeds to the throne. These people, who in other respects are neither better informed, nor more polished, than their neighbours, think with good reason that by this manner of succession, there is more certainty as to birth-right. They apply to themselves, without knowing the meaning of it, the maxim of the Roman laws: "*Partus matrem demonstrat, pater vero semper est incertus*"; and it is doubtless this persuasion which causes the law to be religiously observed in the country of Hoval. In the kingdom of Cayor, on the contrary, it is sometimes violated, as is proved by the election of the last sovereign. Indeed it often happens that the great men combine together, convoke the people, and appoint to the throne another prince of a different family from him who has the right to ascend it, though they are always cautious to take him from the royal family.

The king of Cayor reigns despotically over his subjects, who are rather his slaves, as they tacitly obey and serve him: in other respects he is neither richer nor better off than themselves; and they pay him for his subsistence, a tribute which varies according to his pleasure. He is not distinguished either by the number of his houses, by that of his women, or by his guards. The military service near his person, that which takes place in time of war, and, in general, all the jobs or escorts, are performed by the subjects at their own expence, and they are obliged to execute his orders, and follow him wherever he chooses to lead them.

Damel and his subjects profess the Mahometan religion; but they render it scarcely recognisable by a multitude of retrenchments or additions. The same occurs amongst all the African hordes, who only agree together on three points, namely, a plurality of women, circumcision, and the respect which is due to the prophet Mahomet: on the other hand, each village has its particular practices, and turns those of the others into ridicule.

Damel, and the other kings and princes of the Negroes or Moors, have the privilege of never being made slaves. When they are taken in battle, they are either killed, or they destroy themselves.

A superstition peculiar to the kingdom of Cayor is, that both the people and the king think that the latter will die in the year in which he may cross any river or branch of the sea: hence he never goes to Goree, or to isle St. Louis in the Senegal, but remains always in his own territories on the continent.

While I was at Senegal, M. de Boufflers, governor-general of the colony, wished to have an interview with Damel, and it took place on the 24th April, 1786. The place fixed on was a large plain on the continent, called Guyarabop, and which lay on the banks of the Senegal: it was inclosed by a fosse, and its entrance

was defended by an entrenchment; a tent was prepared in the middle. M. de Boufflers proceeded thither in the morning with a detachment of fifty men; and Damel, who was then at Gandiolle, a village in the southern part of his states, set off to meet the French general. This prince had in his suite a corps of cavalry, and a numerous body of infantry: on reaching the gate, he entered on horseback alone, and was received at the tent by the French general. The troops of this sovereign then took their station in the plain, and remained under arms the whole day in the most perfect order and discipline.

The productions and objects of commerce furnished by this country, are, slaves, who are generally rendered numerous by war; millet, of which such quantities are produced, that during my administration, being charged with the supply of provisions, &c., I derived enough from it for our whole consumption, which is immense; and lastly salt, which is furnished by the inexhaustible pits at Gandiolle.

These pits form the dowry of the wife of Damel, who is the acknowledged queen of Cayor. Each vessel which comes to trade for the salt, pays her a sort of duty, which is not always the same, but is agreed on with a delegate whom she sends to the spot during the period of the trade. It is however, in general, a piece of Guinea, four piastres, and twenty bottles of brandy, for a hundred barrels of salt; which number of barrels every year receives an addition of three or four. The purchasers give besides to the queen's envoy a present in merchandise to the value of three or four piastres.

On the payment of these duties, and a few others of a subordinate nature, the women of Gandiolle undertake to carry the salt on board the ships at the rate of half a bar per barrel. By giving them something more they are induced to smuggle an additional quantity on board, a plan which is always adopted, and which it is impossible for the queen to prevent. These expences of portage are paid in iron, coral, beads, and other trifling articles, on which the merchants gain so much profit, that the half bar, which is valued at two livres, eight sous (about two shillings sterling) is not worth to them more than ten sous, or five pence English.

During the time that M. Brue was at Senegal, a serious dispute arose between him and Damel, during which the former was seized by the negro king, and was in great danger of his life; but after many stratagems and much threatening on the part of the French, he regained his liberty; and though by the stipulations in the last treaty of peace with Damel, the French were to pay no kind of duty for their commerce, it was found necessary on this occasion to make the king a present amounting to 20,779 livres, which was taken in merchandize, valued according

to the price which is given for negroes. This reduced the ransom to about 7,000 livres in actual value, without reckoning the private loss of the general, who was robbed of his money, jewels, and clothes, which were estimated at 6,000 livres; besides which he was kept for twelve days in close captivity, without being allowed to speak to any one. Since this period, Damel has never failed to insist on a very considerable duty every year, as the price of his good-will towards our nation. The king, however, did not escape with impunity on account of the outrage; for M. Brue on his liberation formed a coalition with the neighbouring sovereigns of Brack, Siratick, Burha-yolof, Bursin, and Bur-salunt, and watched the coasts of Damel so closely, that no foreign vessels could approach them. He likewise seized and destroyed all the fishing boats that came out, burned several villages, and obliged many others to supply Goree with all the wood which it required.

This war lasted eight months, and the states of Damel suffered by it severely, but still no reconciliation took place; and a plan was laid for seizing the negro king, and sending him as a slave to the West Indies; but at this crisis M. Brue was recalled to France, to give his advice on the deranged affairs of the African company. A negotiation was afterwards entered into with M. Lemaitre, who submitted to the most humiliating terms, and undertook to pay annually to the king of Cayor 100 bars of iron for permission to get wood and water from his territory, and to purchase provision. This duty has successively increased, and it is now very high, so that it would be dangerous, if not impossible, to suppress it.

What I am now about to say relative to the Moors, and the customs in the kingdom of Cayor, will apply to all the other states on this coast, the difference between each being too trivial to merit distinction. I shall therefore confine myself chiefly to topographical details.

The kingdom of Baol, which is the first after Cayor, begins at the village of Little Brigny, and ends at the river of Serena: it is seven leagues from Goree, and has only about twelve leagues of coast from north to south. The king bears the name of Tin.

The kingdom of Sin, whose sovereign takes the name of Bur, is still smaller; as it has only eleven leagues of coast in the same direction.

The same title of Bur belongs to the king of Salum, whose dominions begin at the river of Palmera, and end at two or three leagues from the point of Barra. They run inwards as far as where the Gambia separates into two branches, the northern of which takes the name of the river of Salum. This

river divides itself into six arms, each of which contains islands, which are inhabited and cultivated; but they are said to be unhealthy, particularly for foreigners.

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## CHAP. IV.

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OF THE RIVER GAMBIA.--ESTABLISHMENTS OF EUROPEANS ON ITS BANKS.—KINGDOMS WHICH DIVIDE THEM.—MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE INHABITANTS.—PRODUCTIONS OF THE COUNTRY, &c. &c.

**AFTER** traversing the country which I have just described, and about thirty leagues from Goree, you arrive at the mouth of the Gambia, which empties itself into the sea at cape St. Mary on the south, and at the Isle of Birds on the north. Its width at this part is very great, being estimated at least at two leagues between the points of Barra and Bagnon. The strait between those points is ten or twelve fathoms deep, so that all sorts of vessels can go up it. On the left bank of the river is a point which contains a large group of trees, amongst which is one much higher and larger than the rest: it is called the flag of the king of Barra; and the English have introduced the custom of saluting it with several guns, a ceremony which would subject a ship, that might dispense with it, to the greatest insults.

The river Gambia is, throughout its whole course, of considerable width, and its bed is deep and muddy; while its banks are covered with thick mango-trees. It abounds in fish; and sharks are very common at its mouth. In the upper parts it is frequented by crocodiles and hippopotami: its depth is so great that a ship of forty guns, and three hundred tons, may ascend it as far as Genachor, situated about sixty leagues from the sea; while a vessel of one hundred and fifty tons, can go as far as Barraconda, which is about two hundred and fifty leagues distant. The tide flows as high as this spot in the dry season, that is, from November to June or July; but the rest of the year the river is impassable, on account of the inundations caused by the rains, and on account of the violence of currents, which overflow the banks in every direction, and carry away large trees.

Europeans have not proceeded higher than Barraconda: it appears that hereabouts the course of the river is interrupted by a bank of rocks, and farther up, it loses itself for several days in an impenetrable lake, covered by high grass and reeds. From the account of the Mandingo merchants and other negroes, who are in the habit of travelling the whole length of

this river, as well as from the opinion of several celebrated writers, there is reason to believe that it takes its source below a considerable fall made by the Senegal, which there divides into two branches, one of which to the south has been mistaken for the Gambia; but this error has been controverted by several authors, and particularly by Mungo Park, who has examined the place in question, and who asserts that the river Gambia takes its rise from the same chain of mountains from which issue the Senegal and the Niger. The Gambia begins to run one hundred miles to the westward of the Senegal, and continues its course in the same direction till it enters the sea.

The part of the coast near this river was, like all the rest, discovered by the Normans, who probably formed establishments along it, which they abandoned for the more rich and permanent situations of the Senegal and the Gold-coast. The Portuguese then occupied those spots which the Normans had left; and it may be seen by the ruins of their factories, and the forts which they erected, that they had penetrated very far into the interior. The wars in which they were involved with the other nations of Europe, at length rendered them incapable of supporting their power in that part of the world: yet several Portuguese families remained there, were naturalised amongst the inhabitants; while their descendants gradually becoming Africans, have spread into the interior, and live on good terms with the natives. The latter are the subjects of a multitude of petty princes, who all take the title of king, though the territories of many of them are very small. There are no less than eight of these kingdoms on each bank of the Gambia, in a space of about two hundred and fifty leagues from its mouth.

The kingdoms situated on the northern bank are, 1. that of Barra, which extends eighteen leagues along the coast; 2. Guioncanda, which follows it, and occupies five leagues of coast; 3. Baddison, which fills twenty leagues; 4. Salum, which surrounds the first three mentioned to the north and west, by following a course of the river to the extent of ten leagues; 5. Gniania, which comprises only two leagues of coast; 6. Couhan, which occupies four; 7. Gniani, extending thirty leagues along the river; and 8. Ouli, which terminates between Barraconda and the rocky bank, and occupies ninety leagues.

These different distances calculated in a right line, form a total of one hundred and seventy-nine leagues; to which may be added seventy-two leagues for the windings of the river in this space, which makes the whole extent from the point of Barra to the kingdom of Onli, two hundred and fifty leagues.

The eight kingdoms on the southern bank are that of Combe or Combo, which runs eighteen leagues along the coast, from

St. Mary's Point to the river Combo, from which it takes its name. 2. The kingdom or empire of Foigny, which begins at the river Combo and terminates at that of Bintan, having eleven leagues of coast. 3. Gereges, whose limits are the river of Bintan, and the village from which the kingdom takes its name; it possesses seven leagues of coast. 4. Kiam, which comprises twenty. 5. Geagra, which has only ten. 6. Gnamena, whose extent is fifteen. 7. Kiaconda, which occupies forty. 8. Toumaga, of the same extent, and the kingdom of Cantor, the limits of which are not perfectly known, but which must be at least twenty leagues of coast.

The whole of these different parts of the coast, calculated in a right line, forms a total of one hundred and sixty-five leagues, to which may be added for capes and contours of the river, at least eighty-five more; so that, from the mouth of the Gambia to the known extremity of the kingdom of Cantor, the extent of territory on ascending the south bank of the Gambia, is two hundred and fifty leagues.

We possess no very circumstantial account of these Negro states, which, however, are nearly alike. Those most worthy of notice are the empire of Foigny, on the south bank, and the kingdom of Barra on the north. The former is watered by four rivers, and extremely fertile: it produces rice, pulse of all kinds, potatoes, and abundance of fruits. Its palm wine is excellent, and the people breed oxen, sheep, goats, and poultry. The country is uncommonly populous: the inhabitants are industrious and of a commercial turn; they are open, tractable, and particularly faithful. The king assumes the title of emperor, and his neighbours not only acknowledge this distinction, but pay him a tribute. He bestows great attention on the conduct of the English and French, who carry on the commerce of the river; and when the two nations are at war in Europe, he takes care that they shall not fight in his states; but in cases of hostility he takes the part of the weakest, or of those who are attacked.

The kingdom of Barra is almost entirely peopled by strangers, as the natives of the country are there only few in number. The greatest population is that of the Mandingos or Mandings, so called from the name of their native country Mandin or Mandingue, which is situated about four hundred leagues to the east, and is prodigiously peopled, as is evident from the vast number of slaves which it furnishes every year, as well as from the colonies, which frequently proceed from it to extend their active industry to other quarters. It was thus that there arrived in the kingdom of Barra those who are considered as natives and who have possessed themselves of the supreme power, and the whole

of the commerce; the king and his great men being Mandingos. They are the only well informed persons in the state; for they know almost every thing, and can read and write. They have public schools, in which the Marabous, who are the masters, teach the children the Arabic tongue; their lessons are written on small pieces of white wood; but they give the preference to the paper which we have introduced amongst them. When they know the alcoran, they obtain the title of doctors.

It is remarkable that the Mandingos, who have all come from a republican state, have formed nothing but monarchies wherever they have established themselves; but they have not invested their kings with unlimited authority. On all important occasions these princes are obliged to convoke a meeting of the wisest old men, by whose advice they act, and without which they can neither declare war nor make peace.

In all the large towns the people have a chief magistrate who bears the name of alcaide, and whose place is hereditary: his duty is to preserve order, to receive the tribute imposed upon travellers, and to preside at the sittings of the tribunal of justice. The jurisdiction is composed of old men who are free; and their meeting is called a palaver; it holds its sittings in the open air, and with much solemnity. The affairs which are brought for discussion, are investigated with much candour; the witnesses are publicly heard; and the decisions generally excite the approbation of both parties.

They have no written laws, but decide on the cases according to their ancient customs; nevertheless they sometimes have recourse to the civil institutes of Mahomet, and when the koran does not appear to them sufficiently perspicuous, they consult a commentary entitled *Al Scharra*, which contains a complete exposition of the civil and criminal laws of Islamism. They have amongst them people who exercise the profession of counsellors, or interpreters of the laws, and who are allowed to plead either for the accuser or the accused, as at European tribunals: these negro-lawyers are Mahometans, and have, or pretend to have, studied, with particular attention, the institutions of the prophet. In the art of chicanery they equal the most acute pleaders of civilized countries.

These people follow the laws of Mahomet, of which they are rigid observers: most of them neither drink wine nor spirits; and all fast with the utmost rigour during the maradan or lent. They breed no hogs, because their laws forbid the eating of their flesh; though they might sell them to great advantage. They are very affectionate amongst themselves, and always assist each other. It is not understood that they make slaves, as this punishment is only decreed by the king, and chiefly against the

great people who are guilty of crimes. In other respects they are more polished than the rest of the negroes; are of a mild character, sensible, and benevolent: all which qualities may be attributed to their love for commerce, and to the extensive travels in which they are continually engaged. The ease with which they cultivate their lands proves their industry; they are covered with palm, banyan, fig, and other useful trees. The people have but few horses, though the country is well adapted to breeding them; but they have a number of asses, which they use for travelling, and their territory abounds with wild buffalos.

The Mandingos are particularly industrious in making salt; which they do in a peculiar manner. They put river water in the halves of calabashes, or in shallow earthen pots, and expose it to the sun, the heat of which produces crystals of salt, the same as in ordinary pits: for the water is always much impregnated with the saline principle, as the sea mixes with it a considerable way up the river. In a short time after the calabashes have been exposed, a cream of fine white salt is formed on the surface, and this is taken off three or four times; after which the vessels are filled again. They have also very abundant salt-pits at Joal and Faquiou, and their produce forms an important branch of trade: they load their canoes with it; and ascending the river as far as Barraconda, they exchange it for maize, cotton stuffs, ivory, gold dust, &c.

The great number of canoes and men employed in this commerce gives great influence and respect to the king of Barra. Indeed, he is the most powerful and terrible of all the kings of the Gambia; he has imposed considerable duties on the ships of all nations, each of which, whatever may be its size, is obliged to pay on entering the river, a duty equal to about five hundred livres, or nearly 211. sterling. The governor of Gillifrie is charged with the receipt of these duties, and he is always attended by a number of persons who are very importunate: they are incessantly asking for whatever pleases their fancy, and pursue their demands with such ardour and perseverance, that to get rid of them the navigators are almost always obliged to satisfy their desires.

The Mandingos are above the middle size, are well made, robust, and capable of bearing great fatigue. The women are stout, active, and pretty. The clothes of both sexes are of cotton, which they manufacture themselves. The men wear drawers, which hang half way down the thigh, and an open tunic; similar to our surplice. They have sandals on their feet, and cotton caps on their heads. The women's dress consists of two pieces of linen six feet long and about three wide; the one is plaited round the loins, and falls down to the ankle, forming a

kind of petticoat; while the other negligently covers their bosom and shoulders.

Their habitations like those of all the other negroes, are small and inconvenient huts. A mud wall about four feet high, over which is a conical opening made of bamboos and straw, serves for the residence of the rich man, as well as of the humblest slave. The furniture is equally uncouth: their beds are made of a bundle of reeds placed on pickets two feet high, and covered with a mat or an ox's skin; a jar for water, a few earthen vessels for boiling their meat, with some wooden bowls, calabashes, and one or two stools, form the whole of their household goods.

All the Mandingos in a free state have several women; but they cannot marry two sisters. These women have each a hut; while all the hovels belonging to one master are surrounded by a lattice-work of bamboo made with much art: an assemblage of this kind is called *Sirk*, or *Sourk*. Several of these enclosures, separated by narrow paths, compose a town; but the huts are placed with much irregularity, and according to the caprice of the person to whom they belong. The only point to which they attend is to have the door in a south-westerly direction, that it may admit the sea-breezes.

In each town a spot is set apart for the assemblies of the old men; it is enclosed by interlaced reeds, and generally covered by trees which protect it from the sun. Here they discuss public affairs and try causes; the idle and profligate also resort hither to smoke their pipes and hear the news.

In several parts they have missourates or mosques, where they meet to say the prayers prescribed by the Koran.

The population of the free Madingos forms at the utmost, about one fourth of the inhabitants of the country which they occupy. The remaining three fourths are born in slavery, and have no hope of escaping from it: they are employed in all servile labours; but the free Mandingo has no right to take the life of his slave, nor to sell him to a foreigner, unless he has been publicly tried, and decreed to deserve such a punishment. The prisoners of war, those imprisoned for crimes or debt, and those who are taken from the centre of Africa and brought to the coast for sale, have no right to appeal, as their masters may treat and dispose of them according to their fancy.

Another part of the population of the kingdom of Barra, is composed of the descendants of the Portuguese families who remain in the country, and of whom we have already spoken. Such persons, or rather those who take the title of Portuguese (for all the Mulattos, and even men who are almost black, call themselves Portuguese, and to doubt their origin is an affront they do not pardon), profess the catholic religion, and have

churches and priests in different parts. They are recognized by their costume; they wear a great chaplet suspended from the neck, a very long sword by their side, a shirt, a cloak, a hat, and a poignard.

Some of these people devote themselves to commerce and agriculture, and are generally adroit, brave, and enterprising. They acquire property, live happily, and are much esteemed; but by far the greatest part live in the most complete state of idleness, and in consequence of being poor, addict themselves to thieving; they also pass their time in the most disgusting state of libertinism, and are equally despised by the Mahometans and the Christians.

The industrious part of these people proceed to the top of the river in the canoes or boats of the country, and generally perform such voyages on account of the French, who entrust them with merchandise, and pay them liberally. They have sometimes been attacked in their voyage, but they always proved that they knew how to defend their liberty and property. They have also learnt from their ancestors never to pardon wrongs nor injuries; and if this be not a precept of their religion, it is a command of their fathers which necessity justifies. I am of opinion that it is possible to employ with great advantage these men so inured to the climate, to travel over, and make discoveries in the interior of Africa.

The Portuguese build their habitations according to the plan of their ancestors, by which they are more solid and commodious than those of the Negroes: they raise them two or three feet above the soil to secure them from the damp, and give them a considerable length so as to divide each house into several chambers. The windows they make are very small, in order to keep out the excessive heat of the climate; and they never fail to build a vestibule open on all sides, in which they receive visits, take their meals, and transact their business. The walls are seven or eight feet high, and, as well as the roof, are of reeds covered on both sides with a mixture of clay and chopped straw: the whole is coated with plaister. They take care to plant latane or other trees before their houses, or to build them on a spot where such trees are growing, in order to enjoy the refreshing shade which they produce. The king of Barra and the greatest people of his kingdom have similar places of residence.

On the banks of the river Gambia may also be found three nations of Africans, namely, the Felups, Yolofs, and Foulahs. All these people are Mahometans, but they have retained the stupid, though innocent superstitions of their ancestors. The real Mahometans they call *Kafirs*, which means infidels.

The Felups are of an indolent, melancholy, and slovenly cha-

racter: they never pardon an injury, but transfer their hatred to their children as a sacred inheritance, so that a son must necessarily avenge the offence received by his father. At their festivals they drink a quantity of mead, and their drunkenness almost always produces quarrels: if on these occasions a man lose his life, his eldest son takes his sandals and wears them every year on the anniversary of his death, till he have had an opportunity to avenge it; and the murderer seldom escapes this determined resentment. The Felups, however, notwithstanding this ferocious and unruly disposition, have several good qualities; they are very grateful, have the greatest affection for their benefactors, and restore whatever is entrusted to their care, with the most scrupulous fidelity.

The Yolofs are active, powerful, and warlike; they inhabit a part of the vast territory which extends between the Senegal and that occupied by the Mandingos on the banks of the Gambia. I shall speak of them more fully in the description which I shall give of the Senegal, and in which I shall include some account of the different people who inhabit its banks.

The Foulahs have a complexion of a rather deep black colour, silky hair, and small and agreeable features; their manners are mild, and they love a pastoral and agricultural life. They are dispersed through several kingdoms on the coast of the river Gambia as shepherds and farmers; and they pay a tribute to the sovereign of the country which they cultivate. They are natives of the kingdom of Bondou, situated between the Gambia and the Senegal, near Bambouk: they leave their country in large bodies in search of distant territories, where they can extend their industry; and after making, what they conceive, a fortune, they return to enjoy the result of their labours.

To recur to the establishments which have been formed by Europeans on the river Gambia, it should be stated that the Portuguese replaced the French on that river, and that the former were succeeded by the English. They established themselves at a distance of fourteen leagues from its mouth, on a little isle not more than seventy or eighty fathoms in length, by forty or fifty in width. They built a tolerably strong fort flanked by three bastions, and constructed several redoubts on different parts of the isle; but in the war from 1688 to 1695, several attacks were made on this settlement by the French with various success, and which ended in a convention for a permanent neutrality between France and England in that part of the world. The possessions of the French were confirmed by the treaty of 1783; and at present, the only post which the French possess in the Gambia, is Albreda on the territories of the king of Barra, to whom they pay a duty of 810 livres. It is a possession at the

mouth of the river which will never be of any great importance, as nothing can be procured by it but what escapes the activity of the English, and that of course is little. The English have no fort in this quarter, nor does it appear that they have any intention of building one; they have, however, four factories without fortifications, one at Gillifrie, a little town on the northern bank, opposite St. Jaques; another at Vintain, on the southern bank, and about two leagues from Gillifrie; and two more, which will be subsequently mentioned.

The Felups, a savage and unsocial nation of whom I have spoken, carry to Vintain a great quantity of wax, which they collect in the woods: the honey is consumed amongst them, as they make it into an intoxicating drink, which bears a great resemblance to the mead of the Europeans. The country which they inhabit is very extensive, and produces a quantity of rice, with which they supply the persons who trade on the rivers Gambia and Casamança; they also sell them goats and poultry at a moderate price.

The third English factory is at Joukakonda, about six days' navigation from Vintain. This is a very mercantile town, and is entirely inhabited by Negroes and English.

The fourth is at Pisania, about sixteen miles above Joukakonda. It is a village built by the English in the states of the king of Gniagnia; it serves them for a factory, and is only inhabited by themselves and a few domestic Negroes; they here carry on a trade in slaves, ivory, and gold. This village is situated in an immense and peculiarly fertile plain, and is covered with wood. The cattle get very fat from the richness of the pasture, and the inhabitants raise them in great numbers; they also employ themselves in fishing, from which they derive much advantage, and have a number of well regulated gardens, in which they grow onions, potatoes, manioc, pistachios, pumpions, and other useful pulse. Near the towns they cultivate on a large scale, tobacco, indigo, and cotton. Their domestic animals are the same as in Europe: they have hogs which live in the woods, but whose flesh is by no means good; poultry of every kind, with the exception of turkies; and red partridges and Guinea-hens are abundant. The forests are filled with a small species of gazelle, whose flesh is perfectly good. The most common wild animals are the hyæna, the panther, the elephant, the tiger, and the lion. The ass is the only beast of burden which is used in this part of Africa. The art of employing animals in labours of the field is unknown, for every thing is done by hand. The principal aratory instrument is the hoe, whose form is different in every district. The free Negroes do not till the ground, as this labour is performed exclusively by the slaves.

The commerce is carried on by the Negro courtiers, who are

known by the name of the Slatées; these are free Negroes who possess considerable influence in the country, and whose principal employment consists in selling the slaves they procure from the centre of Africa. They likewise furnish the Negroes on the coast with native iron, odoriferous gums, incense, and schetoulou, or vegetable butter, which I shall afterwards have occasion to speak of; and take in exchange salt, which is a rare and valuable commodity in the interior.

The English are not established on the river Gambia farther up than Pisania; and here their trade is not very extensive, as their exports do not amount to more than 500,000 French francs, (about 20,000*l*.) The Americans have attempted to send some vessels to this quarter on commercial speculations.

The objects of trade here are the same as on the other parts of the coast, namely, gold, elephants' teeth, slaves, wax, millet, oxen, sheep, poultry, and other articles of subsistence. Slaves, however, form the principal object; but at present not above 1000 are annually purchased: they cost from 450 to 500 francs each, which is the ordinary price of a man of a healthy constitution, from sixteen to twenty-five years of age. The European merchandises given in exchange are, fire-arms, ammunition, iron work, spirituous liquors, tobacco, cotton caps, a small quantity of broad cloth, trinkets, India goods, glass-work, and other trifles.

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## CHAP V.

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COMMUNICATION BY LAND BETWEEN ALBREDIA AND CACHAUX.—DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY.—MANNERS, CUSTOMS, AND RELIGION OF ITS INHABITANTS.—ARTS.—EXTRAORDINARY SPANIARD.—DIFFERENT VILLAGES, &c.

**N**OTWITHSTANDING the difficulties which the factory of Albredia had to encounter from the operations of the English established up the river, it nevertheless acquired a degree of importance from the industry of the persons employed in it. They formed connections with the villages situated along the rivers that emptied themselves into the Gambia, and extended their views as far as Cachaux, the principal establishment of the Portuguese at the river of St. Domingo, with which they opened a communication by land.

They first arrived at the river of Bintan, the mouth of which is on the left bank of the Gambia, about a league above the old fort of the English. Vessels enter it without fear of grounding, at any season of the year, though they generally profit by spring

tides ; and when these fail, they use the oar or are towed. The banks of this river are very agreeable, as they are to the right lined with hills that are covered with large trees, while the left contains extensive and beautiful meadows.

The village of Bintan, which is the ordinary residence of the emperor of Poigny, was formerly of more importance than it is at present ; it is situated to the right of the river, on the declivity of a hill, and covered with fine trees, which protect it from the sun. Almost all its houses are built in the Portuguese style. The French have a factory in it, as have the English ; and both parties live in an amicable manner under the protection of the emperor. When, however, any difficulties arise between them, this prince never fails to assist the side that is the weakest.

The population of the Portuguese at Bintan is considerable ; they live at their ease ; their houses are large, good, and well-furnished, and they have a decent church. The Negro inhabitants of this part are the Félups ; they speak a language peculiar to themselves, and are idolaters. Those who live up the country or at a distance from the Europeans, are almost savages : they hunt other Negroes that pass through their territories ; but they respect the Whites, and make it a rule never to offer them the slightest insult. Those of Bintan or its environs who are occupied in commerce, are gentle, frank, and civilized ; they like strangers, are always ready to render them service, and are candid and honest in their commercial dealings.

About seven leagues from Bintan is the village of Gereges. The French and English formerly had factories here, but they are now abandoned : the Portuguese have, however, established themselves in this village in great numbers. The country is intersected by a number of little rivers ; and journeys as well as commerce are here performed by water. The king of this little state resides about a quarter of a league from Gereges ; his houses, and those of his women, officers, and slaves, form a large village, which is built without order or regularity on a level soil well covered with trees. The houses are surrounded by several palisades formed of large piles, ten or twelve feet high, and each door is, according to custom, very low and narrow.

The subjects of this prince are reputed brave, and adroit in the use of arms. The English have more than once experienced the effects of their skill, particularly on an occasion which I shall describe. They had some misunderstanding with the alquier of Gereges and the officers of the king. The English complained to the prince and asserted, that as he had not done them justice, they would do it to themselves. With this view they armed and manned the largest vessel which had entered the river, and seemed by their preparations as if they intended to land and ravage the

country, as they came to anchor opposite the village. The prince, far from being alarmed at this expedition, assembled his troops, and dispersed them in ambush along the river; when, as soon as the English begun the attack, the Negroes opened, and kept up for several hours such a rapid fire of musquetry, that several of the enemy were killed and wounded, and their intentions rendered abortive.

The king commanded in person, and when he saw that the English could no longer appear above deck, he ordered his troops to cease firing, and ranged them towards the shore in a threatening position. The result was, that the English were obliged to weigh anchor and let their vessel drop down with the tide. An accommodation was then set on foot, which the English purchased dearly.

Besides the Portuguese, two nations, who differ in their manner and language, inhabit this state: they are the Felups and the Bagnons, or Banions. The character of the former I have already explained; for they are the same here as in the empire of Foigni. The Bagnons are of a mild and gentle disposition, and are attached to a commercial intercourse with foreigners; they are also brave and industrious. The women are mild, economical, and much attached to their husbands and children; perhaps indeed, the world does not contain more industrious females, as they voluntarily devote themselves to labour from their youth.

The king of Gereges and his negro subjects are idolaters.

Pasqua, a large village of the Bagnons is next to, and about ten leagues distant from Gereges. This journey is commonly performed by land and without danger. The country is well cultivated, and those lands which are capable of inundation produce rice, while the other parts afford millet and all kinds of peas: they also grow immense quantities of gourds and water-melons.

The oxen of this country are excellent and uncommonly large, probably in consequence of the pastures being abundantly rich in fine and tender grass; the sheep, however, are not so good, as they are very fat, and their flesh has a strong taste. Poultry, on the contrary, succeeds well, and is very fine.

All the houses are sheltered from the excessive heat of the sun by large trees called cheese trees, which are always in leaf while their branches are susceptible of any direction.

This country abounds in bats, which are generally as large as pigeons: their wings are very long, and are furnished with five or six pointed hooks, by means of which they fix themselves together from the branches of trees, and hang down like large parcels of any thing thrown over the boughs. Of all volant animals, this is the only one which has milk to nourish its young; it is eaten by the Negroes. On the road to this village there

may be observed a kind of round pyramids of earth, some of which are about seven feet high: they resemble the monuments raised to the memory of the great men of the country; but they are in fact the buildings of ants, and are as firm and compact as if they were formed of mortar. On breaking them, a multitude of ants fiercely issue out, and endeavour to punish the disturbers of their repose. These ants are whitish, and about the size of a barley-corn: their nests have only a single aperture at about one third of its height; and the ants attain it by means of a path, which runs round the pyramid from the bottom to the entrance.

Pasqua, which means the tree or pavilion of the king, is a village not remarkable for the number of its inhabitants, as its population does not exceed 300 persons, including the Portuguese, who are about one fourth of the number; but it is important on account of its political distinction. The king keeps in it a garrison of 100 infantry to awe the neighbouring states, and protect the Bagnons from the enterprizes of the savage Felups. This garrison is charged with exacting the tribute imposed by the kings, and with punishing the vagabonds. The village is surrounded by six rows of pallisades, comparatively fastened together by six traverse beams, and they are kept in good repair: it is situated on the bank of a little river called St. Grigou, but which is in several maps called Pasqua. This river is not wide, but is very deep, and contains plenty of fish, though crocodiles abound in it, and destroy immense numbers: its banks are fertile and agreeable.

About a league from Pasqua, and on the bank of the same river, a Spaniard from the isle of Cuba, called Don Juan Maldonado, had taken up his residence in a charming house, all the environs of which were delightful. The land which was not in tillage, formed vast meadows interspersed with bowers of palm and other trees, which presented a most charming appearance.

The house of this Spaniard was large and convenient, was surrounded by eight or ten huts occupied by his slaves, and the whole was enclosed by a quadruple wall of piles, the innermost of which was ten feet high, well terraced, and supported by two raised ways, with four platforms, each of which contained two pieces of cannon. Don Juan lived peaceably in his fortress, and was esteemed and respected by his neighbours: he was rich and did much good, but he had no wife.

At this residence travellers were cordially received and feasted. The people of the country do not agree with respect to this extraordinary man; some say that he left several children, heirs to his virtues and solitude. He lived in the most intimate way with several Negresses, without being attached to any one of them by the ties of marriage. Others assert, that he had no children; that the king inherited his property, and that he left his ordinary residence to return to Spain.

The Negroes of this country are husbandmen, and they perform their operations in cadence with the sound of drums: the spades which they use, are made of wood, shod with a small rib of iron; this serves them to root up weeds, open the ground, and cover the seeds which they sow.

From the residence of Maldonado to James's village, is about three days journey, a distance which is greeably performed by land. At this village, a greater quantity of wax is procured than at any other part of the province: the Portuguese alone buy here more than 500 cwt. every year. A market is held in it twice a week, whither the Negroes of the environs bring the wax for sale; the Portuguese buy it by wholesale, melt, and purify it, form it into cakes, and send it to Cachaux, where the magazines are established; from hence they ship it on their own account, or sell it to European merchants who send in quest of it.

The native inhabitants of James are Feloups and idolaters: they are adroit and civilized; and their manners are softened by their commerce and connections with foreigners. They acknowledge no sovereign, but live under the pacific republican government of their elders; their lands are rich and well cultivated, though they have no other agricultural implements than wooden spades, shod with iron, and having long handles.

With respect to the country, it is impossible for one to be more agreeable; it abounds in palm and other large trees. The Portuguese live here in easy circumstances, and have handsome and convenient houses. It is remarkable that the mosquitoes are more numerous here than in any other part of Africa; they consequently are a great inconvenience to the inhabitants.

The river of Casamanga is about a league distant from this village; it empties itself into the sea, to the north of the river St. Domingo; its water is deep enough to bear large ships; but there is a bar at its mouth which is very difficult and dangerous to pass, as it can only be cleared by canoes or small craft, and never without danger. Both banks of this river are inhabited by savage and cruel Felups, who will not hold any communication with the whites, and are always at war with their neighbours. Their country is interspersed with rivers, or rather with torrents, which proceed from a lake that is formed by the heavy rains, but which is dry in the fine season. At the rainy period the whole country resembles a vast marsh.

A few leagues up this river, is the village of Guinguin: it is inhabited by the Portuguese, who carry on a considerable commerce in wax; for this privilege they pay a duty to the king, and are as much masters in his states as he is himself. This prince and all his subjects are idolaters, and speak a peculiar language. The soil of this district is flat and very rich. Apes are uncommonly

numerous in this part, and commit shocking ravages; but they are themselves grievously tormented by the bees, with which the country is covered.

The next Portuguese colony is Cachaux; it lies near the river of St. Domingo, about twenty leagues from its mouth. This establishment is in the territory of the tribe called Papels, an idolatrous people, whose principal god is a little statue, which they call *Chine*, and to which they sacrifice dogs. These Negroes are of an intrepid character, but they are treacherous, cruel, and vindictive; they are almost always at war with their neighbours, and even with the Portuguese, who, to secure themselves against their incursions, have surrounded their town on the land side with a strong pallisade, supported by some batteries, at which they always mount guard to prevent being surprised. Their houses consist only of a ground floor, but they are large and convenient; they are covered during the rainy season with the leaves of the latane tree, and the rest of the year with sail-cloth, which secures them from the operation of the sun, or of moisture. This change of covering is indispensable, because in the dry season the leaves would take fire, while the sail-cloth would not keep out the rain. They have a church, the duty of which is performed by a curate and a few priests; and there is likewise a convent inhabited by two or three Capuchins. All the Portuguese catholics and their priests are spiritually dependent on the bishop of St. Jago, one of the Cape de Verd islands. The Papels or natives have a part of the town to themselves, which they exclusively occupy: though they remain idolaters, they have adopted nearly all the customs of the Portuguese. Outside of the pallisades nothing is to be seen but swamps and fields of rice, the produce of which is not equal to the consumption. Oxen and cows are very scarce and dear in this part, and there are neither sheep, hogs, goats, nor poultry, though they might be bred with great facility. The town is not supplied with water, so that the inhabitants are obliged to fetch it from the distance of a musquet-shot from the pallisades, and almost always with an escort, to prevent their slaves from being killed or carried off.

The political, civil, and military government, rests with a governor; who is called a captain-major; he has under him a lieutenant, an ensign, and an aid-de-camp, as well as a receiver of the duties, a notary, and a few serjeants who act as clerks. The garrison contains thirty European soldiers, who are changed every three years; it is generally composed of men who are sentenced to banishment, and who are absolved on their return; they are obliged to work for their subsistence, as they have scarcely any allowance. The inhabitants form a sort of militia,

who do the duty of the place and maintain order: nevertheless it is dangerous to go out at night; and the players on the guitar are often the victims of their nocturnal perambulations.

Nearly all the Portuguese in Africa are of mixed blood, that is, mulattoes; but they are so black, that it requires a good knowledge of colours to distinguish them from Negroes.

These people take credit to themselves for being jealous, and carrying that passion to excess: they keep their women extremely close, and the white ones in particular are never allowed to go out in the day time, not even to mass. The women of colour have rather more liberty; they go out in the day time, but they are wrapt up in such a manner, that nothing can be seen but their toes and one of their eyes. At visits, the women are never seen nor even spoken of; for to enquire after a lady's health, is the greatest injury that can be done to the Portuguese in Africa.

The daughters of the Papels, and indeed all the girls who are slaves, are more lucky; they are not watched so closely, but are allowed to work in the houses, and go out to market, or wherever their business calls them: they go almost naked, having only before them a little apron about a foot long, and six or seven inches wide, with belts of different coloured beads, earrings, and fringe round their loins. When they are married, they wear a piece of cotton cloth, which covers them from the waist to the calf of the leg.

The Portuguese of Cachaux, and all those of Africa, eat meat only once a day, which is at dinner time; in the evening they eat fish and vegetables, both of which they procure in abundance, and almost for nothing. They begin every meal with fruit, of which they have plenty which grows naturally, as well as of the kinds which require a little care to cultivate.

Their commerce is carried on by barter; for gold and silver are not current. The articles of exportation are, slaves, wax, ivory; and gold from the mines of the interior; those of importation consist of wine, brandy, wheat, flour, iron, glass, copper utensils, arms, powder, lead, gun-flints, cottons, shoes, hats, silks, combs, hardware, mirrors, &c. In this traffic the Portuguese employ three or four vessels per year, which come to them from Lisbon; but the principal part of the commerce is carried on by foreigners.

At this settlements are the finest trees in Africa, whether for their size, height, or the value of their timber. It is not rare to find a single tree, which will make a canoe large enough to carry ten tons burthen, and twenty or thirty men.

The Papels naturally like the sea, and are good sailors; the Portuguese employ them in all their expeditions. Although some change may have taken place in the Portuguese settlements

since I resided in Africa, yet that naturalized nation exists on the same spot, and has lost none of its customs,

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## CHAP. VI.

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OF THE ISLES OF THE BISSAGOS AND THEIR INHABITANTS.  
 —RECEPTION OF M. BRUE ON THE ISE OF CAZÉGUT.—  
 ACCOUNT OF A PIRATICAL EXPEDITION.—COSTUME OF  
 THE PEOPLE OF CAZÉGUT.—PRECAUTIONS TO BE TAKEN  
 ON TRADING WITH SEVERAL OF THE ISLANDS.—SANGUINARY AND TREACHEROUS CHARACTER OF THE  
 PEOPLE.

ON passing the mouth of the rivers of Casamansa and St. Domingó, you meet between Capes Rouge and Verga, with a large deep gulph, in which are several isles of various sizes, and inhabited by different tribes. You first observe the archipelago of the Bissagos, which takes its name from the people who inhabit its islands.

The French after discovering these spots, abandoned them on account of their wars in Europe. The Portuguese who inhabited the isles of Cape Verd, succeeded them, but were too weak to maintain the possession. The descendants of the first colonists, who are confounded with the aborigines, still live there in a humiliating and precarious condition; notwithstanding which, they pretend to be sovereigns of those isles, and have at different periods built several villages and forts; but the French have paid little respect to their pretended rights, and have established factories wherever they pleased.

The Bissago isles are about eighteen or twenty in number; the most considerable are Casnahac, Galline, Cazégut, Carache, Aranguena, Papaguaye or Parrots' isle, Formosa, Babachoea, Bisague, Ouarangue, Jatte, Bussi, Bourbon, Bissaux, Bulam, and a few others which are less known, because they are less frequented. Of those which I have specified, the last two are the most important.

The archipelago of the Bissagos is nearly fifty leagues in length, by an unequal width. The isles are enclosed by a large chain of rocks, between which and the isles of Jatte, Bussi, Bissaux, and Bulam, which are near to the continent, is a canal three or four leagues wide, and in no part less than one league: it generally contains from eight to twelve fathoms of water, with a muddy bottom. There are several natural harbours in these islands, which contain all the materials necessary for forming establishments.

Each of these isles is governed by a chief, who assumes the title and authority of a king; these petty princes are independent

of each other, and sometimes make war amongst themselves, but they more frequently unite against the Biafares, who are their greatest enemies, and whom they have expelled from Bulam. They have canoes large enough to carry from twenty-five to thirty men with their arms, which are sabres and darts.

The Bissagos are large, strong, and robust people, though they feed only upon shell and other fish, palm-oil, and the nuts of the palm-tree; they sell to Europeans the millet, rice, and other vegetables which they produce. They have an extreme liking for brandy, which they drink in great quantities, and which is sold to them at a high price; indeed their propensity for this liquor is so great, that it renders them furious and unnatural. As soon as a vessel appears for the purpose of selling that article, they always quarrel amongst themselves about who shall obtain the greatest quantity, and be first served. The weakest on these occasions become the prey of the most powerful. The father sells his children; and if the son can seize his father and mother, he conducts them to the Europeans, and barter them for brandy; he then gets drunk, and continues so as long as the quantity will last, at which his relatives have been valued.

All these people are idolaters, and naturally cruel. They cut off the heads of the men they kill, drag their bodies through the streets, scalp them, dry the skins with the hair on, and ornament their houses with them as a proof of their bravery and victories. Their envious character renders suicide very frequent amongst them; the least chagrin induces them to turn their rage against their own persons. They hang themselves, jump from precipices, and throw themselves into the sea, while the most brave amongst them terminate their existence with the poniard.

Besides these general characters, there are distinctive traits amongst the inhabitants of the different isles: that of Formosa; the most eastern of the whole, is planted with the finest trees, which they consider as the residence of gods. They give a delightful aspect to the island, which, however, is uninhabited:

The isle of Galline and that of Casnabae, are at the head of the bank: they are populous and fertile; their shores abound in fish, and they contain plenty of fresh water. Nothing is wanting amongst the inhabitants, but an industrious disposition, to render them a social race. The isles in general are very fertile, and capable of supporting large colonies.

The isle of Cazégut is one of the most extensive, being six leagues long by two wide: it is surrounded by banks and shoals, except at its N. E. and S. W. points, where vessels can anchor in perfect safety. It abounds in fruit and timber trees, as well as in rice, pumpkins, peas, and every species of culinary vegetables. The Negroes are idolaters, and sacrifice cocks to their

divinity; in other respects, they are very sociable and honest in their dealings. The trade which they carry on with the Europeans has refined their manners; and they have learned from the Portuguese the manner of building large and convenient houses.

M. Brue visited this island, and received on board his ship the greatest person belonging to it, except the king, to whom he was a near relation: this prince, accompanied by only two Negroes, came with great confidence on board the French frigate: he had only a piece of cotton round his loins, and a hat on his head; while his hair, which was almost red, was greased with palm oil. He saluted M. Brue very civilly, took off his hat to him, and said, through his interpreter, that the island was at his disposal. While they were in conversation with this prince, and were making him drink brandy, a canoe arrived from the island, having on board five men. One of the Negroes came on board holding a cock in his left hand and a knife in his right: he fell on his knees before M. Brue, then rose, and turning to the east, cut his cock's throat; he then went upon his knees again, and scattered a few drops of the animal's blood at M. Brue's feet. He performed the same ceremony at the masts and at the pump, and then presented the cock to the French general: the latter wished to inform himself of the object of these ceremonies, and was told by the Negro, that the wise men of his country considered the whites as the gods of the sea, and that the mast was a divinity which caused the vessel to walk; while the pump was a miracle which made water rise, whose nature it was to fall down. These Negroes retired on the approach of night; and M. Brue promised the prince that he would visit him next morning.

He went according to his appointment, when the Negro prince received him on the shore, gave him his hand, and led him to his house, which was about 300 paces from the sea: it was large, built in the Portuguese style, and white-washed within and without; it had an open vestibule at the entrance, was surrounded with large palm-trees, and had convenient articles of furniture, including very neat chairs and stools of black wood. After offering M. Brue refreshments and palm wine, he led him to another building, about fifty paces farther: this was a chapel, with an altar and benches, and a bell was attached to a tree before the door. The prince ordered it to be rung, and said to M. Brue, who was singularly astonished at what he saw, that he had built this church himself for the use of the Christians who might wish to settle near him; that he was no Christian, but that he loved them; and that if some priest would come and live with him, he would let him want for nothing. M. Brue promised that he

would send him a priest and some Frenchmen to live on the isle under his protection.

The king resided about a quarter of a league from this spot, and M. Brue was presented to him by the Negro prince, who received him in a gracious manner. He was a good looking old man, with a grey beard and white hair; he had lively eyes, a handsome mouth, and a majestic air. His cloathing consisted only of a piece of cotton and a hat, which he took off to salute M. Brue; he then offered him the land which he desired, to form an establishment, and promised to protect him against all enemies. He added, "I have forgotten all that has passed between one of my predecessors and a French pirate; because faults are personal, and vengeance should not be extended to those who are innocent."

The following were the circumstances to which the Negro king alluded. In 1687, a Frenchman named Delafond, stopped at the island to barter some goods, and had reason to complain of the inhabitants, who stole some of his property. While he was thinking how he should revenge himself, a French ship of war arrived; and he proposed to the commander to conquer and pillage the island of Cazégut. The attack was resolved on, and 200 men were landed, who carried every thing before them. The king of the island at that time was invested and burnt in his huts; while his subjects flew to the woods and mountains; so that only ten or twelve were taken out of 2000 or 3000, who formed the pulation of the island.

This unfortunate and cruel expedition did not, however, interrupt the commerce of the French. Delafond had recourse to so many artifices, that he persuaded the principal people of the island, that he had taken no part in the attack, but that the death of the king, and the desolation with which it had been attended, were caused by a chief of pirates, on whom all the crime of the expedition was at length thrown.

The king having promised to forget this outrage, M. Brue felt inclined to accept his offers, and made him presents, which he much admired; amongst which were two casks of brandy.

The king's house was neither so fine nor so well furnished as that of his relative; but it had some chairs and tables. The king invited M. Brue and his suite to dinner, and gave them venison, beef, and mutton, tolerably well prepared. They drank very good palm wine; and after dinner they smoked and drank brandy, on which occasion the king caused M. Brue to smoke out of his own pipe. This was really a royal instrument, both with respect to its length and capacity; the tunnel was five feet long, and the bowl large enough to hold a quarter of a pound of tobacco; it was well ornamented outside.

The king presented two cocks to M. Brue. In this country, such a present is the most distinguished that can be made; as it is a sort of sacrifice in favour of the person who receives it. Soon afterwards the French officer left the island to visit Bussi, of which I shall have occasion to speak.

The women and girls of Cazégut wear no covering, but a sort of belt in the form of fringe, which is extremely thick, and made of rushes; it surrounds their loins, and reaches down to their knees. The rest of the body is generally naked, except when the wind blows from the N. E. at which time the cold, to which they are very sensible, obliges them to put a similar covering round their neck; this defends their arms, and falls down to the belt, in the shape of a cone. Some of them wear a third belt round the head, and which falls over their shoulders. They ornament themselves with bracelets of copper and tin, which they put on their arms and legs; and they always rub their hair with palm-oil, to make it red, fat, and soft, which with them is the highest degree of elegance.

In general, both the men and women are of a good size, and well shaped; their skin is of so fine a black, that it seems like polished marble. The features of their face are agreeable; they have neither the thick lips, nor pug nose, which seems the characteristic of the Africans; and they possess a degree of wit and address which would render them skilful in the arts, if they were less idle, and if their happy disposition could be cultivated. Their character, which is naturally proud, renders slavery insupportable to them, particularly out of their own country; and there is nothing which they will not undertake to rid themselves of it; when therefore they are embarked as slaves, too much precaution cannot be taken to prevent them from revolting; for when that happens, the women are as terrible as the men. If the Whites neglect the slightest means of security, they know how to profit by it: they murder them, seize the vessel, and make towards the coast, where they generally run the ship aground, and then save themselves by swimming.

The isle of Jatte is not more than ten leagues long. Its reduction would not be difficult; and it is asserted to be one of the most agreeable of the Bissagos.

The isle of Bussi is to the west of that of the Bissaux, from which it is separated by a large and deep channel. The entrance on the south side is dangerous, on account of shoals which cover a good part of its width. It is almost as large as that of the Bissaux, abounds in fine trees, and contains many rivulets, which run into the sea. The inhabitants are Papels; but, as they have not been civilized by commerce, they are wicked, treacherous, and addicted to thieving. The interior of the island is unknown.





*Dresses of the Negroes of Senegal at Cape Verd .*



because voyagers have not a sufficient opinion of the inhabitants to expose themselves in going over it; and even in procuring from them provisions and refreshments, it is necessary to secure oneself from insult. This isle has two ports or roadsteads, in which ships can anchor and be secure from the sea winds. The old port is to the north, and the new one is to the south.

To the north of the isle of Bussi, and on the other side of the canal on the main land, is a tract of country ten or twelve leagues long, which is inhabited by Negroes, who are called *Balantes*, and who are remarkable for holding no intercourse whatever with their neighbours, either on the continent or the isles. They allow no one to enter their country, never give their daughters in marriage to the other Negroes, and very seldom allow their sons to unite themselves to foreign women. They are idolators; their government is a sort of republic, administered by the elders of each canton, who form a council. They have slaves; but the free Negroes never attempt each other's liberty. In other respects they are wicked, cruel, and all of them thieves. Their arms are saguayes, arrows, and sabres.

In their battles these negroes are daring, rash, and furious: they respect no flag; and all nations have occasionally been insulted by them. Notwithstanding they are often victorious, yet they are more frequently defeated; but their natural ferocity is always the same. They never abandon their piracies; and thus the navigation, near their territories, is always attended with danger.

These people are tolerably industrious; at least we judge so from the appearance of their country, as we pass along the coast. They traffic by carrying to their neighbours, and even to foreigners who enter their roads, rice, millet, culinary vegetables, oxen, goats, poultry, and particularly gold. The quantity of these different articles which they annually bring from their country, is a sufficient proof of its fertility. It is a generally received opinion, that the gold which the Balantes sell, is obtained from mines in the interior of the country which they occupy; and that this is the reason why they refuse to let any person enter it: they are aware that this precious metal excites the envy of the Europeans, and that they would expose themselves to expulsion or slavery, if they were to admit those nations amongst them. They pay a tribute in gold to the king of Casamanga, and sometimes give this metal for such merchandise as pleases them, or for which they have great occasion. An analysis has been made of this gold, and of that from Galam, the result of which has proved the former far superior to the latter; and even to that of all the countries to the eastward. Several circumstances contribute to strengthen the opinion, that the country of the Balantes contains

gold-mines ; and it is not impossible for an European nation to possess them by the means of address or of force ; but the former should be employed in preference.

The Portuguese, in 1696, united to their forces 300 Bissaux Negroes, and undertook an expedition against the Balantes : they effected a landing without opposition, but the time was not propitious, as they began their operations in the rainy season ; and at the time of the action their arms and ammunition got wet, and were rendered unserviceable. In this disaster, which they ought to have foreseen, they were attacked by the Balantes, and pursued with a fury peculiar to people who fight for every thing which they hold dear : they were, therefore, completely defeated and obliged precipitately to re-embark, leaving the field strewn with their Negroes and their own people ; while all their ammunition and baggage fell into the hands of the enemy, who have ever since been far more insolent.

Several Europeans who have since had the imprudence to land amongst these Negroes for commercial purposes, have been plundered and assassinated : it is, therefore, found to be more wise to trade with them without quitting one's boats, and to be cautious that the tide does not leave them aground ; for, on such occasions, which have often happened, these people without caring for the numbers which they may lose, attack the Europeans with singular fury, so that it is impossible to resist them.

When such accidents as have just been alluded to are foreseen and provided against, the merchants inform the Negroes of their arrival by the discharge of a cannon, on which they come down to the shore, and the king is almost always at their head. The interpreter then lands with specimens of the merchandise, and a bottle of brandy for the king, or the greatest personage present : the canoe which conveys him ought to be well armed ; and immediately after landing him, it should return to the vessel. These people always receive a master of languages with proper respect. Presents follow their mutual compliments, and they then agree about the slaves, ivory, &c. He at length returns to the shore ; a signal is made for the canoe, and he re-embarks, observing the same precautions as on landing.

The slaves and other merchandise, are conveyed on board the European ships by the canoes of the country. As soon as they approach, the whole crews of the vessels take up arms, the guns are primed, and the matches lighted ; the canoes come along side one at a time, and only a very few Negroes are suffered to board at the same time : if they disobey these orders, they are fired on without hesitation : otherwise they would not fail to possess themselves of the ship, and murder all the people it might contain. On such an occasion, the Europeans cannot be too alert ;

for if they shew either weakness or pity, they are lost. Not only the captain, but none of the crew ought ever to go on shore, for they would thereby rashly expose themselves to slavery or loss of life ; and in the former case their ransom would cost more than the entire cargo of the ship.

About twenty-eight years ago, a French vessel arrived at the Bissagos for the purpose of trading ; but running aground off one of the isles, part of the crew were massacred, and the rest made slaves. Amongst the latter, was a man named Constantine, whom M. de Lajaille, who was employed to reconnoitre this archipelago, found at the Bissaux in 1785, and from whom he received some particulars of the country.

On the 31st December, in that year, M. de Lajaille cast anchor before the isle of Jatte, and disembarked in his canoe, followed by four armed boats ; he first met with five or six negroes who were watching cattle on the strand. Soon afterwards about 100 unarmed inhabitants came forward, and advancing to M. de Lajaille, several of them took hold of his hand as a token of friendship. They were followed by a much greater number of the islanders who were not perceived by the crew, and who issued out from the bushes. They suddenly attacked him, seized him by the body and limbs, and endeavoured to confine him ; but being a powerful man, he disengaged himself, and the boats, by firing amongst the assailants, favoured his re-embarkation. M. de Carbonneau, however, who came to his assistance, was wounded by a musket and a sabre ; in consequence of which he died six days after. These events afford a recent proof of the ferocious character of the people who inhabit several of the islands in this archipelago, and of the contempt in which they ought to be held. Notwithstanding all these difficulties, and the risks with which they are attended, we do not hesitate to trade with them ; and in exchange for slaves, ivory, wax, gold, and other articles, which they procure for us, we bring them yellow amber, baize, and serges made to imitate cloth, or dyed of two different colours, one on each side. We also convey to them a quantity of brandy, bells, red and yellow woollens, linen, glass work, fowling-pieces, powder, &c. This commerce, however, is very confined ; but it might be carried on to a great extent if a number of ships were to proceed together on such a speculation.

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## CHAP. VII.

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OF THE BISSAUX ISLAND, ITS DISCOVERY, ESTABLISHMENTS, PRODUCTIONS, &c.--RELIGION, MANNERS, AND CUSTOMS OF THE INHABITANTS.—OF THE PEOPLE OF THE BISSAGOS.—THEIR TREACHERY TOWARDS EUROPEANS WHO TRADE WITH THEM; AND CAUTIONS TO NAVIGATORS, WHO ATTEMPT ANY INTERCOURSE WITH THEM.—FERTILITY OF THE BISSAUX.—PRIVILEGES OF THE KING OF THAT ISLAND.—HIS CURIOUS METHOD OF PUBLISHING HIS ORDERS.—MANNER OF TAKING CAPTIVES.—CEREMONY AT THE DEATH OF THE SOVEREIGN.

THE isle of the Bissaux, which is situated E. and W. of cape Rouge, between 17 deg. 28 min. long., and 11 deg. 16 min. lat. at its south point, was discovered by the Normans in their early expeditions, who establish themselves upon it and traded with the natives. The decline of their affairs at length obliged them to abandon this establishment, and the Portuguese took possession of it; they derived great advantages from this island, though they had but a few ships which traded with it, and these only came at long intervals. But the advantageous position of this establishment in the centre of the great number of fertile and populous islands, containing large navigable rivers, which were capable of affording an easy communication with the interior parts of them, and a knowledge of what it had formerly produced, and which was annually at least four hundred negroes, five hundred quintals of wax, and three or four hundred quintals of ivory, induced M. Brue, who in 1697 was governor-general at Senegal, to re-establish the French factory.

M. Castaing, who was employed under him, was selected to execute this project: he repaired to the island with a good assortment of merchandise, and was well received by the king of the country, who granted him some huts in which he took up his residence with his escort. He succeeded to great advantage in the trade which he carried on; but having lost many of his people, and those who remained with him being dangerously ill, he returned to Senegal in 1699, and complained to the governor, that the Portuguese, who remained in the island, had compelled him to pay them ten per cent on his articles of trade,

M. Brue in consequence resolved to go himself to the island with forces capable of overawing both the Portuguese and the negroes; and in March 1700, he came to anchor before the Portuguese fort, at the point of Bernafel with seven ships of war. The Portuguese governor wished to prevent the French from landing; but the menacing attitudes of the French vessels, soon induced him to come to an understanding with them; and M. Brue demanded an audience of the king of the island, which was granted him. The king received him in the most humble manner, and sacrificed an ox to him, dipping his fingers in the blood, and touching with them the hand of M. Brue, a ceremony, which amongst these people is considered as a mark of eternal alliance. The result was, that he gave him leave to establish a factory or houses in any part of his dominions, and even offered to accommodate him with his own places of residence till the French establishments should be built.

Thus the French regained their footing upon the Bissaux; and M. Brue, after leaving a guard, a factor, and other officers on the island, returned to Goree and Senegal in April 1700.

The isle of the Bissaux is from thirty-five to forty leagues in circumference: its appearance is agreeable, and its soil rises insensibly as far as the centre, where summits of mountains are found which are level, and from which issue several springs that fertilize the country. The ground is throughout planted with trees which form the most delightful and refreshing arbours; and we everywhere meet with orange-trees of a size and height, which are truly astonishing, as well as lemon-trees, cheese-trees, and banians. The soil is deep, fat, and extremely fertile; it produces abundance of rice, and two kinds of millet, the straw of which receives so much nutriment, that it resembles young trees. They also have good harvests of a small grain similar to the millet, which is uncommonly white, and with the flower of which they make a thick soup or porridge, which the negroes eat, after dissolving in it a quantity of butter or fat. The Portuguese have planted manioc in these parts, which grows well and affords excellent flour. The Negroes, who are naturally idle, eat it after roasting it on their embers. Palm-wine is the general drink in this country. Oxen here are of an uncommonly large size, and the cows as well as short-legged goats are very fat, and give abundance of milk. There are, however, neither sheep, hogs, nor horses: the labours of the last mentioned animals are performed by the cows, who carry easily, and naturally go at a jog-trot. A hole is made in the cartilage of the nostrils, through which a cord is passed, and this serves for a bridle, by which they are governed without trouble.

With the exception of the European establishments, we nowhere see a collection of houses so considerable as to deserve the name of a town, burgh or village, though the last appellation might be given to the palace of the king, which M. Brue saw when he visited that prince, and which was about three quarters of a league from the Portuguese fort.

This palace is formed within a wall made of straw so compact, that it appears at a distance like an enclosure of stone; at the door is a guard of twenty-five or thirty soldiers armed with sabres, bows and arrows. On entering, you first observe a kind of labyrinth of banian-trees with tolerably neat huts, which form the residence of the king's women, children, domestics and slaves. In the centre is a large court entirely shaded by a single orange-tree, which is so thick, and its foliage so compact and extensive, that it forms a sort of roof-work. The huts which belong exclusively to the king surround this court, and their number, together with those which are in the parts already mentioned, and the extent of the ground on which they are built, present the appearance of a village enclosed within a wall.

When this king has an interview with Europeans, he is generally clothed in the dresses which he has obtained from them; but on other occasions he, as well as his subjects, appears in no other dress than a piece of cotton which goes round his loins and hangs down to his knees. The costume of the women consists of a simple piece of cotton which covers them from the waist downwards, and they wear ornaments, such as collars and bracelets of beads and coral. The girls go entirely naked, and several of them have their bodies tattooed with flowers and different figures; but as soon as they are married they take to the cotton. The king's daughters appear in the same manner as those of his subjects.

The king of the Bissaux and all his people are idolators; but so extravagant is their religion, that it is impossible to give an idea of it. Their principal idol is a small figure, which they call *Chine*; but it is difficult to know who he is, whence he comes, or what he is good for? This deity however is not exclusively adored: for every individual adopts for his god whatever his imagination presents to him. They have consecrated trees to which they make sacrifices, and which they consider either as gods of, or as the residence of divinities: the animals sacrificed are dogs, cocks, and oxen, which they take great care in fattening. After these sacrifices, they cut the victim to pieces, and the king with his attendants, as well as others who are present, take a portion and eat it, leaving the gods nothing but

the horns, which are hung on the branches of the trees, and left there till they drop by corruption or decay. They never undertake any important affair without consulting these deities.

The isle of the Bissaux is divided into nine provinces, eight of which are governed by officers who are appointed by the king, and who themselves afterwards take this title in order to give that of emperor to their sovereign. This prince when he issues orders or makes known his will, uses a wooden instrument which is called *bombalon*, and which is much like a ship's trumpet, only longer and bigger: by striking it outside with a mallet of hard wood, it produces a sound which is heard at a tolerable distance; and men being stationed with similar instruments, at intervals repeat the number of strokes as fast as the sounds are conveyed to them, and thus transmit the orders of their sovereign; for every one knows what is meant by any number of strokes and the comparative force with which they are given.

By means of this instrument, which may be considered similar to our telegraph, the will of the prince is made known and promptly executed throughout the island; and those who refuse to obey the orders which they receive, are immediately made slaves. This political punishment serves to keep the subjects to their duty, and to form a part of the revenues of the king, who sells the slaves for his own emolument.

This prince has a singular method of acquiring property; it is only necessary for him to accept the gift which any individual may make him of his neighbour's house, though the donor may have no right to it whatever; and though the king knows this, he nevertheless takes possession of the tenement, while the owner is obliged either to repurchase it or build another. It must, however, be admitted, that the sufferer has immediate means of retaliation, as he can at the same instant give the king the house of the person who has deprived him of his own; and then both are ruined, as two houses are disposed of, and the king is the only gainer. This custom is not indeed so dangerous in a country where every one is his own landlord, so that the donor always fears that his own property may be given away; a circumstance which causes such presents very rarely to be made.

This king contrives to preserve peace within his own states; but though he has no intestine war, he is continually in hostilities with his neighbours: for when he wants slaves, he makes an irruption amongst the Biafares, the Bissagots, the Balantes, and the Nalous, who live contiguous to his territories, either on the main land, or in the numerous isles, which form the archipelago of the Bissagos.

On such occasions the preparations and the expedition itself do not occupy more than five or six days. The bombalon announces that the king wishes to make war, and points out the place of rendezvous; on which the great men with the officers and armed soldiery never fail to repair thither, and are embarked in the canoes of the prince, which are twenty or thirty in number. Each canoe holds about twenty men, for whom the commandant is responsible to the king; and they are obliged to row under pain of death or slavery. The king seldom goes upon these kinds of expeditions, but employs himself in consulting the gods, who always gave an opinion favourable to his undertakings. On such an occasion he makes them a great sacrifice, and himself with the warriors and priests are the only persons who eat the flesh of the animals that are killed. The embarkation then takes place, and every one is inspired with the greatest hopes: they always contrive to land on the enemy's shore in the night, and come by surprise upon a few scattered and defenceless huts, the inhabitants of which they carry off together with whatever they possess. Oftentimes these warriors lie in ambush in the bye-paths which lead to the rivers and springs, and endeavour to seize those who pass, or come for water. When they make a capture they return to their canoes singing, as if they had gained a glorious victory.

The king, as his right of sovereignty, possesses one half of the slaves who are taken, and the rest are divided amongst the men who have so bravely exposed their lives. These slaves are sold to the Europeans, excepting those who are princes, or persons of some distinction, whom their friends ransom by giving for each of them two slaves, or five or six oxen.

When the conquering warriors return to their island, they are received with praise and congratulation; but woe be to the prisoners if the expedition have not been completely successful; if a warrior have been taken or killed, they run the risk of being murdered, particularly if the person who has been killed be a man of distinction, or if his relatives be rich.

These warlike people are, however, often attacked in their turn by their neighbours. The Balantes and Biafares make frequent incursions in the Bissaux isle, and wage war with the greatest cruelty: for though they set apart a certain number of their prisoners to be sold to the whites, they reserve the rest to be sacrificed to their god, in honour of their victory.

They celebrate the obsequies of their dead by rude songs and dances to the sound of the drum, in which their motions and postures exhibit in a frightful manner the passions of rage, melancholy, and despair. The women are the principal actresses in this scene: they appear with their heads loaded with mire and

blood, the latter of which they have drawn from themselves by scratching; and they continue to howl like persons deranged till the body is put in the ground.

The same ceremonies are observed at the death of the king; and on this occasion the women of whom he has been most fond, and the slaves for whom he had occasion either to serve or divert him, are murdered and buried in his grave. It is, however, asserted, that this custom is now almost abolished, that is, that a smaller number of those miserable people are buried with the body of their king.

The order of succession to the throne is regulated in a manner truly extraordinary. Four of the strongest noblemen carry the body of the deceased king as far as the sepulchre; on reaching which they toss the bier up in the air and keep it from falling to the ground. After giving the corpse several propulsions of this kind, they let it fall upon the grandees who have prostrated themselves around the grave; and the person on whom the royal body rests, is immediately proclaimed king.

Hence royalty is elective in the Bissaux island; though from the arrangements that are made, the election cannot *fall* upon any but a prince of the royal family, namely the sons, brothers, or nephews of the deceased. It may easily be supposed that those who aspire to the throne, neglect no means to gain the favour of the electors; and happy is he who is rich enough to acquire their good opinion, and obtain their royal burden: such an one on being proclaimed king, has the diadem encircled on his head, that is, they twist round his cap two folds of rope, which is the mark of his sovereign power.

I shall terminate this chapter by mentioning a phenomenon observed by M. Brue. He declares, that he saw on this island a white woman who had a black father and mother: she was married to a black man, and all their children were of his colour. Several travellers have mentioned similar occurrences; but none of them attempt to point out the cause.

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## CHAP. VIII.

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DESCRIPTION OF THE ISLE OF BULAM.—ITS ADVANTAGES AND PRODUCTIONS.—ORIGIN AND FAILURE OF THE ENGLISH ESTABLISHMENT.—RIVERS WHICH FORM THE ARCHIPELAGOS OF THE BISSAGOS, WITH SOME PARTICULARS OF THE PEOPLE WHO RESIDE ON THEIR BANKS.—PARTICULARS OF THE KINGDOM OF CABO, AND ITS SOVEREIGN.—COMMERCIAL ADVANTAGES OF THE VILLAGE OF GESVES, AND THE KINGDOM OF GUE-NALA.

THE isle of Bulam is situated in  $11^{\circ} 18' 6''$  lat. and  $17^{\circ} 19'$  long. It was discovered by the French, who frequented it for a long time, and examined it in every direction, without forming any establishment upon it, though they always intended the contrary. Some of the plans, however, were badly conceived, having originated with men who possessed no knowledge of the country; while others indicated objects of the greatest advantage: amongst the latter were those of M. Brue at the beginning of the last century; of the Abbe Desnances, towards the middle; and of Barber, an Englishman, who resided at Havre, in 1787. All these schemes, however, came to nothing, and are now forgotten.

The island of Bulam is eight or nine leagues long from east to west, about five leagues in breadth from north to south; and between twenty-five and thirty in circumference: it is only separated from the main land by a channel, which forms the harbour at the east end. It is contiguous to many navigable rivers, which ascend to a vast distance in the continent and offer the greatest commercial advantages. The climate is better than that of most of the West India Islands, and is only unhealthy where the rough state of nature is predominant: by cultivation and industry it might be rendered very salubrious.

The shore, which affords an easy landing, is bordered with large and fine trees; the soil rises insensibly during the space of two leagues from the sea to a few hills, serving as the bases of some considerable mountains, which are in the centre of the island. These mountains are neither steep nor barren; they are

easy of access, and might be cultivated without much trouble; their summits are covered with trees; and rivers, which always contain plenty of water, issue from them, and fertilize the whole of the country. It is doubtless to this irrigation that the soil is indebted for its fecundity. Palm-trees of every kind, as well as all those which are indigenous in hot climates, are most abundant. The southern quarter is a natural meadow, in which are herds of oxen and wild horses; the former of a very large size, but the latter smaller than ordinary.

In every part of the island may be found a prodigious number of stags, hinds, goats, buffaloes, and elephants; while tigers, lions, and wolves do not infest this charming retreat. Game and smaller birds breed undisturbed, and are seen in vast flocks all over the island. The shores afford plenty of fish, and amongst them great numbers of turtle; in short, it produces in abundance all the necessaries of life: it is, however, uninhabited, and has been so ever since the Bissagos expelled the Biafares, to whom it belonged; and banished them to the continent. This was the termination of a sanguinary war, in which the Biafares being overcome, were either dispersed, or made slaves, or sold.

The conquerors did not think proper to establish themselves on the territory which they had acquired; but they repair thither every year, to the number of three or four hundred, in the months of February, March, April, and May, and plant fields of rice, millet, and other pulse. After their harvest, which is always plentiful, they return to their own country.

From the known richness of the soil it would doubtlessly produce, without much trouble, sugar, coffee, cocoa, indigo, cotton, tobacco, and in general all the productions of America. The labour might be performed by slaves purchased on the spot, or hired at the rate of three or four bars for each man per month: the bar is a nominal coin of Africa, valued at four livres sixteen sous, about 3s. 8d. English, and costs in Europe little more than half that sum. These slaves would in time have a liking for the island, might become free, purchase land, and finally be civilized. The navy of that country which might first form the establishment would also derive great advantages: the expeditions of Europeans in this part of the world have had commerce exclusively for their object, and the cultivation of land or the building of ships has never been thought of; though in the isle of Bulam almost every thing requisite for this important object might be obtained. The Portuguese who are naturalized in this part of Africa, employ the large trees which grow at Bulam and the neighbouring islands, for making their boats. There is one species, called *micheiry*, of which they construct their decks; it is easy to work, and is never perforated

by worms: specimens of this wood have been sent to Europe and America, where it is deemed preferable to those kinds that are generally used: it must, however, be admitted, that mast-timber is not to be procured; the nicheiry is too short, and the palm and most of the other trees are too heavy and brittle. The Portuguese, however, are obliged to make their masts of palm-trees; but on account of their weight they form them very short, and dispense with top-masts.

The marshy spots produce some peculiar trees, the leaves of which are large and thin, the wood is spongy, and the bark thick and supple, insomuch that it is made into tow. To effect this object they peel the inner from the outer rind, and the former makes a kind of tow, which never rots. With respect to cordage, the country furnishes abundance of materials for this purpose, as it is made from a species of reed which abounds in all the marshy spots. This vegetable is cut and left to macerate in water, when, after beating it to deprive it of the outer rind, it is spun and made into good ropes. The cocoa-trees also afford a supply for this purpose; the fibrous substance which covers the shell makes excellent tow; and the ropes which are spun from it, are cheaper and more in use there than those of hemp. The natives understand this sort of manufacture, and the well-informed Negroes convert it to their own use.

We continue to send insignificant expeditions to this part of the world, and trade in slaves, wax, ivory, hides, cotton, ostrich-feathers, and gold; but fortunate will that nation be, which shall establish a powerful colony in the isle of Bulam.

The English, in 1792, were the first who made an attempt at an establishment of this description: they formed an association, and raised by subscription a sum of 9,000*l.* sterling; each subscriber giving 50*l.* for 300 acres of arable land in the island. They sent off three ships, which carried nearly 300 colonists, and a variety of articles necessary for their establishment.

The principal objects to this association was the abolition of the slave-trade; the civilization of the Negroes; and the opening of a humane and social intercourse between Europe and Africa, founded on the exchange of useful goods and on pecuniary speculations.

The new colonists were well received by the natives, and particularly by the naturalized Portuguese on the continent, who had long been in the habit of trading for slaves. After their arrival they elected a chief; and their choice fell on Lieutenant Beaver, who proved himself worthy of their confidence\*. He

\* The spirit and motives of M. Durand are throughout his work suffi-

agreed with Captain Dalrymple, who commanded the expedition, to buy in the name of the colonists the whole of the isle of Bulam, as well as a great tract of territory on the neighbouring continent.

This project was carried into execution, and the sale was made to them by three negroes, who seemed to have an equal right to the property which they sold; the price of this acquisition was 473 bars.

This transaction put a stop to one of the causes of dissension which had always prevailed amongst the Europeans; it terminated those incessant quarrels which took place amongst the Negro kings about the possession of the island, and which always caused the shedding of blood. The English were wise enough to renounce all ideas of usurpation; they bought and became masters of the island by a written and voluntary convention.

The directors of this benevolent association, however, wanted practical knowledge in such kinds of enterprise. The colonists arrived in the rainy season, which is the most unhealthy period. Several individuals became terrified at the insalubrity of the climate; they supposed that a more extensive degree of cultivation would be necessary to support them in the colony: hence they returned to England with their wives and children.

Another cause of failure was, that they did not pay a sufficient regard to the choice of their colonists: for amongst those whom they took out were several men of bad principles and immoral conduct, who excited divisions in this infant establishment. On the other hand, the leaders neglected to bring with them carcasses and other materials necessary for building houses, which were indispensable to secure them from the rain and sun.

At length the late war was one of the principal causes of the want of success to this undertaking, as it cut off all communication between the colony and Europe. Captain Beaver in his Report on the 19th of January, 1794, said, that the enterprise had not failed, but that it had been unfortunate through unforeseen circumstances: he, however, made the greatest efforts, and his good conduct and perseverance from the 5th of May, 1792, to the 29th of November, 1793, afford the highest idea of his courage and abilities.

ciently evident: his object is to promote the ambitious views of his countrymen at the expence of every other nation. His account of Bulam is partial and unsatisfactory; but as he has mentioned the name of Captain Beaver, we will refer our readers for a full and interesting history of the establishment at Bulam, to a work which he lately published, intitled "*African Memoranda, &c.*"—ED.

Mr. Beaver and the valiant colonists who would not abandon him, braved the climate, and resisted the repeated attacks of the inhabitants of the Bissagos, by whom they were often disturbed, though they always repelled them with loss. These Negroes consider the island of Bulam as a part of their domain. It would be difficult to persuade them to the contrary; but their forbearance might be purchased at a trifling rate; and this mode is preferable to a state of war, which otherwise would always disturb the colony.

The first months were employed in cultivating a considerable tract of the island, and in building a large house in the form of a barricade, which was the general magazine, the residence of the colonists, and their citadel. The gardens which they formed, were handsome and agreeable; and different botanical experiments were successfully made, with tropical and European seeds and plants: all the vegetable productions answered their expectations, and arrived at maturity with astonishing quickness. The colonists, however, informed of the declaration of war, while their separation from Europe deprived them of clothes, medicines, and implements of agriculture, induced Captain Beaver to retire to Sierra Leone, to pass the rainy season. He therefore left Bulam under the protection of the neighbouring Negro kings, whose confidence and esteem he had acquired and who promised to keep the island in trust for the colonists till the termination of the war.

These princes, who were sincerely attached to Captain Beaver, had discovered, that commerce and agriculture, which increase mankind and the products of nature, are preferable to speculations which have for their object the depopulation of Africa.

On the 29th November, 1793, Captain Beaver left the island of Bulam, with the extreme regret of not having been seconded in proportion to his zeal and perseverance. It appears, however, that the labours which were begun, were not entirely suspended till after the war. The English will certainly appear again on that island; and I have no doubt, that their generous efforts will be crowned with success.

To return to the archipelago of the Bissagos; it must be stated, that it is formed by a multitude of rivers, which empty themselves into the sea. I have already spoken of the Casamanga and Saint Domingo, as well as of the Portuguese establishments, their commerce, and connections with the various tribes of natives who inhabit the banks of those rivers. I have, however, yet to offer some remarks on the kingdom of Cabo, which deserves particular notice.

About one hundred and fifty leagues from the mouth of the

river Casamansa is a vast and deep bend of land, which has given the name of Cabo or Cape to a considerable kingdom that occupies it. It is said that this territory was governed at the beginning of the last century by a Negro king named Bizam Mansaré, who lived in greater splendour and magnificence than any of the other Negro sovereigns. He had a numerous court, and more than four thousand marks in table plate; he also kept six or seven thousand soldiers well armed and disciplined. This king knew how to make himself respected by the labouring people, and to maintain good order in his states: he subjected to military punishment such of his subjects as refused to pay him tribute, or who were asked for it twice before they produced it; and he had established such a vigilant police throughout his kingdom, that merchants might leave their goods out on the highway, without any danger of losing them. He enacted severe laws against robbery, which were so rigorously executed that no one dared to break them. His slaves were not chained together; and as soon as the buyers had fixed upon them, they had no fear of their escaping or being carried off, as the guards on the frontiers were inexorable and faithful.

This prince generally supplied the Portuguese in the course of each year with six hundred slaves, besides gold and ivory, in exchange for European merchandize: he used to prefer the fennel-water from the isle of Rhé; cinnamon-water, rosolis, sabres with ornamented hilts, French saddles, easy chairs covered with velvet, and various articles of household furniture.

When a white person came to visit him, he had him conducted to and from his residence, and paid all his expences from the moment he entered till he had left his states: his subjects dared not receive any perquisites from the stranger under penalty of being made slaves. The king always gave him an audience the moment he demanded it; and it was customary on such occasions for the European to make a present to the king equal in value to three slaves. The visits and presents were continued upon the same footing till the merchant perceived some diminution in the generosity of the king; when he treated with him for what remained, and the merchant received payment. When he was about to have his audience of leave, he would ask the king to make him a present for his wife, and the sovereign in general used to give him a slave or a piece of gold.

The prince of whom I have been speaking, died in 1705, generally regretted. But from many private accounts which I received during my government at Senegal, I have reason to know that his successors have continued to imitate his just and equitable conduct.

To the N. N. W. of the Bissaux isle is the river of Gesves, which takes its name from a village sixty-six leagues from its mouth. At the part where it disembogues itself into the sea is another village called the Boat, the inhabitants of which cultivate rice in abundance, and exchange it for merchandize. It is asserted that these people are particularly famous for their talents in taming the most ferocious animals.

The Gesves is extremely rapid, which is attributed to the natural and considerable descent of its bed, as well as to an eddy or irregularity of the tide which is very dangerous, and is known by the name of *mascaret*: it arises from the tide being six hours in running down, and only three or less in coming up; while it ascends with such rapidity that the waves seem like mountains of water rolling over one another, and their impulse is so great that they carry off whatever comes in their way. Hence vessels moor in these roads in such a manner as to keep always afloat, or to move on, when they see the *mascaret* approaching.

The trade of Gesves consists annually of about two hundred slaves, five tons of wax, as much ivory, and four or five hundred common pagnes, or pieces of common Negro-cloth. This last article could not be dispensed with in the trade carried on with the Negro kings and the Bissagos: there are also other kinds of cotton, which are bartered, and are of a superior quality. The most certain method of carrying on trade with advantage, and giving it all the extent of which it is susceptible, is to have a number of boats, which should frequent all the rivers and creeks of the country, for the purpose of procuring merchandize; which might thus be obtained at first hand, and would deprive the Portuguese of the great benefits which they derive from their interference.

On penetrating up the mouth of this river, that is to say, up the curve which it makes to the north-west, we arrive at a village named Gonfode; it is inhabited by the Biafares Negroes, who are tolerably civilized, and attached to commerce. To the south of the Gesves is another, to which they give the name of Goli, which is likewise inhabited by the Biafares, who trade to some extent with the Portuguese. The river in question leads to one of the ordinary residences of the king of Guenala: the trade carried on along its banks is very considerable, but its navigation is very difficult, on account of the numerous shoals and rocks with which it is filled. This obstacle, however, does not prevent the Negroes employed by the Portuguese from trading continually along it with their canoes, though the *mascaret* attacks them in a very violent manner.

On the shores of this river the Portuguese, and those who pre-

tend to be so, have established themselves in great numbers: they live in the most disgusting idleness, passing the whole day on mats in the vestibule of their houses, smoking and gossiping. They very seldom take a walk, and never hunt; indeed they take no sort of exercise, every thing being done for them by their domestics: the latter are constantly employed in trading for their masters; and the profits which they derive, are sufficient for the subsistence of the Portuguese, many of whom even obtain a small fortune from the industry of their servants. But notwithstanding this, most of them are so indolent, that they live in the manner of the Negroes, and even worse; insomuch that they often want the necessaries of life: they have neither the foresight nor the courage to procure themselves vegetables in such a fertile country, the industry to breed domestic animals, nor the strength to hunt game, with which the whole territory abounds.

One may judge of the apathy of these people by the state of the village of Goli, which contains about four thousand inhabitants, who call themselves Portuguese, though there are not amongst them more than ten or twelve families; all the rest being Mulattoes or Negroes. It is situated on an eminence and in an advantageous position; but it has no wall. The houses are built of wood; and the environs, which were formerly cultivated, are now fallows. The inhabitants get their provisions from the Negroes of the surrounding villages.

About ten or twelve leagues to the south of the river of Gesves, is that to which the Portuguese have given the name of Rio Grande, on account of its extent compared with the others which are near it. From this river they derive ivory, wax, gold, and slaves; the quantity or number of which varies according to the wars which the people make among themselves. On ascending this river to the height of eighty leagues or thereabouts from its mouth, you meet with a nation of Negroes called *Anabous*: they are good merchants, and supply much ivory and rice, as well as some slaves.

On proceeding along the coast to the southward, and about sixteen leagues from Rio Grande, you come to the river of *Nongne*; it is considerable, and extends very far up the country: it furnishes about three hundred quintals of ivory, some slaves, and rice at a very cheap rate. Sugar-canes and indigo grow spontaneously in that quarter, and are very good.

From these districts a salt is derived which is held in much estimation by the Portuguese, who consider it an excellent antidote. The history of the discovery of such a great virtue in this salt is worthy of relation. It appears to have been owing to an elephant, who when wounded by a poisoned arrow, a weapon which the Negroes shoot at those monstrous animals, continued,

to the great astonishment of the hunters, to walk and graze without shewing any sign of pain. One of the Negroes asserted that he saw the elephant go to the side of a stream, and convey some sand to its mouth by means of its trunk: he and his companions then went to look at what they supposed to be sand, when they found that it was a white salt, having a slight taste of alum. They then attacked another elephant, which did the same; on which the Negroes communicated their discovery to the Portuguese, who are dreadfully alarmed at poisoned weapons: they made various experiments with this salt, and discovered it to be the best antidote hitherto known. To cure one-self radically of any poison absorbed, it is only necessary to drink a drachm of this salt dissolved in water.

In the river of Nongne, a trade is carried on from the month of March till August, at which time ships must take the advantage of returning with the south winds. Between this river and that of Sierra Leone there are four others, namely those of *Pongue*, *Tafali*, *Samos*, and *Cassores*; they are all navigable, and present great commercial advantages. The people who inhabit the countries through which they run, are the *Zapes*, the *Foules*, the *Cocolis*, and the *Nalez*.

The Zapes divide themselves into hordes, who go by different names; there are for instance, the vagabond Zapes, who have no settled habitations; the athletic Zapes; the thin Zapes, &c. All these people are idolaters, though they acknowledge a Supreme Being, but do not worship him, though they consider him as the master of all other gods. They are extremely clever in the art of poisoning arrows, and make use of poison in various ways: they also know the antidote lately mentioned, and sell it; so that they circulate both the poison and the cure; their greatest trade, however, is in elephants' teeth. There is likewise a certain fruit which they dispose of, called *Colles*, which the Portuguese are very fond of: it has a bitter taste, and imparts an excellent flavour to water.

It is not impossible to spread civilization amongst people who are still savage, nor to render highly valuable those extensive lands which are fertile, and so favourably treated by nature. Our interest, humanity, and love for the arts and sciences, all conspire to render such attempts a duty of morality.

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## CHAP. IX.

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OF THE ISLES OF LOS OR IDOLES.—ACCOUNTS OF CERTAIN ANIMALS.—THE CROCODILE OR CAYMAN.—THE ELEPHANT.—THE RIVER-HORSE.—TAMED CROCODILES.—SINGULAR ANECDOTE OF AN ELEPHANT.—A PARTICULAR ACCOUNT OF THE HIPPOPOTAMUS.

ABOUT forty leagues to the south of Bissagos, in lat.  $9^{\circ} 27'$  long.  $15^{\circ} 40'$  you arrive at the islands of De Los or Idoles: they are seven in number, but only three of them are inhabited. The four others are properly nothing but rocks. On the easternmost of these isles is an English factory. Their isolation from the continent, and the elevation of their soil, render them as healthy as they are agreeable; the natives call them *Sarotima*, that is, the “land of the white man:” we knew them formerly under the name of Tamara.

About sixty years ago these islands were only inhabited by a single family, called Bagos; at present they are overloaded with a mixture of Bagos, and the fugitive slaves of the Suzces and the Mandingos.

The three isles which are inhabited, are called Tamara, Los, and Crafford. Tamara, the greatest and most westerly, is almost semicircular; its shore rises in an amphitheatrical form to such a height, as to be seen twelve leagues at sea. It produces fine trees, which are fit for building: its surface is not properly known, and ships prefer anchoring at the isle of Los. The chief of this isle is called William; he has his village on the low point, which forms a plain about a quarter of a league long, by half a quarter wide. He has always wished for the French to establish themselves there; but the anchorage is not sufficiently convenient, as all goods, &c. are obliged to be landed in canoes or by similar means.

Los is the most eastern island: it is a league long, and it is necessary to pass the south end in order to anchor off it. All dangers can be foreseen in this part; which is not the case at the north-east point, as it runs under water to the extent of a quarter of a league.

Crafford is exactly between the two great isles, and stands amidst two large rocks, about a league in circumference. The surf and breakers reach a league from its northern point: they are occasioned by a large sand-bank below high-water-mark; but this danger is of little consequence, as ships always pass to the south of the isles.

From April to September the storms are frequent, and the winds impetuous; but all accidents may be prevented by coming to an anchor about half a league from the English factory. In case of the breaking of cables, the ships are ready to set sail and make for the offing.

The English establishment prospers, and carries on its trade in a peaceable manner; it always keeps in the road four or five large ships, six coasters, and several shalloops for navigating the river,

The French may be found on these islands, as well as on every part of the coast. About twenty years ago, a sailor from Havre, whose name I regret I do not know, had the courage to establish himself on his own account at the isle of Los; his enterprize was attended with the best success, and afforded a great resource to the French ships which frequented those roads. I do not know whether this establishment still exists, but it would be of great advantage either to support or renew it.

From the isle of Los may be seen Cape Tagrin. The mountains of the interior are very high, and appear to be three or four leagues from the sea-shore. Cape Tagrin is low and covered with trees, as are all the points of the coast.

In this part of Africa may be found, in greater numbers than elsewhere, crocodiles or caymans, elephants, and sea-horses. The first are too well known to need any description; but in these countries they have certain customs which are worth mentioning.

At the lower end of the river of St. Domingo, and at the mouth of that of Gesves, is a village which, as I have already said, is called the Boat, and I have been assured that the inhabitants of this place have succeeded in training crocodiles. These carnivorous animals, which are dreaded in every other part of the world, walk about in the village just mentioned, without doing the least injury to any one. The natives indeed give them food, which renders them mild and tractable; and children may be seen riding on their backs, and even beating them, without any resentment being visible on the part of the crocodiles. This is doubtless, a great proof of what may be effected by patience and benevolence: for in other parts these creatures pursue and destroy men and beasts without distinction. There are nevertheless Negroes rash enough to attack them with poniards, and who

generally kill them. At Senegal there was a servant who took pleasure in going to fight them; but he often returned severely bitten and lacerated. He was once on the point of falling a prey to an animal of this description, which had rendered him *hors de combat*; but he was assisted just in time by his comrades.

The elephants are less dangerous towards man, but do equal injury to his property. When they lie down in the mud to cool themselves, they pay no attention to people who pass near them; and it is rare that they seek a quarrel: but when they are fired on and wounded, they begin to be enraged, and it is difficult to escape them. Excepting in this case, and when people wish to frighten them, they retire gravely as soon as they think proper. They look for a long time at those who disturb them; then give two or three roars, and go away. When injured they are very ingenious in their means of vengeance, and uncommonly clever in executing them. It is asserted that the crew of a French vessel, which had arrived in the river of St. Domingo, observed an elephant sticking in the mud in such a manner that he could not disengage himself: the sailors thought that it would be easy to take him, and accordingly fired muskets at him, which did not kill him, but put him in a rage. They could not get near enough to spear him; and being little accustomed to this kind of hunting, they did not know the parts at which he might be wounded with the greatest effect. The elephant could neither run away from, nor get towards his assailants; he therefore in despair took up the mud with his trunk, and threw it in such quantities into the ship, that it was ready to sink, and the sailors were obliged to tow it off. As the tide set in, they observed the elephant disengage himself and swim to shore.

The sea-horses or hippopotami which are found in all the waters of Africa, abound more particularly in the rivers which I have just mentioned: they are easier dispersed than elephants. On seeing men or hearing a noise, they quickly retire to the river from which they issued, and plunge in head-foremost; the next minute they re-appear at the surface, and neigh two or three times so loudly that they may be heard at a very great distance.

This animal, which the ancients called hippopotamus, and of which they have transmitted to us several inaccurate descriptions, is not to be found in any other part of the world. I shall therefore give a complete description of it. It resembles in several respects both the ox and the horse; and its tail is like that of a hog, except that it has no hair at the end. When it has attained its full size, it is higher, longer, and bigger, by about one third, than the largest of the French oxen; and it is not uncommon to find hippopotami which weigh from 12 to 15 cwt: its body is thick, compact, and closely covered with short brown hair, which

grows grey, and, as the animal gets old, resembles that of a mouse. When in the water, this hair always shines: the head is large and stout, but it appears short or diminutive in proportion to the rest of the body, and it is quite flat. The neck is thick and short, and bears no hair till the animal gets old. This part possesses great strength, as do also the loins. The ears, though large, are small with respect to the size of the head: they are pointed, and the animal can erect or backen them like the common horse. It has a fine sense of hearing, and a penetrating sight. Its eyes are large and particularly projecting; and when it is ever so little enraged, they become red, and glare in a terrible manner. The nose is thick and turned up, and the nostrils are wide. Besides the incisors and grinders, which are very large and rather hollow in the center, the animal has four very large teeth, which serve it for weapons of defence; two being on each side like those of the boar; they are about seven or eight inches long; and nearly five inches in circumference at the root: those of the lower jaw are rather more bent than the others, and the substance of which they are composed, is whiter and infinitely harder than ivory. When the animal is enraged and gnashes its teeth, which emit sparks: this circumstance doubtless gave rise to the opinion amongst the ancients that the sea-horse vomited fire. It is certain that these teeth when struck against a bit of steel, produce sparks, as readily as a flint.

The hippopotamus has no horns, its feet and teeth being the only weapons with which nature has provided it; its legs are thick, fleshy, and of a tolerable size; the foot is cleft like that of oxen; but the pasterns or knees are too weak to support the weight of the body: nature, however, has provided against this defect by supplying the fetlock with two little horny substances, which tend to support the animal while walking; it thus leaves upon the ground, at every step, the impression of the four horns, which must have made the ancients think that its claws were similar to those of the crocodile, as they have depicted it to us. The hippopotamus walks tolerably quick when it is pressed, and if it find a level and rather hard soil; but it can never overtake a horse, nor even a light-made man, as are all the Negroes who hunt it for amusement.

The skin of the river-horse is uncommonly hard, particularly that which covers the neck, the back, the hind part of the thighs, and the rump, insomuch that balls only slip along it, and arrows recoil. It is, however, much thinner, and consequently more easy to perforate, under the belly and between the thighs; in these parts, therefore, the hunters attempt to wound it.

The river-horse is amphibious: it is frequently seen in the sea; but we know that it does not proceed far from the coast or fresh

water, as it requires for its existence: to be near meadows and cultivated lands. It has been observed to walk much faster in the water than on land, as the former supports it, and assists the progress of its heavy body; nevertheless, it cannot stay in the fluid for a length of time, or as long as it can remain on land. The time which it has been ascertained to keep under water, is about half or three quarters of an hour; after which it is obliged to come to land for the purpose of free respiration.

It sleeps ashore amongst the rushes and thickets with which the banks of the river are covered; and in such parts the females drop their young, and give them suck. As soon as they see any object or hear the least noise, they throw themselves into the water, and the young ones follow the dam. The female generally bears four at a time, and breeds once a year; so that the number of these animals in the Bissagos and the neighbouring rivers, is not astonishing.

The hippopotamus feeds both on fish and on such land animals as it can take by surprise; because the weight of its body does not enable it to run them down. It has been asserted that it eats human flesh; but all the accounts which I have received, tend to refute this opinion. Besides animals and fish, we know that it eats the grass of the fields, and particularly rice, millet, peas, melons, and other vegetables, as its voracity is not easily satiated. The Negroes keep it away from their grounds by the means of noises and fires: for it makes more devastation with its feet in a piece of cultivated ground than by what it eats; and if it take a fancy to sleep in such a spot, the harvest is thereby entirely destroyed.

It is while the animal thus reposes that the natives most easily destroy it by approaching in a gentle manner; and it betrays itself by its loud snoring. The Negroes take a pleasure in attacking it, on account of their agility; but they take care not to hunt it, except it be at a distance from a river to which they can prevent its return; but if it be wounded and cannot reach the water, which it searches for with more eagerness than it defends itself against the hunters, it becomes furious, and then it would be imprudent to approach it. It is very tenacious of life, and never yields it without much struggle. The hunters endeavour to break its legs with musket-balls; and if they once cause it to fall, they kill it with ease. If, however, on such an occasion, it succeed in gaining a river, it plunges headlong in; and after remaining for an instant at the bottom, it appears again at the surface, pricks up its ears, and looks about in every direction, as if in search of those who had forced it to quit the pasture; it then neighs, and plunges again to the bottom, which it reaches, whatever may be

its depth, where it doubtless remains more safe, and perhaps more at its ease than it would be between two bodies of water. There is some danger in attacking it on the rivers: for if the hunters miss their aim, it tries to avenge itself, and often does great injury to the boats which are in pursuit of it.

This animal indeed does not want a certain degree of instinct: for example, it evacuates much blood, and it is asserted that it often bleeds itself; for this purpose it looks out for a sharp point of rock, which is not rare on the banks of rivers, and against this it rubs itself quickly till the friction produces an aperture capable of admitting the passage of the blood; and it is said to observe the discharge with attention and pleasure, and even to agitate itself when the stream is not sufficiently copious; but when it thinks that enough has been emitted, it goes to lie down in the mud, and thus closes up the wound.

The Negroes of Angola, Congo, and the eastern coasts of Africa, consider the river-horse, which they call *Fetiso*, as a diminutive of some divinity, notwithstanding which they eat it. The other Negroes also think the flesh excellent. The Portuguese, who are rigid observers of Lent and fast days, pretend that it is a fish, and as such they eat it. They are doubtless in the right, as they find it very palatable. Europeans, on the contrary, have much difficulty in accommodating themselves to such a repast, as they find it to possess a gross taste and strong smell.

The skin and teeth of the river-horse are objects of commerce: of the former, when dried and stretched, they make shields and bucklers, which are proof against arrows and bullets; while the teeth fetch a greater price than those of elephants. The dentists buy them up with avidity, as they have found that teeth made of this substance do not turn yellow like those of ivory; besides which they are much harder. It is also asserted that little plates made of these bones, and fixed by a riband round such parts of the limbs as are attacked by cramp and sciatica, prevent the exacerbation of those disorders, as long as they remain on the skin. This is a recipe which I do not guarantee; but it may be easily tried.

## CHAP. X.

RIVER OF SIERRA LEONE, ITS DISCOVERY &c.--EXPEDITIONS OF THE EUROPEANS, THEIR PARTIAL ESTABLISHMENTS, AND PROJECTS OF COLONIZATION.—REVIEW OF THEIR RESOURCES AND PROJECTS.—GENERAL REMARKS ON THE ESTABLISHMENTS WHICH MIGHT BE FORMED, AND THE MEASURES TO BE TAKEN FOR PROMOTING THE PROSPERITY OF COMMERCE IN THAT PART OF THE WORLD.

THE last French establishment on the western coast of Africa is on the river of Sierra Leone, so named on account of the mountains and lions which are found in the country. The river is situated in  $8^{\circ} 30'$  lat. and  $15^{\circ} 7'$  long.; it was first discovered by the French, who were succeeded by the Portuguese; and these people formed several factories upon it, of which there now remain only the ruins, though a great number of their descendants may be found on both their banks, where they are naturalised, and are scarcely distinguishable from the natives.

The other Europeans have confined themselves for a length of time to the making of separate expeditions for the trade of slaves, and this is the market to which the Americans still resort for the same traffic.

Several individuals have established themselves in this quarter, and have resided here for various periods; they all succeeded more or less, and have left striking traits of their industry as well as of their crimes; amongst the rest was an Englishman, named Ormond, who was employed as a cabin-boy about thirty years ago in a ship engaged in the trade, and contrived to remain as an assistant in the factory on the river of Sierra Leone: here he afterwards formed an establishment on his own account in a district more to the northward; and though he could neither read nor write, he became so clever in his own way, that he amassed a fortune of about £30,000 sterling.

This example clearly proves the consequences of private industry; but the history of the man in question shews how dangerous it is to abandon it to itself: for the cruelties which he committed exceed all belief. It is asserted, that to get rid of his slaves for whom he could not find a sale, he tied stones to their necks, and threw them at night into the river. At another time he caused one of his servants to be tied, and gave him with his own

DURAND.]

hand four hundred lashes, of which the unfortunate creature died a few days after. He also, on detecting a criminal intercourse between one of his slaves and a Negress, fastened them to a barrel of pitch and set it on fire.

Ormond was as superstitious as he was cruel: he believed, like the Africans, in sorcery. But nothing could prevent the blows with which Providence, after permitting him to continue in his career of wickedness, attacked him. His health declined, and he retired to the isles of Los, leaving the management of his affairs to a mulatto, who was his son. A horde of the Bagos, with whom he had had a quarrel, took that opportunity to avenge themselves, and plundered his factory, in which they were assisted by his slaves. All the buildings were burnt, and twelve or fifteen hundred slaves, worth 30,000*l.* were set at liberty. Young Ormond was put to death on this occasion, and the father was so afflicted at the news, that he survived only a month.

The French received their possessions on the river of Sierra Leone in consequence of a treaty with Panabouri, proprietor of Gambia, which was signed between the Negro king and M. de Lajaille on the 14th January, 1785. The king gave his son, named Pedro, as a hostage for his performance of the contract; and the youth was conveyed to France, where he received a pension of 1200 livres per annum for two years. On returning to Africa, his father sent him back to France to finish his education. The king himself not being able to read or write, made a cross as his signature to the treaty.

M. de Lajaille has not given us a description of the island in the Gambia which was ceded to the French by this treaty, nor has he said any thing of the manners and religion of the people. From the accounts, however, which I procured, it appears that the island is very small and unhealthy: there are scarcely six acres of soil capable of cultivation: all the rest is a vast swamp. The trade which we carry on consists in slaves and wax. The position of the port was badly chosen; and though water abounds in the place, the garrison have to go a considerable distance to obtain it; in short, the establishment is of trivial advantage. The French who were left on the isle of Gambia, were neglected and abandoned by their countrymen; and after experiencing all the horrors of want, they almost all perished in the month of August, 1793. Two or three individuals only returned, in a state of irritation against the government which ought to have protected them, and so ill in health, that they did not long survive. Notwithstanding this failure, the river of Sierra Leone abounds in favourable spots both for culture and commerce, on which the French or any other nation might establish powerful colonies. The English, who about fifteen years ago had fixed them in vari-

ous parts near this river, have since formed settlements far greater and important than those of the French. The latter in their attempts were too parsimonious; while the former were prodigal in their gold.

In the month of May, 1788, Mr. Granville Sharp sent off a vessel laden with provisions, different materials, and about thirty-nine artificers, to establish a colony at Sierra Leone. This colony, whose principal settlement was afterwards at Free-town, had for its basis principles entirely philanthropic. The colonists were to employ themselves in the cultivation of the lands and the civilization of the Africans, while the slave trade was to be totally renounced amongst them.

The fortune of an individual was of course insufficient for such an undertaking. Mr. Sharp, therefore, in 1790 formed a society of twenty-one persons, which in a few months became still more numerous; and an act of parliament was passed, authorising them to make a company, and to enjoy for thirty-one years the privileges granted to them by the act. Messrs. Thornton and Wilberforce were then the directors, and the members who had most influence over the company. The first regulation which it made, excluded every individual who was interested in the slave trade; and it was not only agreed that they should for ever abandon that traffic, but that there should never be slaves in the colony.

In the month of March, 1791, the company caused 1131 Blacks to be brought from Nova Scotia to Sierra Leone: they were engaged for a certain time, and were to be free when their period of servitude expired. Portions of soil were given to them to cultivate for their own advantage; but it was impossible to keep them to the spots which had been assigned to them. Being influenced by a commercial spirit, and wishing to obtain a portion of the money which the company had imprudently introduced into the colony, these new settlers abandoned their fields, and all came to reside in the chief place, called Free-town.

The subscription was closed on the 1st of June, 1792; and the capital of the company then amounted to the vast sum of 242,899l. sterling. This sum was employed in the following manner:

The first expences of the establishment amounted to £82,620

The dead stock, that is to say, the ships, soil, and articles relative to the defence of the colony, to	—	24,685
Capital employed in commerce	—	27,400
Capital placed at interest in the public funds		108,194

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£242,899

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These expences, however, greatly exceeded the idea which had been formed by the company; they were occasioned by a concurrence of circumstances which it was impossible to foresee, but which are all properly explained in the different statements that have been published by the directors.

The colonists arrived in the rainy season, which occasioned a general sickness and many deaths. Several of the principal officers were taken ill, and obliged to return to England; and a great many of the subordinate agents fell sacrifices to the additional labour which they in consequence had to perform. It appeared that the air of Free-town, like that of all the positions on the coast, is bad, and even dangerous during the rainy and stormy season; but that it is good and agreeable for the rest of the year.

The cultivation went on slowly, and experienced many difficulties; nevertheless the directors were of opinion that the soil of Africa might be managed by its native inhabitants. They were of this opinion from the apparent success of the plantations, which they had undertaken; but they adhered to their system of making the future progress of such plantations depend on the abolition of the slave trade.

Under the article of civilization, the directors comprised a form of government for the colony: it is founded on the principles of the English constitution. The trial by jury perfectly succeeded; and the Africans appeared to incline to the measures adopted in the colony to introduce Christianity and civil regulations: But the success of the enterprize was a subordinate consideration compared with the grand object, the abolition of the slave trade. Yet to overcome the first difficulties was far more easy, than what they had afterwards to encounter: for they had some severe misfortunes to try their constancy.

On the 27th of November, 1794, a French squadron entered the river of Sierre Leone, and fired on Free-town. The inhabitants conceiving all resistance useless, begged to capitulate, but in vain: the French landed, plundered the houses and magazines, and conducted themselves with extreme rigour. They were encouraged in their excesses by the captains of two American ships employed in the slave trade. It was impossible to check the animosity of Arnaud, the commander of the expedition: he protested that he would burn all the houses belonging to the English; and he kept his word. The books of the company were seized and destroyed, and all the bibles and prayer-books were trampled under foot. The collection of the botanist Afzelius was ravaged; his plants, seeds, birds, insects, drawings, and memoranda were dispersed and spoiled, and his mathematical instruments and machines broken to pieces. Even the church was

plundered, and the sacred books consumed; nor did the invaders spare the drugs and medicines for the use of the colony. The loss to the company on this occasion was estimated at 40,000*l.* sterling.

This expedition was condemned by all rational Frenchmen, and was disowned by the government, who caused the commander of the squadron to be thrown into prison. His punishment would have been exemplary, if it had not clearly appeared that he was ignorant of the injury he had committed. It was proved from his journal, that he had been led into the error by two American Negroes, and that he thought he was doing a patriotic action by destroying an *establishment of Pitt, for furnishing slaves*. It was evident that he had no other motives for his conduct; but this did not diminish the evil, and the company immediately employed themselves in repairing the injuries which the colony had sustained, with the resources that remained amongst them. It is remarkable that the turbulent colonists were the very Negroes who had been transported from Nova Scotia to Africa, and whom no inducement could attach to the establishment. Although they were free, they complained that they were oppressed; and it is probable that if these refractory beings had found the planters and the remainder of the inhabitants inclined to take part in their project, they would have infallibly attained their object, which was that of a revolution: for the chief officers of the society had neither power nor other means sufficient to keep them in subjection.

To obviate this inconvenience, the directors of the company obtained in 1799 from the British government a letter of licence, on the plan of those which had been granted to the India company at the time of its institution; to which was added a corps of fifty men taken from the garrison of Goree; and the sum of 7,000*l.* which parliament allowed for the construction of a fort.

In the month of February, 1800, a quarrel broke out between king Tom, who lived in the vicinity of Free-town, and the captain of a slave-ship belonging to Liverpool, relative to certain rights of anchorage which this king had received, from vessels that entered St. George's bay, and which the English captain refused to pay. The affair was laid before the governor and council; but the discontented persons, and such of the colonists as were in the interest of Tom, would not abide by the decision of the tribunal; but demanded, on the contrary, that the captain should be delivered up to them, or pay a heavy sum as a ransom. The governor and council endeavouring to oppose the violence of the discontented, who appeared determined to support their pretensions, condemned the captain to pay the sum required; promising him, however, a reimbursement from the company.

The affair was thus determined: but the condescension of the council seemed to pave the way for the ruin of the colony;

for from this instant the discontented, led by the chiefs of their districts, who were called *Hundreders*, committed the greatest excesses, refused to submit to any authority, and on the 25th of September, 1800, issued a formal proclamation, in which they forbade the inhabitants, under a penalty of 20l. sterling, from obeying any orders of the governor and council. They then published a new constitution, which vested all the authority in the hands of the hundreders, and established a maximum for the sale of articles of sustenance. Certain crimes, such as the stealing of cattle, adultery, defamation, disobedience towards parents, the destruction of fences, &c. were punished by fines; and the debts contracted by the inhabitants towards the company, were left to the decision of the hundreders, who interdicted not only every kind of reimbursement, but even the paying of the interest, under pain of banishment from the colony.

The revolvers, whose numbers amounted to about fifty, were headed by three fellows named Robinson, Anderson, and Zirier. The colony then had at its disposal eighty Negroes and twelve Europeans, who were determined to defend it. Nevertheless, though their force was so much superior, they made no attempts to subdue the insurgents; but chance threw in their way a great assistance: for at this very time a large English ship arrived from Nova Scotia, having on board, under the command of Lieutenants Smith and Tölley, forty-five soldiers, and five hundred and fifty Maroons, besides a number of other men, women, and children. The revolvers were therefore attacked on the 2d of October, and easily overcome; thirty-five were made prisoners, three of whom were found guilty of various crimes, and condemned to death; and seven were sent as malefactors to Goree: the remainder were transported to Bulam, on the northern coast of Sierra Leone.

The Maroons who came from Nova Scotia, have assigned to them the town of Granville, where the government watches attentively over them. This measure, however, is unnecessary: for as late as the month of May, 1801, they had not shewn any disposition to offend the laws; and it is expected that great advantages may be derived from their industry.

Hitherto the commerce of the company has not been attended with much success; it has lost one after another, four large ships, the cargoes of which were worth upwards of 30,000l. The French have also taken two other vessels belonging to this establishment, worth about 7,000l. The company has received from the British government a grant of 21,000l.; and at the end of 1799, its capital consisted of about 82,332l. while in December, 1800, it amounted to 122,563l.; and its debts at the last mentioned period were 26,995l. It therefore possessed at that time a capital of 95,567l.

This company sustained a great loss by the death of an alderman of Free-town, named Thomas Cooper, who was of the African race: the Blacks considered him as their common father, and still weep after him.

Every means is adopted to enlarge and accomplish the expectations of the colonists; and with this view different kinds of instruction are given. Amongst other efforts towards civilization, may be mentioned a printing-office, at which is published once a fortnight a newspaper, called the *Sierra Leone Gazette*.

The principal productions of this colony are sugar-canes, Cayenne pepper, cotton, ginger, and coffee; the last of which is as good as that from the Levant. The animals which they endeavour principally to breed are asses and cows; but there is much difficulty to extend the race of those useful quadrupeds.

Such is the present state of the English company: it has experienced misfortunes foreign and domestic, which have threatened its existence; and it has encountered enormous losses, which have consumed great parts of its fund. From a comparison of the sums already mentioned, it will appear that the money which has been employed or lost amounts to 175,352*l*. The company, nevertheless, is powerful; its means are more proportionate than its wants, and its enterprise is too great to be ruined by a few injuries; while by gradually proceeding with firmness, it will attain its objects.

All the institutions of this company, and its great exertions to promote the happiness of the Africans, are founded on the abolition of the slave trade. It is evident that without this praiseworthy resource, it promises itself nothing from all the undertakings and sacrifices which it makes to support them; but notwithstanding its wishes, it is surrounded with several establishments entirely devoted to the slave trade, and vessels are continually arriving for the same purpose: so that this trade is carried on under the very eyes of the company, with the same ardour as ever. Yet this society is equally as sanguine as it was at first, respecting the abolition of the slave trade, which it hopes to see accomplished; and therefore continues its labours with unshaken fortitude, and the resolution to do nothing but what it pledged itself to perform. It has, however, shewn us that it cannot attach to the soil the Negroes which have been brought from Nova Scotia, and they have retired to Free-town for the purposes of traffic. Hence the question naturally presents itself—by whom can the company have its grounds cultivated? On this subject it is silent; but I think I can give an answer.

I have said that the population of Africa is composed of one-fourth free men and three-fourths slaves. It is an admitted fact, that the free Negroes never work; it is therefore necessary to em-

ploy slaves, and to pay their masters for their hire. If, however, the company were to employ them, it would depart from its primitive regulations, which positively stipulate that there shall never be any slaves in the colony. If it were to buy them in order to render them free, and employ them in cultivation, I would ask if it could then be satisfied with their labour, or could hope to attach them to the soil? I should wish that this important question were ascertained beyond all doubt; but I must confess my doubts of its success; and I fear that the Negroes whom the company may render free, will imitate all other Negroes that are their own masters, and who will do nothing, or in other words, that they will prefer slavery to labour. This apprehension is founded on the knowledge which I possess of their natural and invincible indolence. I must, therefore, repeat with freedom my opinion of the rigorous conditions which the company has imposed on itself; and I really think that there will always be an obstacle to the accomplishment of its views. But to attain its wishes, I would propose an opposite mode, which I will point out in a few words.

I would make use of the Africans in their present state, that is to say, slaves, and would pay their masters the price of their labour; I would render them subservient to mild, humane, and benevolent laws; and I would incite them to work, and to like the place of their residence, by the inducement of property and land. Having thus prepared them for the charms of liberty, I should hasten to purchase them and make them free, that they might enjoy it. This method would, in my opinion, produce many cultivators: for even those who have been of no advantage during several years, might be thus dismissed and sent home. In short, I would leave off exactly where the company began; and I should thus hope to see my colony composed of industrious and experienced men. Hence, like the company, I should not only renounce the slave trade, but should deliver the Africans from bondage. I should buy them as formerly; only under the sacred condition of having them for a certain time to cultivate our American colonies, which it is impolitic to abandon; and under a condition equally sacred of making them proprietors at the expiration of their servitude, provided they would reside on the spot. Should they; however, be disinclined to stay in the colonies, I would comply with their wishes, and convey them back to Africa. Those who might turn out bad, or be guilty of crimes, ought to be banished from the colonies, but scrupulously restored to their own countries.

With respect to laws, I think that the colonies ought to be governed not only by a particular code, but that certain regulations should be adopted by each of them; as it appears impossible to me, that general laws can insure the prosperity of all such establishments.

I shall add another reflection, of public utility. The Blacks are a kind of men destined by Nature to inhabit Africa and America; she has created them for burning regions: let us, therefore, take care not to oppose her views, or overthrow the barriers which she has established; but let us preserve their races in their natural purity, and not permit the Negroes to inhabit Europe. This mixture of black and white is dangerous to our population, and in time it may change, corrupt, and even destroy it.

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## CHAP. XI.

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PRODUCTIONS OF THE BANKS OF SIERRA LEONE.—ACCOUNT OF THE PEOPLE AND THEIR FORMS OF GOVERNMENT, WITH SOME PARTICULARS OF THEIR MANNERS AND CUSTOMS BOTH CIVIL AND MILITARY.—CEREMONIES ATTENDING CIRCUMCISION.—LAWS OF THE DIFFERENT TRIBES.—PRIVILEGES OF THE KINGS, WITH RESPECT TO THEIR SUCCESSORS.—ACCOUNT OF THE PURRAH, A SORT OF SECRET TRIBUNAL.—EFFECT OF COMMERCE UPON THE NEGROES.—CHARACTER OF THEIR WOMEN.

THE English in their choice of Sierra Leone, on which to form permanent establishments, acted wisely, particularly as to their object of civilizing the Africans: for every thing in this quarter concurs to favour such an undertaking. Nature has here produced in such profusion every thing which is necessary, useful, or agreeable to man, and the most perfect state of refinement could scarcely add any thing to such kinds of riches.

The natives cultivate both rice and manioc, with the utmost attention; and the former, which is the principal article of commerce, succeeds wonderfully in humid parts; while it grows to considerable perfection upon the heights, only that on the latter it is not so strong, though the grain is better. The second plant only thrives in sandy or open spots; and here the inhabitants sow it in vast quantities, as it forms their ordinary food. They likewise cultivate for themselves and their cattle, Jerusalem artichokes, turnips, and a species of potatoe peculiar to the country, as well as cabbages and peas: they likewise sow maize, of which they obtain several harvests in a year, for it always comes to maturity in three months. They have two species of millet, both of which are very common in these parts, and are used for feeding poultry. The stalk of the larger kind contains a very refreshing juice.

Banau, orange, and lemon-trees grow in great abundance, and bear fruit the whole year. The oranges are of an exquisite

taste, and are larger than those of Europe; while the lemon-trees, which have for a long time been imported by the Portuguese, have so much degenerated, that the fruit is very small. The ananas, on the contrary, have a much better taste than those of our continent; and they are found throughout the year in the woods and on such soils as are inclined towards the water. The natives also cultivate them to some extent.

Amongst the common fruit trees are the cocoa-tree, which is found in the greatest abundance on the river of Sherbro; the butter-tree, which grows in every part; the tamarind, of which there are several varieties; and also a species of fruit which is hard and insipid, and which is eaten by the natives of the country, who call it *massino*. There is likewise the European fig-tree, which bears fruit no larger than a walnut; it has an agreeable taste, but is not eaten, because it is filled with insects. There is a tree of this genus peculiar to the country, which does not resemble the fig-tree in any respect except in its gravelly seed, and the fruit of which, the size of an ordinary pear, is almost round, and very agreeable. The apricot-tree of the Antilles is here of a particular species, but is not inferior in taste to that in the West Indies. A sort of gooseberry called *antedesma* is very abundant, and its taste is exactly similar to that of our red gooseberry. The cherries of this country surpass in flavour all the other fruits, and can only be compared to that of the finest nectarine.

Besides these, we find at Sierra Leone the bread-fruit tree, which at a distance has the appearance of an old pear-tree, and grows abundantly in the low and sandy quarters. Its fruit is nearly the size of an apple. When fresh it is very nutritious, and its taste is similar to that of gingerbread; but it loses its odour on getting old; the vine is also met with in these climates; but its fruit, which is round, black, and acid, in no respect resembles the grapes of Europe; the tree being of a species totally different. It is, however, supposed, that it might be ameliorated by culture.

The leguminous productions are not so numerous; and yet of these there are many varieties. A kind of sorrel, which is very common here, contains an acid similar to that of the ordinary species, without resembling it in any other respect. The purslain which rises three days after sowing, is commonly found on the hillocks near the shore: it is said, that the leaves of this plant are a specific by simple application for wounds of all kinds. The leaves of the *gombo* are used as spinach; and the *calalou* may likewise be substituted for that plant. This vegetable is indigenous; and by springing from soils newly ploughed, indicates their fertility.

The same advantages for the commercial or philanthropic spirit of Europeans prevails amongst the population of the shores of Sierra Leone, whether the inhabitants are considered with respect to their natural state, or the imperfect degree of sociability in which they exist. Amongst these people may particularly be distinguished the Suzees, the Bulams, the Bagos, the Tommanies, and the Mandingos. The Mandingos are Mahometans, as I have already observed more than once. Here, as elsewhere, they strictly observe, to outward appearance, the precepts of the alcoran, which they propagate with the utmost zeal. Being strongly impressed with the importance of governing the conscience, there is no means which they do not employ to make proselytes. If they be powerful, they resort to force; on the other hand, they call to their aid all the resources of address. They teach any one gratis to read and write the Arabian language. When they meet with clever men, they affect and imitate the weaknesses and follies of other people, though they pretend to the austere manners and authority of servants of God: in particular they attribute to themselves a supremacy over all sorcerers, and sell talismans. In short, they know so well how to acquire the confidence of the principal persons and chiefs of hordes, that they reign almost every where, and govern the estates under the title of the supreme ministers of the *Bookman*: their advice is always resorted to.

The circumcision of male subjects is generally practised by the Mahometans throughout Africa. At Sierra Leone the girls are not exempted from this religious and political institution. Amongst the Mandingos and the Suzees, it is performed upon them by the excision of the external end of the clitoris. The ceremonies which accompany this operation deserve to be known.

Every year in the fine season, and with a new moon, all the young girls of the village, who are marriageable, are assembled. The night preceding the day of the ceremony, they are conducted by the women of the place to the most secret part of a wood, at each avenue to which amulets are scattered, the object of which is to keep off every curious person, who might profane with his presence the scene of action. The seclusion of the girls lasts for upwards of a month, during which time no human being perceives them, except the old woman who performs the solemn rite, and who every morning brings them their food. If from decease or any other obstacle, her return should be prevented, the person who succeeds her, as she approaches the spot, calls with a loud voice, deposits the victuals at a certain place, and then hastens back without either seeing or being observed by the patients: for whether by chance or inclination, whoever violates this sanctuary, is punished with death.

It is at this period only, when the body is subdued by the austerities which it has suffered, and the mind prepared by the religious obscurity and silence of the forest, that these girls are taught the customs and superstitions of their country: for till that grand period, they are not considered capable of understanding or practising them. At length the period of their retreat expires, and by this time the wound caused by the operation is nearly healed. They are taken back to the village at night, with the same secrecy as they were brought out: they are received by the young and old women entirely naked. In this state, forming an irregular kind of procession, and followed by persons with musical instruments, they parade through the streets by day-light. If during this ceremony a man be found looking at them, he is immediately put to death, unless he can furnish a slave. Their return from the wood is succeeded by a month of probation, during which time they are each day conducted in procession, accompanied by music and covered from head to foot, to the houses of the principal people, before which they sing and dance till the owner of each makes them a trifling present. When the month has expired they are liberated from all these ceremonies, and handed over to the men intended for their husbands.

Neither the origin nor the motives of this ludicrous ceremony are known: but the women have such a veneration for it, that the most shocking of all insults is to reproach them for not having done it honour; and this reproach is even lavished on strangers, who may not have arrived amongst the tribe till after the period appointed for the operation.

The other people, namely the Suzecs, Bulams, Bagos, and Tommanies, are idolaters. It is impossible to form an accurate idea of their religion: they have no fixed object of adoration to which a religion that may be called natural, may be applied. Every man forms gods according to his inclination; and the ridiculous, rude, and numerous figures which they worship, are beyond all conception.

The principal articles of their faith are, that there is a god who lives over their heads, governs all, and through whom every thing exists. Whatever happens to them, whether good or bad, is ordained by the deity, unless they attribute the events to magic; but this idea of an omnipresent providence is not accompanied by any return on their part, either of gratitude for its benefits, or of submission to allay its wrath by prayer.

They consider devils to be the ministers of God, and make them offerings: these devils, the most powerful sovereigns of the earth, are represented by little statues of clay, which are often renewed, and made nearly to resemble man. They place them

To all the natural advantages of the soil in question may be added, that of its being proper for the cultivation of every thing which contributes to the riches of our American colonies. Sugar-canes would succeed perfectly well upon it; and the coffee-tree already grows there, of two different species; both of which, however, are unknown in Europe. Nevertheless, that of the West India islands is also cultivated; and its fruit is said to be of as a good quality as that in the Levant. Tobacco of the common kind likewise thrives amazingly; but the natives do not cultivate it; and the cotton-tree is to be met with in every part of this country in the greatest abundance, as well as the kind of the tree which affords silk.

This country is also enriched by peculiar kinds of spices. There are several species of pepper, nutmeg, and thyme, as well as others of uncommon fine flavour, which the natives use for different physical purposes, notwithstanding there is a variety of physical plants. There has been discovered at Sierra Leone a new kind of Peruvian bark; and commerce may hereafter make it of much importance, as its virtue has been ascertained not only by the use which the natives make of it, but from the experiments to which it has been submitted at London. The *cola* is a fruit celebrated in the country both by the natives and the Portuguese, as a substitute for the Peruvian bark. The latter people even send ships along the coast to collect it in great quantities. The nut that contains castor-oil, grows in every part of these districts.

Nature, indeed, has not confined herself to this variety of productions, but has placed at the disposition of man those objects which afford him the greatest pleasure. At Sierra Leone the substances used for dying are found in abundance. A yellow colour is extracted from the butter-tree; and the indigo, which grows spontaneously in every part, affords the finest blue. From many other vegetables may be obtained black and red colours.

The different species of the mineral kingdom, in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, are as yet but little known; a search, however, will soon be made, and we shall know the result. This country is equally rich in animals. Cattle of all kinds succeed in it and fatten, though not so easily as in Europe. The wool of sheep undergoes a change in consequence of the heat, and becomes thin; but goats and hogs breed amazingly, and prove as fat as in other countries. The wild hogs, squirrels, and antelopes may likewise be reckoned amongst the animals at Sierra Leone, which are proper for the food of man. They raise there all kinds of poultry known in Europe, which breed uncommonly fast. There is a species of heron, which is easily tamed,

and is very good to eat. The wild ducks and pigeons are delicious; but geese and turkeys become emaciated.

There is likewise a vast quantity of sea and river fish: the spermaceti whale is sometimes found at Sierra Leone, but more frequently on the northern coasts. There are also sharks, thorn-backs, porpoises, eels, mackarel, and mullet, all of which are eaten, except the eels. Oysters and the other kinds of shell-fish are likewise very plentiful, and serve as food for the natives.

Green turtle are very common here, and are often of an inconceivable size. Land and river tortoises are also to be met with; the former in great numbers: they are used by the people; and might be sent to Europe with advantage.

Amongst the zooplutes, none deserve greater attention than the common sponge, which covers the sandy shores, and with which a considerable trade might be carried on.

The beasts of prey are lions, leopards, hyænas, civet cats, and several species of weazles. The last mentioned animals are great enemies of poultry. There are likewise apes of various species. The chimpanzee is common on the mountains of Sierra Leone, and resembles a man more than the ourang-outang: its greatest height is nearly five feet, and it is covered with long and thick hair down the back, but short and light on the breast and belly. Its face is without hair, and the hands and head are similar to those of an old Negro, except that the hair of the head is not curly. It eats, drinks, sleeps, and sits at table like a human being. When young, it walks on all fours; but treads on the back of its hands: when grown up, it moves erect by the aid of a stick. This animal is alway gentle and good natured.

A species of crocodiles and caymans is to be seen here, which has never been described by naturalists: they are ten or twelve feet long.

There are six known species of lizards, amongst which are the guarra and the cameleon. Serpents are innumerable: they enter the houses during the night for the purpose of catching the poultry: the largest which was ever known here, was eighteen feet long; but it was found not to be venomous.

Insects are innumerable in this part of the world. The most remarkable are the *termites*, or white ants, which eat and even destroy hedges and houses that are built of wood; while the common ants only devour provisions. The grasshoppers and crickets consume clothes, linen, and leather; and there are musquitoes, flies, scorpions, and centipedes, as well as wild bees, the last of which furnish wax and honey in abundance. Worms are little known; but the barnacles are large, and do much injury to the ships that are not covered with copper.

at the foot of a tree in a niche covered with dry leaves, and decorate their altars with pieces of linen, cups, plates, pots, or bottles, copper-rings, necklace beads, or other trifles, none of them of any value. When the Negroes wish to gain favour in the sight of these idols, they provide themselves with a quantity of brandy, of which they pour out a small portion for the devil, and drink the rest before him in large quantities.

Their favourite idols are made of wood; are from eight to ten inches high, and painted black: they are considered as the *Penates* of the hut; but the people pay them little attention, because they suppose them not to want their assistance.

On any event which may happen, these Negroes make an offering to their genii, whom they suppose to have the same power in the air, as the devils have on earth. The offering is always of little value; but they have the most implicit reliance on its efficacy. It is a crime to carry away one of these idols, even unknowingly: the offender is always brought to justice, and woe to him, if he be poor, or his prosecutor powerful; for it is sure to cost him the loss of his liberty. Such are the peculiarities of a religion in which it is difficult to distinguish, whether superstition or absurdity be more predominant.

I have already spoken of the government of the Mandingos. They have proceeded from a republican state, and have every where formed monarchies; but in this part of Africa they are elective and very limited. In all of them the authority of the chief greatly resembles that of the father of a family, and each district of this nation has a regulating king or chief of its own.

The Mandingos and the Suzees, the most powerful and populous nations of the coast, acknowledge the supremacy of the king of the Foulhas, though they never see nor consult him: they speak of him, however, with respect, and consider him as the potentate of the great empire which extends from Gambia to Cape Monte. The Bulams, the Tommanies, and the Bagos admit of no other authority than that of the chief of their tribe.

Excepting amongst the Mandingos and the Suzees, few of the kings belong to the countries which they govern, but are almost always foreigners, that is, from different nations of the continent. The reigning prince may chuse himself a lieutenant, who at his death succeeds to his honours and governs in his name, as long as he may be suffered to retain his situation; and if he be clever and powerful he never fails to get possession of the hereditary property of the deceased, which he keeps till the election of a new king; and it is not rare to see the lieutenant either invested with the royal dignity, or continue to exercise it all his life, under the modest title with which he assumed it.

In 1787 the chief of Sierra Leone had no other title than the one last mentioned. He, however, reigned more than ten years: his subjects, who loved him, wished to proclaim him king; but the wise Negro refused that honour, and contented himself with power without ostentation.

The revenues of such a king consist in certain duties and in presents, which he receives from all who apply to him on subjects that come under his authority. These presents are proportionate to the means of the supplicant and the importance of the affair: the poor man gives but little; when, however, the subject is serious, a rich individual must not offer less than the value of a slave. His income also consists in the customs which foreigners pay for permission to trade, and these are often considerable.

The marks and attributes of royalty are elephants' tails, carried before the sovereigns, who generally walk with gold or silver-headed canes, and gold-laced hats, which they procure from the Europeans.

The executive power and the right of passing a final judgment are vested in the king; nevertheless the chief of each village considers himself as its master and only magistrate. The king merely invites these chiefs together, and decides in full council on such points as have been separately determined.

The parents of a deceased king or chief do not enjoy the privilege of being distinguished from their countrymen. Each of them exercises his own profession; and it is not rare to see the son of a king reduced, after the death of his father, to hire himself to Europeans as a common sailor, in order to procure the means of subsistence.

The Negroes have no other claim to the lands than present possession. When a cultivator quits any spot, the first comer establishes himself upon it; his only qualification being, that he belongs to the same tribe. This is a point of which they are extremely jealous, as they will not suffer a stranger to settle amongst them without their consent. Their laws, which are transmitted merely by tradition, are nothing but the ancient customs of the country, and differ slightly in various states. The king, assisted by the chiefs, decides on every thing in a *Burree*, or public audience, which is attended by people called *palaver-talkers*, who act as counsellors, and discuss the claims of the parties.

Their debates are in general determined equitably, according to the proofs which are brought forward; particularly when the case is between persons of equal station. But here, as elsewhere, the weaker is often the victim of the stronger party; and

he who loses the cause pays the expences, for which he gives security before leaving the council.

Their rules of justice are not, however, so particularly observed in their intercourse with the Whites. It is of no use for the latter to gain the cause, as they never derive any advantage from their success; for they never grant them their expences whether they be in the right or wrong. On asking them their motives for such conduct, they answer, "the white men gain plenty of money, and therefore cannot want it."

A capital crime is punished either by death or slavery, though the former mode is scarcely at all resorted to, except by the Mandingos, who follow the Mussulman laws, and whose proceedings are very short. Murder, however, is an exception.—The punishment for sorcery is slavery; but for adultery or any other crime, a pecuniary recompence is sufficient.

The manner of causing debts to be paid, is founded on the earliest notions of equity. Debts are ordinarily contracted for a certain time; if, when it has expired, the debtor hesitate or refuse to pay it, the creditor has recourse to the king or chief, who tells the defaulter to perform his promise; but if the advice be not followed, the king permits the creditor to seize the debtor or some of his slaves; and if he live in another town, so that this measure cannot be resorted to, then the creditor arrests the first countryman of the debtor with whom he meets, and detains him till the debt is discharged; an act which the debtor is soon obliged to perform by the inhabitants of the town. The person who has been so detained never fails to obtain damages for his imprisonment.

A law peculiar to Sherbro, and known through all the country by the name of *Purrah*, is the most singular of all the laws established in Africa: this wise and politic institution took its origin from a view to terminate the incessant wars which arose amongst the inhabitants, from their pride, jealousy, and irritability. Every free man thirty years of age, may become a member of the purrah: at the time of his admission he undergoes various ceremonies, conformably to the secret law; and on this point they are as scrupulous as are the Free-masons of Europe, with regard to their mysteries. Both these institutions have indeed many instances of resemblance, such in particular, as the ordination of a grand master, and the exclusion of women. It is only at the last extremity that this institution is resorted to; but it has the right of punishing murderers and magicians.

When two nations, which are at war, become tired of hostilities and wish for peace, though each party be too proud to ask it of the other, they apply to a neighbouring king to get him to act as

mediator. When he consents, and he seldom refuses, he informs the two parties that he is about to become their arbiter; that he cannot longer see friends destroy one another; and that if they refuse his interference, he will send the purrah to them. If the combatants do not accept this invitation, the dreadful purrah is solemnly ordained.

As soon as the institution is assembled, and until it has broken up, there must be no more blood spilt, and all the enemies may return, without alarm, to their ordinary occupations. If it should happen that, notwithstanding this decree of terror, the Negro, thirsting for vengeance, avails himself of an opportunity to take it, the purrah, on the news of this event, breaks up, and a body of forty or fifty warriors, armed and disguised, go in search of the aggressors. Every man, whatever may be his station, flees from their presence; and if any one be rash enough to look at them outside his house, they cut him to pieces, and disperse the fragments in every direction. The same fate is reserved for those who have transgressed the decrees of the purrahs, wherever they are met with.

It is impossible to describe the alarm with which this institution inspires the great mass of the people, who believe that its members are influenced by devils, and that they can do all the ill they wish, without receiving any injury in return. They carry off provisions or whatever takes their fancy, without meeting the least resistance. In every part, and amongst all nations, terror is known to produce the same effect. Amongst the Africans it is justified by powerful motives, namely, the re-establishment of peace, and the preservation of man. When the former takes place, the institution breaks up, and each man retires to his home.

A thirst after vengeance, that sovereign passion of the Africans, is the principal cause of their frequent wars. When the nation decrees them, they are general, and each member of a horde sees an enemy in every individual of the other. When they are private, the quarrel only prevails between the two towns, and the expeditions of each are confined to plunder; the highest of their ambition being to surprise and burn a few villages, and take some prisoners.

The inhabitants of the coast have abandoned their national arms for the sabre and musket; but those of the inland parts make use of lances, darts, and poisoned arrows. It is evident the commerce with the Europeans has had a great influence on the morals of the Negroes; it has given them a relish for society, industry, the arts, and domestic virtues. Those who live far inland, are still savages. It is remarked that the inhabitants of the

coast or neighbouring isles, are much more vigorous, better shaped, braver, more active, and less superstitious than those of the country parts : this difference must be attributed to their connection with Europeans, to their food, and the salubrious air which they respire.

The Bulams, Tommanies, and Bagos are strong, of a good countenance, and of a fine black colour ; their limbs are strait and muscular, their features agreeable, and they are above the middle size. The Tommanies in particular have an open and ingenuous physiognomy, and the women are generally handsome. The Suzees have a yellow complexion ; their shape and height are inferior to those of the Tommanies, and they have thick lips and pug noses. The Mandingos seem to be, and in fact are, a separate race : they are tall, but thin, and of a dull black colour ; their eyes are small, and they wear their beards like the Jews of Europe. The Bulams, Suzees, and several others shave themselves when they are young ; and when they begin to turn grey, they let their beards grow, as they consider white hair to be indicative of wisdom.

The difference of features between the free Blacks and the slaves is so striking, that an eye of the least penetration immediately distinguishes their condition. The former exhibits a noble dignity and pride in his whole person, and his looks are confident and commanding. The slave, on the contrary, depressed by his unfortunate situation, has a servile gait, and neither speaks nor walks without casting down his eyes. The slaves which are brought from the interior, are smaller, less robust, and worse shaped than the free Negroes. Those who live near the sea, are of the same size as their masters.

The language of the Suzees appears to be the mother tongue of the idioms of the other tribes : it is mild and agreeable. That of the Mandingos, like the people who speak it, is very different from the others ; it is a corrupted kind of Arabic, and totally different from that which they teach in their schools, and which they call the language of prayer.

The character of the Blacks is nearly the same every where : they are indolent, except when animated by the desire of vengeance ; implacable, perfidious, and dissimulating when they have received an injury, in order that they may find an opportunity of avenging it with impunity : on the other hand, they are gentle and hospitable to every one, but inclined to larceny, and remarkable for an extreme inconstancy of taste and conduct. The women behave with great propriety, and fulfil all domestic duties with the utmost attention. They never wean their children till they are capable of walking, and can bring to their mother a calabash filled with water : they lose no time in teach-

ing them to go alone ; for during the whole period of their suckling, the husbands scrupulously respect the laws of chastity to their utmost extent, and would regard an infraction of them as a crime the more serious, as it would be hurtful to the nurse and the health of the child. Barrenness is the greatest ignominy a woman can suffer. Nature has not excluded them from the pains of child-birth, but they support them with much courage, and without making any complaints. A short time after, they return to their ordinary occupations.

Their domestic amusements are every where alike, and are similar to those of our country people. In the evening the principal wife, surrounded by the other women of her husband, and the servants of the house, employs herself in spinning or carding cotton ; while one of the company amuses the rest by reciting pleasant stories. The old ones tell of witches and ghosts, the young ones of their amours. There are likewise games of chance, at which the men and women play separately ; but both sexes like dancing in preference to every thing, and to this exercise they devote themselves every moon-light evening, from an hour after sun-set till midnight. Besides these evenings, the birth of a child, or the visit of a friend, likewise supplies them with frequent opportunities for enjoying *Cullungées*, by which name they distinguish their meetings for singing and dancing. When they give a *cullungée* in honour of any event, the dancers appear dressed in a grotesque manner. They wear a high cap of rushes, surrounded by feathers, have the eyes, mouth, and nose painted white, and wear round their waists a small petticoat of rushes, which they display in every possible shape. On beginning to dance they take in their hands small pieces of wood, which they strike together, and by which they mark time, as do the Spaniards with the castanets.

The death of one of the family, or of a relation or friend, is a new opportunity for a dance. They celebrate the *Wha*, or mourning ; and the ceremony of lamentation is of such a nature, that a stranger would suppose them to be making festivities.

On the evening of an appointed day, the relations, friends, and acquaintances of the deceased assemble before his house, where they sing in his praise, and dance to the sound of a drum ; they incessantly vary the figures of their dance ; sometimes they form a large circle round the music, and clap their hands on each stanza of the song ; at others a single person dances in the midst of the rest, who alternately sit down and stand up ; or three or four only are in action at once, and continue to move about till they are fatigued, when they are replaced by others. The company all the while sing and clap their hands. This

ceremony and discharges of musquetry continue without interruption from morning to evening for three successive nights. On these occasions neither tobacco nor brandy is spared.

When the person deceased is a man of importance, and his parents or friends are rich, this mourning ceremony is repeated two or three times a year for several years together. On the death of a member of a poor family, his relatives are a long time before they can procure a sufficient quantity of brandy and tobacco for the solemnity; but, whatever difficulties they may experience in amassing it, the ceremony takes place sooner or later.

This assembly, in which both sexes join, may be called a public mourning; but there is another of a domestic kind, practised principally by the women, and which is peculiar to the Bulamis and the Tonimanies. The performers on this occasion wear a linen or white cotton cap, which comes down as low as their eyes, so that they can see nothing but the ground. They have several rows of the grain of the country round their neck and waist. If they be married women, they wear no other clothes than the simple *tuntungée*. They are not permitted to eat or drink with other persons, nor even prepare their own food; but at the time of the repast, a drum is beaten, and dancing takes place before the door of the house in which the mourning is celebrated. None, except the guests, must use the vessels which are employed at this repast.

The duration of such a mourning is not fixed, but is regulated by the will or caprice of those who make it; and the chief person is generally the mother, aunt, or some other aged relative. They generally cause it to be celebrated by young girls who are of a marriageable age, as a means of securing their virtue: for while it lasts, if any connection be discovered between the two sexes, the woman would be dishonoured, and the man punished.

A woman, if she conceive herself neglected by her husband, may put the house of the latter into mourning; but, after she has made use of this privilege for a short time, the husband pacifies her by a present: it consists of a goat, some poultry, tobacco, and a bottle of brandy, towards her expences. The woman then becomes tractable, and the people reconcile her with her husband. This custom is very judicious on the part of the women, who like to avenge themselves and shew their authority: for while the mourning lasts, the husband cannot enjoy the society of his mistress.

The drum is their principal instrument of music; they have three sorts of it, which differ in size according to the purposes for which they are used. One kind is made of hard wood, hol-

lowed within: the two ends are stopped up, and a longitudinal hole is cut in the side. They strike it with two sticks, and the strong and acute sound which it sends forth, is heard in calm weather at a great distance, and is considered as the signal of alarm. Another kind is made of light wood, hollowed like the former, but the ends of which are covered with goat or sheep-skins, dried and lightly stretched by cords. Some of these drums are six or eight feet high, by two or three in diameter; and they occasionally have at their ends rows of sharks' teeth or pieces of copper, which produce a tolerably loud tinkling.

These people have likewise two kinds of stringed instruments, one of which is a sort of guitar, and the other resembles in shape a Welsh harp, but is only two feet high. The strings are made of the fibres of a plant combined with the hair of elephants' tails. The women and children in their amusements produce a sound from gourds, in which they inclose some dry seeds. At Sherbro the natives reckon amongst their musical instruments a reed pipe pierced with four holes, and a trumpet made of an elephant's tooth.

The chief food of the people is rice, which they boil after it is dried, and season it with palm-oil, or with a strong sauce made from fish or meat, or from poultry or vegetables simmered together, and to which they add spices, pepper, and palm-oil. They eat very little meat, but what they do consume, they prefer smoked or boiled; they are, however, good cooks, and prepare their aliments in a very delicate manner. The men and women do not eat together, and they drink only water; they make but two meals a day, one at ten in the morning, and the other at sunset. The men, however, who are in easy circumstances, generally add another meal very early in the morning, which has been prepared over night by their favourite woman.

There are no other professions known amongst them than those of carpenters, smiths, and makers of musical instruments. They are very active and clever in their labour, particularly so considering the imperfection of their tools. In each family they spin and weave their linen, and make their own clothes; the women spin and card the cotton, and the men weave and sew.

Their dress is both simple and convenient: the boys and girls wear nothing but the *tuntungée*, which is a thin band of linen passed between the thighs. The females are distinguished by the manner in which they wear it, as they have a cord round their waist, in which they tuck the *tuntungée*, and leave the ends hanging down before and behind; they likewise carry round the loins a belt composed of several rows of seeds. The boys bring one of the ends of the *tuntungée* in front; they twist the rest round them, and let the other end hang down behind. The

women quit this dress on their marriage, and then appear in a piece of cotton cloth, which hangs below the calf of the leg.

The women are passionately fond of ornaments; they wear ear-rings, necklaces, bracelets, finger-rings, chains, strings of coral, &c., and paint their faces with different colours. In short, an African lady, on coming from her toilet, is an object well worth observance. Over the ordinary dress, which is nothing but the small and short petticoat, they put another of red taffety; a silk handkerchief thrown loosely round their neck, falls down them like a child's bib: another of the same colour is put over the head; and the ears, neck, &c. are loaded with the ornaments already mentioned. They dress their hair in curious folds, so as to form crescents or circles, paint the forehead white, and generally have five or six silver rings on each finger. A lady of this description on going out has her servants walking behind her: they are generally girls from ten to fifteen years of age, who are the handsomest that can be found, and who ornament themselves with coral and seeds; they wear a piece of taffety or fine India stuff thrown over the left shoulder.

The men's dress is a large shirt without either collar or waistband, but with wide sleeves, trowsers, which reach below the calf of the leg; and a hat or small cap, which sits tight on the head, and is made of the linen of the country. In other respects they generally go with the head and feet bare, the chiefs excepted, who always endeavour to imitate the Whites. The Mandingos, however, are distinguishable from the rest by always wearing red sandals and bonnets, and ornamenting their shirts and trowsers with embroidery, at which they are very clever.

The men never walk without their *belmos*, which is a large and straight knife hung in a belt at the right thigh; they in fact carry two instruments, one to eat with, and the other to defend themselves.

The Negroes build their villages generally on the banks of a river or creek, that they may follow fishing; and such a place may always be recognised by the pullams with which it is surrounded: these are large trees, whose presence always announces an uncultivated country: for the natives never give themselves the trouble to clear more soil than they want to build on; they are not even aware, that the felling of the trees that surround them, would render their dwellings more wholesome. Their streets are never built in a straight line, because each person chooses the spot which he likes best; he then builds as many little houses as he has women or people to accommodate, and the whole of these huts describe a circle, which is surrounded by stakes, as has already been mentioned; while such is the activity of vegetation, that these stakes in a few months become a com-

plete hedge. The junction of several of these habitations forms a town, which often covers a quantity of ground, and is generally inclosed with a mud-wall. When the people are at war, they have several barriers, which they close always at sunset, and never open them on any occasion whatever till morning: they are guarded all the night by vigilant sentinels. The shape of their huts has already been described. I have only to add, that their doors are not like ours, except amongst those who pique themselves on imitating the Whites: the others consist of a mat fixed to the roof; and when this mat is let down, no one must be so indifferent as to enter without giving notice, though this precaution is unnecessary when the mat is raised. The edges of the roof project seven or eight feet over the wall, and rest upon poles: this shed is thus converted into a sort of portico, which secures the wall from rain, and, with certain additions, serves as a place for their stores.

In the more distant parts of the country, the natives build large houses of bricks baked in the sun, and these houses may last many years if care be taken to secure them from the injuries of the weather. No chimnies are constructed in their habitations, though they make a fire in them every evening to drive away the musquitos, and prepare their food.

The common people, slaves, and children sleep on mats or dried skins, spread upon the ground; but the free Negroes, and those in easy circumstances, have a kind of alcove formed of four stakes driven into the earth, on which they hang mats in the manner of curtains. In the men's apartments is a box to contain their clothes and treasure, which is covered with a mat or a skin, whereon they place their weapons. The women's chamber contains the domestic utensils, mats, stools, and always a looking-glass.

In the Mandingo countries there is a mosque in every town, from the steeple of which the people are called to prayers, the same as in Turkey.

Polygamy in these regions is practised in its utmost latitude. The women are frequently hostages for alliance and peace; and the chiefs of two tribes who have been at war, cement their treaties by an exchange of their daughters: private individuals do the same; and this circumstance may be the reason why the chiefs in particular have such a great number of women.

A girl is frequently betrothed to a man as soon as she is born. Among the Suzees the child remains with the mother till a proper age; which, however, is determined more by the progress of nature than by the revolution of a certain time: they are then definitively delivered over to the husband. On the day agreed

on for the marriage, the bridegroom places on the road which the bride has to pass, several of his people at different distances, with brandy and other refreshments; for if these articles be not furnished in abundance, the conductors of the bride will not advance a step farther, though they may have got three parts of the way on their journey. On approaching the town, they stop, and are joined by the friends of the bridegroom, who testify their joy by shouting, drinking, and letting off their pieces.

At this period an old woman takes the girl on her shoulders, and the attendants cover her with a fine veil: for from that moment till the consummation of the marriage, no man must see her face. Mats are now spread before the old woman, who must not on any account touch the ground with her feet. In this manner the bride is conveyed to the house of her husband, followed by the friends of both families, singing, dancing, and firing off their muskets. Towards evening the husband comes into the apartment of his young wife. If he have reason to suspect that some mortal has been more happy than he is likely to be, he leaves her immediately; and this circumstance is no sooner known amongst the friends who have conducted her to him, than they all hasten from the sight of the observers, crying and howling with shame and confusion. If, on the other hand, things are found as they ought to be, he remains with her the whole night: the friends then rejoice, and next day carry in procession the proofs of her virginity, according to the laws of Moses. In both cases, however, the husband may keep the young girl; but if he should send her back, he is obliged to give up all that she has brought him.

The Bulams, the Bagos, and the Tommanies receive into their houses their betrothed brides during their infancy, and make the relations of the child a present proportionate to their means. If afterwards the girl should not be well treated, the parents have a right to take her back on giving up the present; while, on the other hand, the husband always has the privilege of sending her home, without re-demanding any thing.

From these details it will be seen, that chastity is a virtue highly esteemed amongst the Africans, at least till marriage; but from that moment it is a trait of unpoliteness and want of education in the woman to resist the solicitations of a lover: she would indeed be punished, if discovered, but her reputation would remain unsullied. In the black savages of Africa we find the customs which are prevalent in Italy and Spain: for each Negro lady has a *cicisbeo* or *cortéjo*, whom she makes choice of and takes with her on all occasions. The husband is obliged to tolerate this intercourse in silence: nevertheless, the laws are not wanting in severity towards the adulterer; but they are of little effect,

unless the complainant is a man of great power ; and even then he dares not make a stir in the business, on account of the ridicule which would afterwards attend him. It is particularly amongst the great men who keep a number of women, that the above-mentioned practice is most in vogue. The rest of the people are contented with one or two women, and by this means they are less exposed.

A remarkable and truly extraordinary circumstance is, that the women never abuse their husbands by introducing into their families illegitimate children: for before their *accouchement* they always name the father. If, however, the husband should wish to have a child of his own by a woman he loves, he obliges her to swear that she will remain continent for a certain time: she takes the oath, and generally keeps it; but if, in the interval, either by violence or the persuasion of her lover, she yields to his wishes, and thus breaks her promise, she confesses her fault immediately to her husband; and this avowal is the more striking, because the criminal pair do not on that account suffer a less shameful punishment: they are ever afterwards devoted to contempt and infamy.

These people have the greatest veneration for the dead; and they pay them the last duties with profound and melancholy respect. As in Europe, they bury them either in the morning or evening, as suits their convenience. The place of interment is sacred, and is always a wood beyond the town. One of their dogmas is, that none die without having a presentiment of their end, unless they be victims of magic or poison; or when the charms of an enemy have been more powerful than the talismans which they carry about them.

The body that is to be interred is wrapped in a piece of white linen, and placed on a bier, which is carried on the heads of six boys or six girls, according to the sex of the deceased: the corpse is preceded by a friend, who holds a green bough in his hand, and asks the body several questions as to the cause of its death. His principal interrogatories are, "Did you foresee it? is it natural? is it in consequence of poison or magic?" The bearers interpret the answers of the deceased according to the movements of the body, which they pretend to feel. A simple rotation indicates that the death was natural, in which case the body is asked, what could induce it to die and leave its friends? whether it was from chagrin at not being able to procure such good clothes, or such a fine musket as a certain person? or whether it was through despair at not having taken vengeance upon any one who had offended it? But whatever may be the answer to these last questions, the friends must not injure those of whom the dead body is said to complain.





*Black Marriage at Goree.*



*The Cullermage of the Natives*

A movement forwards is a proof of poison or magic, and then they attempt to discover the guilty individual. They mention to the deceased the names of several persons, not even excepting those of his own family. If the body be silent, it is supposed to be irritated at the suspicion against its relatives, and they beg it to tell them who is the guilty person. To ascertain this fact, they invite it to turn the bier towards the person who carries the branch. If the body should then push the bier forwards, and strike the bough with it, the guilty person is thus named, and the spectators are convinced. Three motions forwards indicate magic, and two poison. The criminal is then suddenly seized; and if the accusation be for magic, he is sold without formality. It often happens, when the deceased is a person of distinction, and the one whom he accuses is poor, they sell his whole family with him; but if he be accused of poisoning, they reserve him for a subsequent trial, from which, however, he rarely escapes.

After depositing the dead man in his grave, in which, according to their custom, they throw his best clothes, and whatever else they conceive he may want, they return to the accused who is confined, but in such a manner that he might escape if he please; and he is informed, that the laws which he has transgressed, require the privation of his liberty. As soon as night approaches, the criminal makes his escape to the nearest town, where he invokes the protection of the chief, who is supposed to be impartial. He protests his innocence of the crime, and demands the ordeal of red water. This request is generally complied with, and the friends of the deceased are invited to assist at the ceremony.

On the appointed day they place the criminal on a high seat, strip off all his clothes, and leave him nothing but an apron of plantain leaves round his waist. He then, in presence of the whole town, who assemble on these occasions, eats rue or cola, and drinks poisoned water. If he die, which almost always happens, he is declared guilty; but if he should live twenty-four hours after the ceremony, he is adjudged innocent. During this time he dares not relieve nature by any secretions; and if he have not strength to retain them, his impotence is considered as strong a proof of his crime, as if he had fallen dead on first taking the fatal drink. Nay, in order to prevent all surprise, they force him to join in the songs and dances, with which during the night they celebrate his innocence.

A person once acquitted by this judgment of God acquires a general confidence, and has a right to bring an action against the parents and friends of the deceased for defamation and false poisoning. The latter in such cases are always condemned, and pay a fine equal to the injury.

When the accusation of magic falls on a person whom they cannot sell, either on account of his age, or the rank of his family, he is conducted to a field out of the town, where he is obliged to dig his own grave; while the people, who surround and guard him, load him with insults, and say as a common phrase, "You kill others, and do not wish that death should strike you in return." During these injuries he continues his doleful work with an apparent insensibility, and merely answers, "It is true, that I have killed such a one, and many others; and if I were to live I should kill many more." From time to time he takes measure of the grave with his own body; and when he thinks it deep enough, they place him at one end with his face towards it: in this position one of the assistants gives him a violent blow on the nape of the neck, which causes him to fall into the grave on his face; they then cover him with mould, and finish him by running him through with a sharp pike, which they strike several times into his body. The grave is then filled up, and the name of the criminal is condemned to oblivion.

These ceremonies, in which slight differences prevail amongst the various tribes, are so absurd, and their injustice is so palpable, that it is astonishing that the people have not abolished so barbarous a custom, notwithstanding its antiquity.

All savage or ignorant nations have believed in spells and magic; but nothing can equal the furious people of whom I am speaking. If a crocodile devour a man, a leopard destroy a sheep, a person fall ill, or die suddenly; or if any reverses be experienced, it is always through the sorcerer; and when he is discovered, he never escapes the cruel punishment which the law pronounces against him.

They place implicit faith in the efficacy of a talisman, which they call *gris-gris*: they wear it round their neck, at their waist, and on their legs and arms. Each has its particular virtue: one preserves them from bullets; another from poison; and when a man has been killed, burnt, or drowned, they say, that his *gris-gris* was not so efficacious as that of his enemy. They are, however, persuaded that the *gris-gris* can do nothing against cannon.

These talismans are made of goat skins, with the hair on, or of morocco leather; and they are of different sizes, from one to three inches; they are filled with a kind of powder, and with scraps of certain sentences of the alkoran in the Arabic. The priests, or marabouts, have the exclusive privilege of preparing and selling them. These people all follow the trade of divines or augurs: their testimony is, in the eyes of the people, evidence itself; they pry into futurity, discover thieves and adul-

terers, perform miracles; in short, all the actions of the credulous people are submitted to their influence.

Amongst savage nations the practice of physic is generally added to that of divination or sorcery. In these countries, however, it is otherwise; for the old women here cure diseases, and fulfil their task with great zeal and astonishing success, particularly in cases of wounds: they employ simple herbs, which abound in the fields and woods.

The most common diseases are hydrocele and intermittent fevers: the latter they infallibly cure by simple remedies; the former is supposed to arise from the excessive use of palm wine amongst the natives, whose constitution is particularly voluptuous. Venereal diseases are also very common; but they are never attended with those dreadful symptoms which appear in Europe. The natives will not believe that they can acquire this disease by a connection with an unclean individual: it is easily cured by simples and sudorifics. The small-pox is endemic, but is more rare on the coasts than in the country.

Foreigners who come here are subject to other diseases, the most fatal of which is dysentery. They have remedies for these attacks; but the method of preventing them is, to preserve a medium between excess and privation.

I shall terminate this chapter with a reflection which I conceive important. The French government has admitted the necessity of protecting the commerce of the western coast of Africa, of forming new establishments on points most favourable for trade, and of sending expeditions to procure accurate information. These measures are the more necessary, as the slave-trade has been renewed on our part. The decree which suppressed it, and which precipitately gave liberty to all our Negro slaves, was made in the delirium of tumultuous passions, and has caused the greatest misfortunes, which time and wisdom alone can repair. I shall repeat here, what I have already said relative to the philanthropic principles of the English company;—that its success must depend upon the concurrence of all nations, and on a perfect understanding amongst them for the abolition of the trade. But if they flatter themselves with such an union, it is a question whether they will ever obtain it. It is at least doubtful, whether any government would authorise a convention which would proclaim at once the ruin and entire loss of the American colonies. I declare it with pain, that if the company above-mentioned do not give another direction to its views, it will have indulged in a fine dream, and expended enormous sums to no purpose.

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CHAP. XII.

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DESCRIPTION OF THE BAR OF THE SENEGAL, AND OF THE BANKS OF THAT RIVER, AS FAR AS ISLE ST. LOUIS.—PRECAUTIONS TO BE TAKEN FOR PASSING THE BAR.—REMARKS ON THE CANOES OF THE NEGROES.—DESCRIPTION OF ISLE ST. LOUIS, ITS ADMINISTRATION AND INHABITANTS.

AFTER the rapid sketch which I have given of our establishments from Cape Blanco to the river of Sierra Leone, it is necessary to return to the bar of the Senegal, and say something of the passage of that river, as far as Isle St. Louis, which deserves a particular description.

The bar of the Senegal is situated in about  $15^{\circ} 58'$  lat. and  $18^{\circ} 51' 50''$  lon.: it is a bank of moving sand, formed at the mouth of the river by the mud and sand which it conveys in its course to the sea, and which the latter repels incessantly towards the coast. The river, in consequence of its mass of water, and the violence of its current, has made two outlets here, which are called the passes of the bar, and are distinguished by the appellation of Great and Small. To enter them is very difficult, and even dangerous.

The great pass is generally about a hundred fathoms wide, and eight or nine feet deep; and at all times the only ships which can pass it, are those that draw seven or eight feet of water. The waves are so short and strong, that they break with a terrible violence; and this passage often proves an end to the most favourable navigation. The small pass is so narrow and shallow, that none but canoes or small boats can get through it.

The large opening cannot be passed without an expert pilot, who is in the habit of visiting it every day, to know exactly its state and depth; both of which are uncertain, as they vary according to circumstances. All, therefore, that is known, is the extent and rapidity of the floods; but the sudden variations in question must doubtless be attributed to the double action of the river and the sea.

The pilot who is engaged to conduct ships over the bar, has a large boat with a deck, and a crew of Negroes, who have no clothing but a band of linen about six inches broad, which passes between their thighs: they are all strongly-made people, and excellent swimmers. But notwithstanding their knowledge and

activity, the boat and its crew often perish: they, however, more frequently escape the destruction which threatens them, and often exert themselves for the safety of strangers. But woe be to the rash seamen who might dare to attempt without their assistance the passage of the bar, as they would infallibly perish. Fortunately this passage does not last longer than a quarter of an hour; but it inspires so much dread, that the length of time seems insupportable. The first persons who passed this bar must have been intrepid sailors.

When this passage is effected, its horrors are succeeded by a calm, as the course of the river then becomes as smooth and gentle as its entrance was shocking and difficult.

It is from twenty to twenty-five feet deep, and of a considerable width. The exhausted rowers then take breath, drink brandy, and dance and rejoice at their success: they of course always receive a recompence. When I entered, I gave them a louis d'or, with which they were so highly satisfied that they were a long time singing my generosity, and afterwards did me great honour in the colony.

The Negroes go through the little passage with much adroitness, in the canoes which they use either for fishing or to go on board the vessels that arrive. These canoes are sometimes made of nothing but the trunk of a tree hollowed out; but more frequently the bottom is of a single piece, while the sides are fastened together by small cords made of the bark of a tree, caulked with beaten straw and clay; those of the Senegal in general are caulked in the French manner. The crew of these little narrow canoes, which are seldom more than twelve feet long, is generally composed of five men. One of them sits at the poop, and steers with one hand, while with the other he bales out the water that has leaked into the canoe. The other four Negroes, keep erect with their faces towards the prow. They use paddles, which they plunge quickly into the water, and strike behind them; the paddles are in the shape of a baker's peel, and they cause the boat to move and veer with quickness. These canoes have no seats, and are liable to overturn; but at this the crew are little concerned; they fix to the bottom or sides such articles as they intend to convey to the ships, and when they reach them, they upset the canoe, which remains so till they return; when one of them gets in, and bales out the water, while the rest swim alongside, and keep the canoe from sinking, till it is ready for them to enter, and continue their voyage. When at sea, these boats seem as if they would be lost every instant, as the least wave seems to raise them to the clouds; while on descending with it, they disappear, as if they were engulfed by that which follows.

The boat with a deck, which has already been mentioned, serves not only to perform the passage of the bar, but also to unlade the vessels that are about to enter the river; by which means, those from 100 to 150 tons generally ascend it, while such as are of a greater burden remain in the road. The process of unlading, on account of the roughness of the water, is difficult and expensive; and during the delay which it occasions, the crews of the European ships often fall sick.

It is perhaps to the inconveniences of the bar of the Senegal, that we are indebted for the safety of our establishments in that quarter; as one or two armed boats, within the bar, would be sufficient to sink all the vessels that might attempt to pass it; because only one ship can make the passage at the time. The best months for entering the river, are April, May, June, and July; and the most dangerous, those of September, October, November, and December, when the winds blow impetuously, and increase the course of the current so much as to render the passage almost impracticable.

On arriving in the road, you see to the right a spot called Barbary Point, which separates the river from the sea: it is flat and barren, being principally a moving sand, which being fine and dry, is blown about by the wind. It is about a hundred fathoms in length, and is frequented only by pelicans, which are not worth the trouble of hunting, and by small crabs, which are not eaten. The right bank is called Guinea-land, and is much better than Barbary Point. Its name signifies, in the language of the country, the Devil's land: it is level and covered with large trees and beautiful grass; and is dependant on the kingdom of Cayor, which finishes at the isle of Bifeche, about six leagues from the bar.

Within two leagues of the bar is a natural canal, formed by the river which leads to the village of Bieurt: on it are two little isles; one of them, called Bocos, on which the French had a factory; and the other Mogue, which is neither inhabited nor cultivated, though it contains very abundant salt-pits. At this place is also an inexhaustible quarry of oyster-shells, from which lime is made. Such prodigious heaps of oyster-shells have been found in other parts; but it is remarkable that they are shells only: for, notwithstanding the assertions of several philosophers and historians, the oyster is unknown at Senegal.

Isle St. Louis lies in  $16^{\circ} 4' 10''$  lat. and  $18^{\circ} 48' 15''$  long. It is in the middle of the river, and only four leagues from the bar: it has an anchorage for vessels of a certain burden, the width of the river being in this part 380 fathoms, and the depth from 20 to 30 feet. The isle itself is only 1140 toises in length from north to south, and its width,

not every where alike, it being at the southern point eighty toises, and at the western, the part where the fort is built, a hundred and thirty. From north to south, it forms a sort of elongated bank; the soil is level and sandy, a few mango or other trees being found only at the northern point: amongst them is the famous banyan tree, whose root is always in water, and from whose straight pliant, and knotless branches, shoots strike out, which take root almost as soon as they touch the ground, and thus form natural bowers. The number thus increases to an inconceivable extent, insomuch that a single banyan tree may in time produce a prodigious quantity of other trees of the same species, which give rise to a whole forest of bowers, under which one may conveniently walk and be sheltered from the sun. Nothing is more curious or agreeable than these promenades, which are frequently found on the banks of the river. There are likewise on the isle a few lonely palm-trees, some of which grow in the gardens.

The climate of Isle St. Louis is mild, wholesome, and agreeable during eight months of the year. From the beginning of December to the end of July, the temperature may be compared to that of our finest summer days; though cold is often felt there. All the houses have chimnies, which shews, that it is necessary to have fire in them during certain days in the year; but they are kindled only in the morning and evening, as the rays of the sun heat the atmosphere sufficiently. This brilliant orb shines in these countries in all its splendour during the eight months already mentioned. The sky is pure and cloudless; fresh winds purify the atmosphere; and the cold which occurs at intervals is a real benefit bestowed by nature for the health of the inhabitants.

Diseases are as rare at this period as they are frequent in the months of August, September, October, and November, which are comprised under the name of the sickly season, and during which time rain falls in abundance. The winds are at this epoch easterly; they cross the burning sands of Africa, and, corrupted by the fetid exhalations from the marshes, carry contagion to the island. Hence dysenteries, with putrid and inflammatory fevers, become frequent, and often make great havoc. To secure oneself against their malign influence, it is necessary to avoid all excesses, and particularly to guard against sleeping in the day-time: it is also of great advantage to drink fasting a little brandy in which bark has been infused; to take wholesome food in small quantities; and to bathe every day. The air is purified by burning gum, which the country furnishes in abundance. I passed two such seasons at Isle St. Louis without experiencing the least inconvenience; and others have lived there twenty,

thirty, and forty years, and were equally fortunate as myself.

When, however, a person is attacked, he has no occasion to despair of a cure: for the doctors use several good remedies; but the best specific is an emetic, by the taking of which in proper time, I have known several persons completely restored to health. I admit that such attacks are dangerous: but it is an error to suppose them incurable; as it likewise is to believe that the climate is always unhealthy: indeed I do not know a better one during two thirds of the year; and the dangers of the other portion have been exaggerated by travellers and historians. The latter have never been in Africa; and the former have accustomed themselves to assert falsehoods.

There have never been any physicians at Isle St. Louis; but surgeons are established there by government, which has not always been fortunate in its choice. To well informed men the country would present remedies in its own productions: for the natives prevent disease, or cure themselves when afflicted, by simples which are unknown to us at present; and here it is probable that by attentive observation very useful discoveries might be made.

When the unhealthy season is past, and the easterly winds have been succeeded by the fresh and salutary breezes which constantly blow for the remainder of the year, health and hilarity again prevail; and a cannon-shot is then fired towards the sea. This ceremony is a notification that the danger has subsided, and it dissipates the fears of the inhabitants.

There are, however, two inconveniences, against which they have much difficulty to guard. The first is the bites of thousands of musquitos and locusts, which, though more troublesome and numerous in the rainy season, yet remain to injure the inhabitants after it has passed. I discovered the means of preserving myself from their attacks, at least during the night. I caused Spanish curtains to be made for my bed, which are formed of Italian gauze, sewed together all over, and closing round by means of grooves, which prevented these insects from getting in; and thus I slept in peace.

The other inconvenience, which is doubtlessly far more serious, is the absolute want of water during eight months in the year: for there is neither spring nor fountain in the island; and the river is saline from December to the end of July. The rest of the year being the time when the waters swell, the rapidity of their course prevents the tide from coming up high enough to spoil that part of the river in which the island is situated, and the inhabitants then use it, as it is pleasant and potable. At other times, expedients must be resorted to: they therefore

make small holes in the sand, from which they acquire a brackish water, and use it for want of better. They, however, filter it in different ways, which makes it tolerably good. But as these portions would not be sufficient for a supply of the colony, they send boats to the top of the river, whither the sea does not penetrate, and fill them with water, which they bring back. These voyages are repeated at different times in the month, according to the necessities of the colony.

It may not be unserviceable to give some explanations of the holes which they make in the sand, for the purpose of procuring water: they are not deep, and only give out their water for an instant; in consequence of which it is necessary to renew them in other positions, as often as a fresh supply is requisite. They expose it to the wind in earthen vases, which are not glazed. This water presents a phenomenon of a curious nature: it becomes saline in proportion as that of the river gets fresh; and as soon as the latter resumes its brackish taste, that taken from the holes in the sands is perceptibly sweeter. This double effect of the tide upon the water which is no longer in contact with it, is doubtless worthy of the attention of chemists.

On the other hand, one cannot but be astonished to learn that the principal establishment of the French on the African coast, is without water during the greater part of the year, particularly when it is known that they are able to build cisterns with ease; as lime, sand, and bricks are to be found or made on the spot.

Isle St. Louis, and those in its neighbourhood, are not proper for cultivation: their soil is flat, sandy, and barren, but little above the level of the river, and consequently exposed to inundations; that of Babagué excepted. Those which lie higher up possess, on the contrary, the greatest fertility, and produce cotton, indigo, and tobacco spontaneously. But it is an erroneous assertion that they contain orange and lemon trees, as these salutary fruits are totally unknown on the banks of the Senegal.

In the small circumference of Isle St. Louis, there are a fort, a powder-magazine, a hospital, a church, and about twenty brick houses. The Negroes, whether slaves or freemen, inhabit wooden huts covered with thatch, and of a conical form. All the streets are large and perfectly straight, which produces an agreeable effect. A large burying-ground is also at the southern point.

The inhabitants are very religious, though they are not all Catholics; I even think that the greater portion are Mahomedans: nevertheless, they all live together in peace and harmony. Each sect believes in God, and adores him after its own

manner, so that no one is disturbed on account of his religious opinions.

In my time, the population of the colony amounted to six or seven thousand souls, among whom were about three hundred white inhabitants, Mulattos, or free Negroes. It appears that since they have increased considerably, the census of 1801, having estimated them at ten thousand. This augmentation is owing to the successive arrival of slaves purchased at Galam, and who have remained on the island; so that the increase has now become too great in relation to the extent of the place and the means of procuring subsistence. Another island has therefore been acquired, to which the superflux of the population will be sent, with the view of forming a new colony. That of Isle St. Louis contains a civilized, humane, gentle, and economical people, who are consequently happy. The men are tall, well made, ardent, courageous, sober, and indefatigable; they possess a robust constitution, are uncommonly faithful; and have a noble gait and physiognomy. Indeed it is impossible to find more attentive or sincere domestics; as they carry to extremities their affection for those who have done them any service.

The women are sensible, modest, tender, faithful, and particularly handsome; their charms being increased by an air of innocence and a mildness of language. They have, however, an invincible inclination for love and voluptuousness; while they express the sentiments of those passions with an accent and tone of voice, which our organs cannot imitate either in point of feeling or softness. They have a skin as black as ebony; a well-formed nose, generally aquiline; eyes large and lively; thin, vermilion lips; and the finest teeth in the world. In short, their shape is enchanting; and they may be said to combine all the perfections of beauty.

The marriages of the Black or Mulatto catholics take place at the church, as in France; those of the Mahometans are celebrated according to the law of the prophet. The union of a white man with a black or mulatto girl is a compact quite peculiar.

It is not indissoluble, but lasts as long as the parties have no reason to complain of each other; or till they are obliged to separate for ever; but if the absence of the man be only for a certain time, the woman remains single, waits with patience for the return of her husband, and she does not make choice of another, except in case of death, or the assurance that he will not return. This second union affixes no stigma on the honour or reputation of the woman.

When a black man wishes to marry, and has made his choice, he finds the parents of the girl, and asks their consent: if he obtain it, the day is fixed for the ceremony. The girl then, veiled from head to foot, is conducted by her parents and nearest friends to the house of the bridegroom: here they find every thing disposed for a feast, and a table copiously served. The guests eat, drink, sing, and dance to the sound of instruments during the whole night, and make a shocking riot. The married couple are then conducted to a chamber, and the musicians, buffoons, and mountebanks attend at the door, till the marriage be consummated, in order to publish the success of the bridegroom and the virtue of the bride. They carry the testimony through the streets, written in letters of blood on a piece of white cotton; but the blood is generally that of a fowl. If the new married woman be a widow, this ridiculous farce does not take place.

The girl thus married takes the name of the husband, and does the honours of his house; the children who proceed from such an union, bear the name of their father. Whence it happens that at Isle St. Louis and Goree we meet with several mulatto families which have French and English names. A woman thinks herself honoured by partaking of the couch of a white man, and is true, submissive, and grateful to the utmost extent; in short, she uses every art to merit his kindness and love.

If the husband embark to cross the sea, the disconsolate wife accompanies him to the shore, and sometimes follows him by swimming after the ship as far as her strength will allow; when obliged to return, she gathers up the sand on which the impression of his last footsteps remain, and wrapping it in a piece of cotton, places it at the foot of her bed.

Music and dancing have the most powerful attractions for the Negroes, insomuch, that they walk and work in cadence; they sing as they go to battle; and though the sound of their instruments is monotonous and melancholy, yet this music is the greatest pleasure which they experience, and they follow it with a sort of frenzy.

Both sexes are clothed with cotton, which they manufacture themselves. The men wear trowsers, which come half way down their legs, and a loose tunic resembling a surplice. The head and feet are naked. The dress of the women consists of two pieces of cotton, six feet long by three wide; one of which goes round their loins, and falls to the ankle, as a sort of petticoat; the other negligently covers the breast and shoulders. The dresses of the slaves, both male and female, are the same as have been already described: indeed, there is little difference in the

clothing of any of the inhabitants in this part of Africa. There is no variety of fashion, except in the head-dresses of the women; and the only alterations which I have observed in these, are in their height.

All the inhabitants of both sexes, whether Mulattos, Whites, or free Negroes, speak French tolerably well. Their common and natural language is that of the Yolofo. The first things which strangers learn, are their numbers.

Rice and millet are the principal food of the inhabitants; but foreigners who come to the island, import Bourdeaux flour, coffee, sugar, and liquors: they find there oxen, sheep, poultry, game, and fish; so that they live the same as they do in their own country; except that they want fruits, which are not cultivated.

The governor of the island is the supreme head of the civil, military, and judicial administration: the last, though dependant on the governor, is not entirely military; the laws are not positive, but have been established from custom. It is seldom that either free Mulattos or Negro slaves are condemned to death. Before the revolution, Negroes who were found guilty, were sold and sent to the American colonies. If they happened to be slaves, the produce of the sale served to indemnify the injured party, and the surplus was given to the master, after the expences were discharged; but if the condemned Negroes were free, a part of the produce of the sale likewise went to the prosecutor, and the rest was vested in the king's treasury. In both cases the governor gave an account of the prosecution to the minister of the marine. At present, I am assured that no other sentences are passed than that of imprisonment in irons, either for a limited time, or for life.

The Whites are tried by the same tribunal, and under the same forms. When any one disturbs the tranquillity of the inhabitants, he is arrested, banished from the colony, and embarked for France. If he have committed murder, burglary, or any capital crime, he is seized, and sent to France, to be tried according to the instructions sent from the Senegal. All disputes relative to commerce are decided before the governor, who endeavours to reconcile the parties; and if he cannot succeed, they appoint three arbitrators, who, with the governor at their head, give a final decision. If the parties be Europeans, the arbiters are Whites; and when they are Africans, their case is decided by Blacks: while a dispute between an European and an African is submitted to a person of each colour. The decisions thus elicited are strictly adhered to; and there is not an instance in which a subsequent contest has arisen. The same forms of proceeding took place at Goree, while it was in our possession,

as well as at all our establishments in this part of the world. Since then several reductions have been made in the forces and branches of civil administration, which have done no good to the colony.

The governor or commandant is the chief of the military department and of the police; he is also intrusted with the political arrangements that are made with the native princes, and he occasionally visits or receives them at his own residence: these visits, however, form the most disagreeable part of his office; for they seldom last less than a week at a time, and nothing can be more tedious than the ceremonies observed on the occasion.

The prince is always followed by a numerous body of attendants and musicians, who never leave him. He neither speaks, walks, eats, nor indeed moves, except by the sound of instruments, which his *guirots*, or band, play without interruption. The article most in use is the half of a calebash, to which is fixed a long handle; it has three strings of horse and camel hair, and resembles a guitar. Its sound is heavy and monotonous. The prince smokes continually; and the chief employment of his attendants is to fill and hand him the pipes in succession, and take care that he never is without one. The governor is obliged to feed and lodge all these fellows; and to get rid of them, he at last loads them with presents: but, however liberal he may be in this respect, they are never satisfied; and in order to obtain something more, they pretend to set no value upon what he has given them.

When companies assemble to regulate the commerce of the Senegal, the director-general is particularly incommoded by their visits; as he has to put up with the trouble, and defray the expence of the whole. This last appears to me to be just, as they have no other motive than commercial affairs; but I never suffered any thing more disgusting in the whole course of my administration.

Isle St. Louis produces only pulse and culinary vegetables, which are obtained in abundance by those who possess gardens. The neighbouring isles supply amply, quantities of rice and millet.

Hitherto the only importance which we attached to the possession of the Senegal, was in consequence of the trade carried on for slaves, gum, gold, elephants' teeth, and ostrich feathers. Many years ago we used to derive from it wax and hides; but these articles are no longer comprised in our speculations. We give in exchange, brandy, silks, cottons, iron, and all the articles which have been previously mentioned, as forming the barter at other parts of the coast.

When the Negroes first began to trade with Europeans, the article on which they set most value was iron; because it served them to make agricultural and warlike instruments. Hence iron soon became the commodity from which they appreciated all other articles. Thus a certain quantity of merchandize of any other kind was estimated to be worth so many bars of iron, which gave rise to the commercial expression of a bar of merchandize: for example, twenty plants of tobacco were considered as a bar of tobacco; and a gallon was called a bar of brandy; while a bar of any merchandize whatever was considered equal in value to a bar of any other kind.

The bar therefore is an ideal sort of money; but it necessarily happened that the abundance or scarcity of merchandize was in preportion to the number of foreign ships which arrived; and hence as their relative value was in continual fluctuation, it was necessary to be more decisive. At present the Whites value a bar of any sort of merchandize at four livres sixteen sous (about 3s. 10d. sterling); thus a slave who is valued at 100 bars, costs 490 livres Tournois.

In exchanges of this nature, the White merchant has a great advantage over the Negro: for the bar which he gives at the value abovementioned, seldom costs him more than half that price. The African who suspects this, is very difficult to satisfy, and is petulant and tiresome, on account of his ignorance.

Isle St. Louis is the general rendezvous for the trade of the Senegal; and the average number of slaves sent there is about 12 or 1500 per annum; though it is asserted to have formerly amounted to 3000. The price of slaves has varied at different periods, on account of the competition and jealousy of different European traders. The Negroes of the Senegal are preferred to all the Blacks of the African coast, as their race is handsomer than the others. But it has been found that they are more fit for domestic services, and for the arts and trades, than for working in the fields, a labour too severe for their constitution.

They value at, a *piece of India*, a Negro from 15 to 25 years old, who is vigorous, well formed, and has no defect. Three Negro boys or girls, well made and about 10 or 12 years old, are worth two pieces of India; and two children, between 5 and 10, are given and received for one piece.

A pound of ivory generally sells on the spot for 1 livre 16 sous; and a drachm of gold, for 10 livres: these articles are paid for in merchandize, according to the value of the bars. Ostrich feathers have no determinate price, but are sometimes given as presents, and at others sold to a good account.

When speaking of the Moors, I shall give a description of the gum trade, which they exclusively carry on.

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 CHAP. XIII.
 

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COURSE OF THE SENEGAL, AND DISTINCTION BETWEEN IT AND THE NIGER.—ACCOUNT OF THE PEOPLE WHO OCCUPY ITS BANKS.—KINGDOMS AND INHABITANTS ON THE LEFT SIDE.—ACCOUNT OF KING BRACK, AND HIS LUDICROUS CONDUCT AT AN INTERVIEW WITH THE GOVERNOR.—DEFEAT OF A MOORISH PRINCE.—BATTLE BETWEEN THE VICTOR AND THE KING OF CAYOR, WITH ITS RESULTS.—ANIMALS OF THE BANKS OF THE SENEGAL;

**T**HE Senegal, on the banks of which almost all the commerce of western Africa is carried on, and which has given its name to the French establishment in this part of the world, runs from its source for forty leagues or thereabout N. N. W. and then turns due N. as far as the cataracts of Govina: thence it runs to the N. W. till it reaches the cataracts of Felou; W. as far as Galam; N. W. to Faribé; and W. to Serimpalé. From this part it turns abruptly to the S.; and after several curvations it continues the same direction to the sea. In its course it divides itself into several branches, and forms two large lakes and some isles, of which I shall have occasion to speak.

It has long been thought that the Senegal and the Niger were the same river; and they were indifferently called by each name. Several ancient and modern authors have maintained this opinion; and others have controverted it. But the discoveries of Mungó Park have irrevocably decided the point; as this traveller has found, that the Senegal and the Niger are two different rivers whose course is opposite; the former running in a western, and the latter in an eastern direction.

In all seasons, the Senegal is navigable for small vessels and large boats, from its mouth as far as Podor, and even to Domus, which is twelve leagues higher. It cannot be ascended higher so as to reach Galam, except in the rainy season, when there is sufficient water to navigate vessels from 130 to 150 tons burthen.

There are two lakes formed by this river, one called the Bâsk-et-lake; and the other taking its name from Cayor. The banks of the former are fertile, and well peopled; but the inhabitants being intolerably lazy, often suffer the greatest misery, particu-

larly when the harvest happens to fail. They are likewise exposed to the ravages of locusts and other calamities; and yet they have never had the presence of mind to guard against such disasters.

The grass-hopper or locusts come from the deserts that lie to the S. W. in bodies so numerous, that they obscure the light of the sun. They follow the direction of the wind, which seems to drive them forwards; and wherever they stop, they spread desolation; they devour all the fruit, grain, herbage and the leaves, and shoots of trees, so as to leave nothing but the bark. They are about as thick as one's finger, or rather longer; and have sharp and cutting teeth, the attacks of which nothing can resist.

The Moors are sometimes victims of these terrible animals; but they avenge themselves by eating them: they carefully collect them, put them into leather bags, skin them, and boil them in milk. When thus prepared, they afford a very delicate and wholesome food.

Near the abovementioned lake there is a forest of the finest black ebony in the world, the wood of which may be had for the trouble of cutting it, and conveying it to boats; the expence of which does not make it come to more than forty sous the cwt. Large supplies might be obtained every year when the waters have risen.

The other is situated to the right of the river, about fifty leagues from its mouth, is much larger than the one just described, and is inhabited by Moors and Negroes, who live in easy circumstances.

The Senegal in its course forms forty-one isles. Those in the neighbourhood of isle St. Louis have been already described; and the others are not of sufficient importance to deserve particular notice.

The banks of the Senegal are occupied by various tribes; the right is inhabited, to the north, by the Moors; and the left, to the south, by the Negroes. But this demarcation is not rigorously observed, as some hordes of Moors have long established themselves in the Negro country, where they follow the occupation of shepherds and farmers, and live on good terms with their neighbours.

The left bank comprises several kingdoms and various nations. The Yolofs, who inhabit a vast tract of country between the Senegal and Gambia, are a powerful, active, and warlike native people, who differ from the other Negroes not only in their language, but in their features and colour. Their noses are not so flat, nor their lips so thick as those of most other Africans; their skin is of a fine black; and the Europeans, who carry on the

slave trade, consider them as the handsomest Negroes on that part of the continent. These people are divided into several kingdoms or independent states, which are frequently at war with each other, or with their neighbours. Their religion is that of Mahomet; and their manners, superstitions, and forms of government, bear a perfect resemblance to those of the Mandingos already described. They excel the latter in the art of manufacturing cotton, and they also spin the finest wool, which they card and weave into broad cloths. I have spoken of their dress and language in an early part of the present work.

King Brack, the sovereign of Hoval, has an absolute power over his subjects, and can reduce them to slavery, or sell them with impunity. He is the owner of all the lands; and those which he has chosen for himself, are cultivated by any of the subjects whom he may fix on. During the journeys which he makes, he is kept, and his expences are defrayed by his people. His revenues certainly are not considerable; but he wants for nothing. This prince receives annually from France, a duty in money, to the amount of 4915 livres.

In time of war all his subjects are obliged to take up arms at their own expence; the chiefs of each village conduct their troops, and unite round the prince. The greatest portion of this undisciplined military force is the cavalry. They march without provisions, and have no other advantage than what they derive from spoliation, of which the king has the greatest share. The princes and chiefs have nearly an equal portion, and they all profit more or less by the spoils of the vanquished party. The value and importance of such booty depend on the number of men taken and made slaves at the time of the engagement; and a single battle decides the fate of the country. The vanquished side capitulates in the field of action, and the conquerors return home; but the conditions being rarely observed, they cause a new war to break out, which leads to the same result.

I shall give a few particulars of the manners and customs of king Brack, which I observed during an interview that I had with him at his express desire.

In the beginning of April 1788, I made a journey to Podor, with the intention of reconnoitering the coast, ascertaining the course of the river, and making some regulations in the gum-trade. A few leagues before I arrived at the isle of Toddee, I perceived on the left bank, a numerous body of cavalry, and was informed, that king Brack wished for boats to be sent to bring him on board my vessel. I therefore sent two canoes, which returned with the king, five of his ministers, and four of his musicians. As soon as the prince embarked, I saluted him with

nine pieces of cannon; and on reaching the ship, I paid him every attention which could flatter and please him.

His majesty was dressed in a white shirt, which hung down to his knees and was tied round him by a red swash; he had over it a large open tunic of a yellow colour; and his head and feet were naked, except that he wore a pair of yellow slippers. His suite were dressed according to the custom of the country.

I conducted the king under an awning placed on the deck, where we sat down together, and passed reciprocal protestations of friendship. I offered him some refreshments which he accepted; and was presented with Bourdeaux wine, but would not drink it. He asked me for brandy; on which I immediately ordered several flagons of that liquor to be placed before him: in a very short time he drank four large glasses full, and ate scarcely any thing. On taking a fifth he lost his speech; and the sixth set him fast asleep. His ministers and musicians were very sober, as they had drunk but little.

The king while in this state of inebriety was surrounded by his suite: some of them endeavoured to purify the air by agitating over his head, and in every direction with great violence, a pagne or cotton cloth; which manner of renewing the air is in general use in that country. The rest were occupied in keeping off the flies from his person, lest they should disturb his sleep.

I amused myself with this ridiculous farce, till my people informed me that dinner was on table, when I invited the ministers to accompany me; but they refused to quit their master: I therefore sat down to table alone. Shortly after his majesty awoke, and asked to see me, when they told him I was at dinner. "What," observed he, "without letting me know? This white man is very unkind." He then got up, came into the cabin, where the cloth was laid, stepped upon a chair, jumped on the other side; and at last seating himself at one of the windows, placed his feet upon the table.

In this posture, which caused me to laugh heartily, his majesty was supplied with what he wished to eat, but he would drink nothing but brandy. I therefore ordered the attendants to present him with as much he chose, on which he drank the same quantity as at first, and soon afterwards he fell dead drunk upon the floor.

His ministers raised him up, and attempted to carry him upon deck, by lifting him over the table; but his majesty was sufficiently awake to express his regret at leaving it: he therefore suddenly seized hold of a hare by the head, and carried it with him. I think I still see him holding the hare like a sceptre.

After my dinner, which I had much difficulty to finish for laughing, I went upon deck, to inquire after his majesty; and found him a little refreshed. We then talked for a few minutes on commercial affairs. Nothing worth notice afterwards occurred till it was time to separate; when I made him the customary presents, with which he appeared satisfied; and I did not forget to repeat the dose of brandy, nor to give the ministers and musicians what they had a right to expect. All the company then returned me thanks, and we parted on the best terms imaginable. While he was proceeding to the shore, I again saluted him with nine guns; and on landing, I saw him mount his horse, put himself at the head of his troops, and proceed towards his village.

In the evening he entered into conversation with his ministers, and wished to know what I had given them. Each of them told him what he had received; and they all acknowledged that they had been favoured with a tolerable portion of brandy. This his majesty insisted on abridging, in order to increase his own stock; and one person only refused to obey his orders, for which he was immediately seized. The negro made some resistance, and was wounded severely in the shoulder by a sabre. The next morning this ex-minister, a man of fine figure, tall and robust, was brought on board my ship, loaded with irons, and sold for a hundred bars.

I was much affected at the fate of this unfortunate man, and had him conducted to isle St. Louis, where his wounds were dressed and speedily cured. In the end his friends came to beg him off, and I restored him to his family.

The kingdom of the Foulahs, which is next to that of Hoval, begins at Ivory island, near Podor, and is governed by a prince named Siratick. This is likewise a name of dignity, which the king adds to that of his family: his states are much greater than those of Brack, as they extend along the banks of the river, as far as the kingdom of Galam, a distance of 200 leagues; their width is unknown. The country is well peopled, and the lands are good and rich.

The Foulahs have a deep black skin, and are neither so large, nor so handsome as the Yoloofs. Siratick is more powerful than Brack, and has a more numerous cavalry. His states are divided into several provinces, each of which is governed by a lieutenant who commands its army, and whose power is absolute.

The religion, constitution, manners, &c. are like those of Brack, nearly similar to the Mandingo regulations; but the language differs. We pay to Siratick and his princes, an annual duty of 4333 livres. The crown amongst the Foulahs is here-

ditary, and descends to the eldest son of the king, if he be married to a princess of the blood royal: in the contrary case, it devolves to the eldest brother of the king or his nephew. In case of any disputes, which may afterwards happen, the great people unite, and elect a king; but they can only take him from amongst the reigning family.

In my time this country was governed by a Marabou negro, named *Almamy Abdulkader*: This prince had a very high character for his sanctity and valour, and had the absolute confidence of his own subjects, as well as of the neighbouring states; insomuch that people came from all parts to buy his *gris-gris*, and kiss his feet. He had reason to complain of Alikoury, a Moorish king of the Trarzas tribe, and marched against him with a numerous army: in his way he passed through the states of Hamet Mocktar, another Moorish prince, who was king of the Bracknas, formed an alliance with him, and at length arrived on the territories of Alikoury. This Moorish prince met his enemies, fought valiantly, and was killed; on which Almamy returned more powerful and revered than ever.

Alikoury was with me at isle St. Louis, when he was informed of the march of Almamy: he immediately set off with the utmost calmness, though without dissimulating as to the danger with which he was threatened; and took of me his last farewell. This brave man foresaw his destiny, and might have avoided it by retreating to the desert; but flight with him would have been cowardice, and he preferred death.

After this event Damel, king of Cayor, who was jealous of the power of Almamy, and of his influence over other states, was invaded by him and personally insulted. The following is the manner in which this event has been related. Almamy set no bounds to the authority which he had usurped, till his successes and the flatterers to whom he listened, had nearly cost him his head. One day he sent an ambassador to Damel, accompanied by two men, each of which carried a large sabre fixed to the end of a pole. On obtaining an audience, the ambassador stated the intention of his master, and on laying the two blades before him said, "with this weapon Almamy will shave the head of Damel, if he, like a true Mussulman, refuses to acknowledge himself his vassal; and with this Almamy will cut the throat of Damel, if he refuse to subscribe to those conditions." Damel answered coldly, that he had no choice to make; and that he would neither have his head shaved, nor his throat cut. He then politely dismissed the ambassador.

Almamy was irritated at this unexpected resistance; and putting himself at the head of a powerful army, he entered the states of Damel. On his approach, the inhabitants of the towns

and villages stopped up their wells, destroyed their stores, and abandoned their houses; he therefore marched from place to place, without meeting with any opposition. Nevertheless his army suffered greatly for want of water, and many soldiers dropped dead on the road. At length he conducted his forces to a wood where he found water: the soldiers then allayed their thirst, and overcome with fatigue, laid down, and fell asleep. In this situation they were attacked by Damel, and completely defeated; many were trodden to death by the horses; others who attempted to escape were killed, and the remainder made prisoners. Almamy himself was made a slave, and taken before Damel, whom he had dared to threaten: he prostrated himself upon the ground before this generous king, who, instead of running him through with his lance, as is the custom in such cases, regarded him with pity, and said, "if I were in your place, what would you do to me?" "I would kill you," replied Almamy, with much firmness, "and I know that is the fate which I am to expect." "No," replied Damel, "my lance is tinged with the blood of your subjects killed in battle; and I will not stain it deeper. The dipping of it in your's would not restore my towns, or give life to the men who died in the wood. You shall not therefore die by my hand; but I shall keep you, till I am certain that your presence in your own states will no more be dangerous to your neighbours." Almamy after this remained prisoner at the court of Damel for about three months; and instead of being reduced to the condition of a slave, was treated with the greatest distinction. At the end of that period, Damel yielded to the solicitations of the subjects of Almamy, and gave them back their king.

Almamy profited by this lesson: he governed with more prudence and wisdom; never disturbed his neighbours, but rendered his own people happy.

From the details which I have given, it will be seen, that the soil on all this side of the Senegal is of the richest kind, and gives food to a vast number of wild animals. There are besides abundance of oxen, sheep, poultry, and fish. Amongst the domestic animals is the camel: it carries great burdens, and is patient and submissive. They cause it to undergo great fatigues, and to travel several months together over burning sands, with very little food or water; its milk furnishes excellent drink; the Moors even drink its urine, and its flesh is their principal food.

The horses of this country are generally smaller than those of Europe; but they are well made, strong, active, and cunning.

The most remarkable of the wild animals, are the elephant, lion, and tiger: the wild boar, buffalo, tiger-cat, civet, gazelle,

panther; leopard, stag; hind, and common deer are equally numerous.

The elephant is celebrated for its sagacity, docility, courage, strength, and size, and particularly for its attachment to its owner. The Africans have been mistaken in, or they despise the benevolent disposition of this animal; and instead of endeavouring to tame it, and apply it to useful purposes, they hunt it, kill it, eat its flesh, and sell its teeth.

The country also contains a vast number of apes of a small species: those of Galam are larger; the people often go into the woods to amuse themselves with their tricks. When they wish for young ones in order to tame them, they hunt the dams, which always carry their young in their arms: they fire at them, and the dam generally falls either dead or mortally wounded; pressing her young to her bosom. The hunter then takes it from the mother, which, if not dead, expires through despair.

After the accounts of Buffon and Daubenton, nothing remains for me to say of the lion, tiger, &c. The river horse which I have already described, is common in the Senegal.

The birds of Africa have likewise been described by several naturalists. The paroquets of the Senegal are not esteemed: they speak with difficulty, and pronounce badly; in fact this is a heavy, melancholy, and stupid bird. A species, however, unknown either at Senegal or in Europe, was discovered by chance during my governorship, in the isle of Sor: it was a young bird, and as yellow as a lemon. A Negro made me a present of it; I reared it with care, and in a short time it began to speak, but its voice was broken and harsh. As it grew up, it acquired a few green feathers; but the yellow colour was always predominant. In the course of time it spoke much better than at first. This extraordinary bird which I wished to present to our naturalists, came to an unfortunate end. Being saved with me at the time of my shipwreck on the coast of Wales; it was seized and eaten by a cat on the very night of my landing.

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 CHAP. XIV.
 

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OF THE MOORS WHO OCCUPY THE RIGHT BANK OF THE SENEGAL, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THEIR ORIGIN, MANNERS, CUSTOMS, RELIGION, AND LANGUAGE.—OF THE GUM TRADE, WHICH THEY EXCLUSIVELY CARRY ON.—NATURE AND RESULT OF THAT TRAFFIC.—DESCRIPTION OF THE TREE WHICH PRODUCES THE GUM.

THE right bank of the Senegal is under the dominion of the Negro kings, Brack and Siratick, who, as we have already stated, reside on the left bank; but their sovereignty on the right side is almost nugatory: for there begins the immense desert which runs from east to west, from the sea as far as Galain; and from south to north, from the Senegal to the kingdom of Morocco. This sea of sand is known by the name of the *Great Desert of Sahara*, and is inhabited by the Moors, who, instead of acknowledging the authority of the Negro kings, are their irreconcilable enemies.

The name of *Moors*, which is given to all the tribes of the desert, seems to indicate that they are formed of the aborigènes; that is to say, that they have all descended unmixed from the Numidians, who, in the earliest times of which history informs us, inhabited the coasts of Africa, and the whole of the countries called Numidia and Mauritania; but their manners, customs, religion, and particularly their language, invincibly prove that the primitive race has been intermixed with other people, who brought them those ideas and that idiom which prevailed in another part of the world. They are at present distributed into tribes of greater or less extent, which are independent of each other, and each of which has its chief. Every tribe is divided into hordes; and each horde encamps on such a spot as will afford pasturage for their cattle; so that a whole tribe is never united in the same quarter.

In the interior of the desert reside the tribes of the Wadellins, of Labdesseba, Laroussye, Chelus, Tucanois, Ouadelis, Gedingouma, Jafanon, Ludamar, and several others. The first two are the most formidable, and extend their predatory system as far as the environs of Morocco, whose emperor is in constant

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alarm at their excesses. They are composed of large, strong, and well-made men; have generally a stiff hair, a long beard, a furious look, large pendent ears, and nails like talons: they even convert these into a formidable kind of weapon, in the quarrels which they have with their neighbours. The Wadelims in particular are the most arrogant and warlike race, and spread terror wherever they pass; though, like all the other Moors, their courage fails them, unless they have a decided superiority of numbers in their favour.

These people live under tents, which they move about at will: they are of a round form, terminating in a cone, and are covered with a thatch made of camel's hair, so compact, that rain never penetrates through it. This covering is made by the women, who also prepare the leather of which the saddles, bridles, and various other articles, are manufactured.

The furniture of these dwellings consists of two large leather sacks, which hold a few rags and scraps of iron-work: sometimes they have a box or two, which become the object of cupidity amongst a whole horde. Three or four goat-skins, in which they keep their milk and water, several wooden platters, two large stones for pounding barley, a lesser one for driving in the pickets of the tents, some osier mats, which serve them for beds and covering, and a small copper kettle, are the whole of the goods which distinguish the rich from the poor.

It is also the business of the women to prepare the provisions, fetch water, and attend to the horses and cattle, which always lodge in the same tent. Those who are in easy circumstances keep Negro slaves to do the principal part of the labour; but they are always obliged to wait upon their husbands themselves. In short, nothing can exceed the arrogance of a Moor to his wife, nor the humility of the woman in presence of her husband.

The women, when a horde changes its situation, strike the tents, load and unburden the camels; and when the husband mounts his horse, his wife holds the stirrup: they are not even admitted to eat with the men, but when dinner is ready, they retire, and wait till they are called on, to take what is left.

These women are in some degree the property of their husbands: for a Moor does not marry till he is able to buy himself a wife. The fathers sell their daughters; and he who has most of them, is considered the richest man. The price agreed on is always paid in advance; and the husband may afterwards put away his wife, but what he has given for her is never returned. Nevertheless a Moor cannot turn away his wife without obtaining permission from the oldest people of the horde, but which they never refuse to give; so that the demand is a simple matter of form.

The women are treated by the Moors with the most sovereign contempt ; they never take the names of their husbands, nor do the children even bear the names of their fathers. Amongst almost all the hordes they admit only of four or five different names. The men are distinguished by that of their tribe, and have some kind of surname.

Although the women in question are so badly used, and though they are very indecent in their manners and gestures, they are faithful to their husbands. An instance to the contrary seldom occurs ; but when it does, the offender is driven from the house of her lord, and his relations generally revenge themselves by her blood, for the disgrace which she has brought upon their family.

The Moors consider the women as an inferior race of beings, created solely for their pleasure and caprice. With respect to female beauty they have singular ideas. An elegant shape, majestic walk, a mild and expressive physiognomy ; in short, all the charms which delight our eyes, are to them without attraction. They must have women particularly fat ; for with them corpulence seems to be every thing. Hence those women who only require the assistance of two slaves to help them to walk, can have but moderate pretensions ; but those who cannot stir, and who are obliged to be conveyed upon camels, are considered perfect beauties, particularly if they have long teeth projecting out of the mouth.

This taste of the Moors for massive beauties induces the women to take the greatest care to make themselves fat. Every morning they eat an enormous quantity of cuseus, and drink several jugs of camel's milk. The girls are obliged to take this food, whether they have an appetite or not ; and when they refuse they are beaten to compliance. This forced diet does not occasion indigestion or any other disease ; on the contrary, it induces that degree of fatness which passes for perfection in the eyes of the Moors. The Moorish girls are in other respects little attended to ; and their education is totally neglected. These people think nothing of moral qualifications : for voluptuousness, submission, and corpulence are all that the Moors admire.

The boys are better treated ; they are generally taught to read and write the Arabic language ; and as soon as they begin to grow up, they are respected by the Moorish women, and even by their mothers, who no longer eat with them. At an early period they are accustomed to use the poniard adroitly, and to tear out with their nails the bowels of their adversaries : they are taught to give a-lye the semblance of truth ; are, in short,

familiarized with wickedness, and are instructed to commit a crime with as much pleasure as they would do a good action.

A plurality of wives being permitted amongst the Moors, a hut is seldom seen with less than eight or ten children. The women live together under the same tent, and are witnesses of the partial attachment of the husband, without betraying any marks of jealousy.

The tent destined to receive a new married couple is ornamented with a little white flag, and the bridegroom has a band round his forehead of the same colour; and whether he be young or old, or be married for the first or sixth time, he is always decorated with the symbol of virginity.

On the day of the ceremony the bridegroom causes a camel to be killed, for the purpose of regaling the guests. The bride, with the women and young girls of her acquaintance, dance all day round a kettle-drum, and their motions are of a most indecent kind. They dance singly, and one after the other. She who begins the performance stretches out her neck, and makes the most shocking grimaces, which are repeated by the spectators with astonishing precision. They beat time with their hands; and at length all the company put themselves in motion.

The day after the wedding the bride is separated from her husband, and her friends wash her from head to foot; they afterwards comb her, plait her hair, redden her nails, and clothe her in a new drapery. She then pays visits through the camp, and in the evening is taken back to her spouse.

The Moors are extremely fond of their women and children, by whom they in return are tenderly loved. It is difficult to reconcile these sentiments of affection with the obdurate and barbarous conduct which they display in their families. For the slightest fault the offender is corrected with a revolting degree of severity; and the girls are always ill used, as they are indifferent both to the father and to the mother.

Nothing can exceed the joy of the parents on the birth of a son. The mother has neither doctor nor midwife to assist her; and she is most frequently alone and extended on the sand at the time of her *accouchement*. She immediately lays down her infant, takes some milk to refresh herself, and then goes to bed for the night. The mother who gives birth to a son, in order to testify her joy, blackens her face for forty days. On the birth of a daughter, she only daubs it half over, and keeps it so no longer than twenty days. A woman so disguised is a horrid and disgusting spectacle.

It is difficult to form an idea of the pride and ignorance of the Moors; they think themselves the finest people in the world,

and suppose that the sun rises for them alone. "Contemplate that planet," said a Moor to a Christian slave; "it is unknown in thy country: during the night you are not enlightened like us, by that orb which rules on our days and our fasts, or by those luminaries which fill the celestial arch, and indicate the hours for our prayers;—(he alluded to the stars.) You have no trees, nor camels, nor sheep, nor sand, nor goats," continued he; "nor are your women made like ours. You do not inhabit the earth, but are born, live, and die in your houses that float on the sea."

The greatest luxury of a Moor is to see his wives and daughters richly dressed, and on them he exhibits all his opulence by ornamenting their ears, arms, and legs with rings of gold and silver.

They have no knowledge of the arts and trade, though they make in a rude manner, pikes, knives, and even kettles, from the native iron which is furnished to them by the Negroes. Everything else for which they have occasion comes to them either directly or indirectly from the Europeans. They are a pastoral kind of people; and when at peace, rear great numbers of oxen, cows, sheep, goats, and horses. They make their oxen carry burdens, and cross rivers, on which occasions they ride them like horses.

They have no knowledge of cultivating land. The person who is charged with the labour, repairs to a spot which appears most moistened by rain, and scatters indifferently the seeds of millet, barley, and wheat, which he covers by drawing over them a plough harnessed to a camel. This implement, without breaking the ground, makes a simple furrow at its surface. If the subsequent rains promote the growth of the seed, each person takes the portion that belongs to him, and retires to his camp. Sometimes, instead of waiting till the grain comes to maturity, they cut it down and dry it on hot ashes, by which they deprive themselves of an abundant harvest, as well as of the straw that would feed their horses. But the Moors have no regard for futurity; they think only of the present.

Their common course of provisions is millet, barley, wheat, milk, honey, locusts, and wild animals. They make no use of poultry or domestic animals, except at the last extremity, or on solemn occasions, such as the visits of princes or distinguished friends, the birth of sons, marriages, or deaths. They pass alternately from abstinence to voracity. Their religion subjects them to frequent and rigorous fasts: in their travels they endure hunger and thirst; but when they find an opportunity of satisfying their appetite, they eat at a single meal more than three Europeans, and drink in proportion. Several of them, parti-

cularly the kings and great people, deprive themselves of wine, either from a religious principle or by way of example. But those who have connections with the Europeans are less scrupulous, and drink inordinate quantities of wine and brandy.

These people are almost always at war; frequently among themselves, but oftener with the Negroes. In battle, those who are mounted on horses are hidden in clouds of dust; but the camel, whose pace is heavy, though it takes long steps, is scarcely less useful than the horse: for, animated by the shouting of its rider, it dashes amongst the crowd, and produces more carnage by its bites than is effected by the musquetry. The Moors never make their attack in order of battle; but as many men as there happen to be, so many separate combats take place; and he who throws his adversary to the ground, seizes on his arms, and retires precipitately with the fruit of his conquest; but if the person conquered be a Negro, he is detained and made a slave. On some occasions two combatants of equal strength will give each other several stabs with their poniards, and then reciprocally tear out their entrails with their nails.

Such incursions generally ruin one party or the other. Those who possessed a considerable stock of cattle, are reduced in one day to the most dreadful misery, and despoiled by others, who, the evening before, had no property at all. The weaker tribes are of course the most exposed, and therefore take care to live at a distance from the others, especially from the Wadclims and Labdessebas.

Their ordinary arms are sabres, sagaycs, and arrows, the last two of which they throw with great strength and accuracy. Some of them procure from the Europeans or Negroes musquets or pistols; but they cannot make use of them for any length of time, because those which are brought to them from Europe are of a very bad kind; besides which, the humidity of the climate causes them to be speedily covered with rust, while the heat spoils the temper of the metal: they therefore become good for nothing, and there are no workmen clever enough to repair them.

The Moors are very hospitable: every stranger, of whatever country or tribe he may be, or whether known to them or not, is kindly received. If several travellers arrive at any place together, the inhabitants defray amongst them the expences of their reception. They all, without distinction, go before a new comer, congratulate him upon his arrival, assist him in taking off his luggage, and convey it to a place of security. He is then conducted behind a bush to pass the night; for it is an invariable custom amongst these people never to admit a stranger into their

tents. When this ceremony is over, the people sit down around him, and enquire the news of the country from which he comes; they ask, for example, whether such a horde have evacuated the spot on which they last encamped, whether he have met with others on his passage, &c. They then enquire the motives for and extent of his journey, and ask about the tribe to which he belongs. They never put any questions about his health till he has satisfied them on all the other points of their curiosity.

If the stranger do not know any person amongst the horde which he visits, it is the richest of them who is obliged to shew him the rights of hospitality; but this is not the case when the travellers do not come alone. They give to each a large porringer of milk, and barley flour steeped in milk porridge or in water, when they happen to have any. If the visiter be able to read, they confer on him the honour of saying prayers; and on this occasion the table, or subordinate priest of the horde, places himself by his side as master of the ceremonies.

If the stranger have friends amongst the horde, and be distinguished either by his rank or property, they kill a goat or sheep, and sometimes an ox, for the purpose of regaling him. One of their wives prepares the feast. Before cooking the meat, she separates the suet, and serves it up to the guests in its raw state. As soon as the meat is dressed, she sets the share of her husband before his friends and neighbours; as it would be an irreparable error not to offer them this portion. She then puts the share of the stranger upon a layer of straw; and the Arabian who gives the treat, causing either a Christian or a negro slave to carry it, goes and offers it himself. This repast is never served up till ten o'clock at night, even though the stranger should have arrived in the morning. The Moors offer nothing except at night by the light of the moon, or round a large fire, which they generally kindle in all seasons. The traveller never fails to invite the person who treats him to do him the honour of eating with him; but the latter always beg to be excused, and his reason is, the respect which he bears for and ought to shew to strangers.

The next day the traveller continues his route, and goes off without taking leave of any one: if he happen to remain longer, it is considered an infringement upon their hospitality, and they let him know it by giving him a smaller allowance, which they continue to diminish as long as he stays, and thus politely force him to depart.

Amongst the Moors justice is prompt and decisive. Civil rights are little respected; but they know the necessity of checking men from committing crimes by the example of punishment. On these occasions, and in ordinary cases, the guilty individuals

are conducted before the king of the tribe, who judges them alone and according to his caprice. When a man is accused of a capital offence, the prince calls in the most ancient people of the horde, and pronounces his judgment according to their opinion, which is instantly carried into execution. Capital punishments, however, are only inflicted upon Negroes: those of the Moors are merely fine, restitution, or banishment.

The most common diseases of the Moors are intermittent fevers and dysenteries, which are speedily cured by sudorifics, a few simple syrups, and a mild diet. Indeed, the patients often abandon themselves to the sole aid of nature, and quickly recover. The Moors have no physicians, and the old women are employed in taking care of the sick. There may be seen amongst them a great number of old men, who enjoy full health and vigour, though their whole time has been passed in continual exertions, and under all the fatigues and privations inseparable from their mode of life. It has, however, been remarked, that the less they have been connected with Europeans, the less have they been liable to infirmity and disease; because while they remained in their frugal and simple mode of life, their constitution was not affected by strong drinks or high-seasoned food.

The small-pox makes from time to time great ravages amongst the Moors, from whom it passes amongst the southern Negroes: those of the Senegal and the Gambia practise inoculation. At length the Moors, after a long career, come, like other men, to the end of their existence, and receive the last duties of their family and the whole of their horde. Amongst them a death is announced by terrible cries, and the women are employed to make the notification. On this occasion, all those belonging to an encampment repair to the tent of the deceased, where some cry, and others sing his praises. Very often they change parts; so that the women cry, laugh, and sing alternately. Afterwards the body is washed, dressed, and carried to an elevated spot, where it is placed in a grave with the face turned towards the east, and the head rather raised. They cover the grave with stones, to secure the corpse from the attacks of certain carnivorous animals.

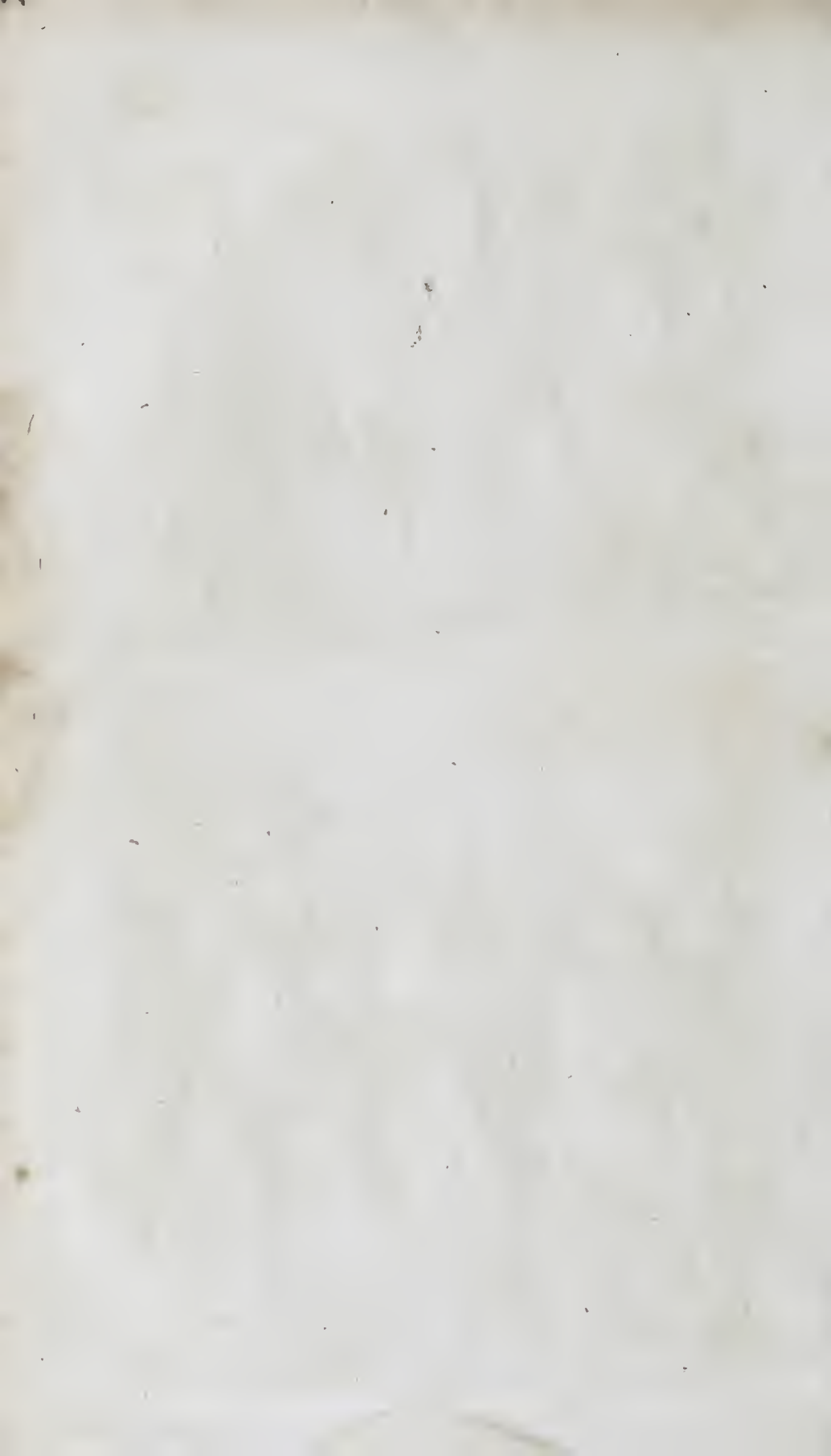
Their dress is very simple. The rich wear trowsers and pagues, or pieces of cotton, which hang down to the ground: the latter forms a sort of great-coat without buttons, which they pass over the breast, and fasten with a belt; in this belt they place a poniard or large knife, sometimes two; and as they have no pockets, they put in their bosom whatever they have occasion to carry about them. A handkerchief is attached to the belt, but they use it more for wiping their hands and face than any



1 A Moorish Soldier.	3 A Moorish Princess.
2 A Moorish Prince.	4 A Woman of ordinary Rank.



1 & 2. Female Slaves.	4. Priest of the Country.
3. Lady of the Isle of St. Louis.	5. An Armed Negro.



other purpose: those who are of some respectability carry two. The common people have their head, legs, and feet naked; but the others wear, when they can get them, Morocco slippers, or sometimes half-boots, and always round the head a roll of white linen, which forms a turban. The latter likewise wear a woollen cloak, which is of a white colour, very finely made, and is brought to them from Morocco or Tunis: this cloak is very simple, and has at top a pointed cape, with which they cover their heads; at the end of this hood is a long string with a tassel. They never wear sabres except in the army; and then they either carry them in the hand, or pass them between the belt and their body. They do not know the use of regular belts; and though some richly embroidered ones have been sent to them as presents, they disdain to use them in battle, but make a parade of them when they go on visits. When they ride on horseback, the princes wear a sort of jockey boots of Morocco, and a mass of arms, which are fastened to the saddle bow; and they carry a lance or sagay in their hands. The others ride almost naked, but are always armed either with muskets, bows and arrows, or sagays.

The kings are always dressed in finer stuffs than the other Moors; they have likewise larger tents, and are remarkable for being covered with white linen or cotton.

The head-dress of the Moorish women is generally composed of a bandeau of white cotton, a part of which is larger than the rest, and serves as a veil for the face when they go in the sun: they often go veiled from head to foot. They have fine and long hair, which they plait, and leave flowing on their shoulders.

The Moors purchase from the Europeans or Negroes all the articles necessary for their clothing, and they pay for them in slaves or gum. The women often appear with their faces uncovered: this is a positive fact, at least with respect to the hordes in the vicinity of the Senegal. I have seen a great number of them, and even queens and their daughters, in their camps, as well as on board our vessels at Isle St. Louis, and they never appeared veiled. Some of these females were very handsome, and many of them were pretty; in general they have a pleasing appearance; they are of the ordinary height, but are well made; their eyes are large, black, and very animated; their complexion, which is browned both by nature and art, does not want for vivacity. They put a blue tint on their eye-lids, and redden their nails. They are but slightly clothed: they wear long trowsers, shifts with very wide sleeves, and a girdle under the bosom; and round the neck a piece of linen, generally blue, which hangs down to the heels; they walk with their legs and feet naked; but the princesses, when they pay visits, or on the days of ceremonies, use European slippers.

The language and religion of these people are those which the Arabians brought into Africa. Mahometanism was preached by the conquerors, and was adopted by the Africans who submitted to them: the others were exterminated. Soon the conquerors and the vanquished became one people, professed the same religion, and spoke the same language.

Of all known languages, the Arabic is the most extensive. It is spoken in the three Arabias, in Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt, on the coasts of Abex and Darien, in the kingdoms of Tripoli, Tunis, Algiers, Fez, Morocco, and Talifez; in the immense countries which are in the environs and to the south of the Atlas; on the banks of the Nile, the Niger, the Senegal, and the Gambia; in short, it is the prevailing tongue wherever Mahometanism is established, but it is often disfigured by the dialects of the different nations who have adopted it.

It is the same with the religion of Mahomet, which was founded by valour, and extended by force: it has yielded in many parts to the manners and customs of the people on whom it has been imposed. The Moors, for example, are circumcised; but they have no fixed time for that ceremony, and they never perform it till after the age of thirteen years. The girls of these people are exempted from it, though there are some who make this operation by inflicting a slight wound. In the desert they have no mosques, but they meet in the open air: for the duty which they most scrupulously observe, is that of prayer, of which there are several repetitions in a day, and the first of which begins before sun-rise.

The talbe, or priest, is remarkable for his long beard; and is dressed in a piece of woollen cloth, half white and half crimson, which floats loosely about his body. His figure is emaciated by fasting and the continual wearing a kind of chaplet of an enormous size; and his voice is melancholy and lamentable. He begins his office by ordering the people to come and range themselves under his banner, to hear and sing the praises of the prophet; they all run towards him with the most holy respect. The talbe first inclines himself towards the earth, scatters with his hands that on which his feet have rested, and then taking a handful of that which has not been sullied by his steps, he, for want of water, rubs it over his face, hands, and arms, in order to purify himself, in which action the people all imitate him.

After the prayers they remain for some time squat on the ground, trace with the fingers different figures on the sand, and move their hands round their heads, as if they were anointing themselves with a holy unction. In their prayers the Moors preserve the most profound respect: the women, who only

assist at those of the morning and at ten in the evening, place themselves at the entrance of their tents, and remain with their faces turned towards the rising sun. It does not appear that these people know the obligation of pilgrimages to Mecca; but they observe with the utmost scrupulousness the rhamadan, or lent.

The talbe is both the priest and schoolmaster: his scholars assemble every evening before the tent, and by the light of a large fire he teaches them some sentences of the koran, and initiates them in the principles of their religion. His greatest anxiety, however, seems to be to inspire them with an insurmountable aversion from strangers, and extreme horror at the name of a Christian. These principles, when once imbibed; are never effaced from their minds, and throughout the whole of their life they think the murder of an European no greater crime than that of a dog. The scholars write their lessons on small tablets, as paper is too scarce for common use. While they are at their daily occupations, the boys carry these tablets at their backs; and when they have learnt to read and write, and have acquired a few prayers by heart, they are considered sufficiently informed, and above the rank of children: they then look with contempt upon the unlettered Negroes, and even upon their own countrymen who have not made such progress in science as themselves.

All the Moors of the desert acknowledge the supremacy of the King of Morocco, but they pay him no tribute, and live in the greatest independence. Some of these people have abandoned the deserts, and taken up their residence in the towns, where they employ themselves in commerce, and carry on different trades; but they are looked upon by the others with contempt, and as having degenerated from the nobleness of their ancestors: others have established spots in the *oases*, or fields, where they devote themselves to agriculture; and even these are stigmatised as degenerate, and unworthy of the name of Arabs.

The real Arabs; indeed, are those who encamp in the desert, who live in complete liberty, and only acknowledge as their superiors the chiefs of their tribes. Those likewise are real Arabs, who live habitually in a state of war, who kill for the sake of robbing their victims, and who steal whatever comes in their way; so that the epithets of Arab and thief are synonymous.

There is in the desert and on the banks of the Senegal a race named *Azounas*, to whom the name of Arab properly belongs: they are neither herdsmen, merchants, nor cultivators; but are vagrants, thieves by profession, and consequently Moors or Arabs by acknowledged title. Their trade, which renders them dreaded by and odious to all their neighbours, keeps them in

continual alarm at being surprised and punished by those whom they have plundered; they are therefore always on the alert, and continually changing their encampments; in consequence of which they have their tents more convenient and portable, while themselves are lightly armed and clothed, in order that they may carry off booty with greater swiftness. It is, however, the Negroes only whom they plunder; for an instance seldom occurs of other Moors being the objects of their outrage. They make frequent excursions on the other side of the river, and carry off whatever they find, whether men, women, cattle, provisions, or poultry, so that they are the greatest plague with which the Negroes are afflicted.

The Moors in general like long journeys. I have observed that those of the desert do not go to Mecca; but the reason is, that this pilgrimage would be too long and unprofitable: they, however, frequently go to Galam and the more eastern kingdoms; or, in fact, to every part where they expect to find an advantageous change.

All the people of the interior want salt; the Moors therefore bring it them, as well as the linen and iron-work which they receive from the Europeans, and they get in exchange gold, elephants' teeth, civet, and slaves. They set off in parties, like a caravan, and on their way they use the privilege which they have assumed of appropriating to themselves whatever they can find, whether belonging to their enemies or friends; who, however, cease to be the latter, if they possess what suits the purpose of the banditti. Their journey has, therefore, a double object, and they seldom fail to attain it.

On returning from the interior they generally divide, and some of them go home, while others repair to the banks of the Senegal, and several go even to Fez and Morocco. To these last-mentioned places they convey their gold, elephants' teeth, and slaves in particular, as, from a religious principle, they are forbidden to sell the children of Mahomet to infidels. This precept, however, is not always scrupulously observed: the tribe of Azounas in particular despise it, and sell to us at Isle St. Louis a considerable number of slaves.

There is certainly a communication between the Senegal and Morocco. I knew several Moors who had performed this journey, and one of whom who came to reside at Isle at St. Louis, more than once offered to conduct to Morocco any white person with whom I might entrust him, and bring him back by the same route. This project would have been carried into execution, had my affairs allowed me to reside longer on the island. I know that these journeys are difficult; but I think that their dangers are exaggerated. It is possible to open routes in





*The Moors gathering Gums*



*Conveying the Gums to Senegal*

Africa, even through the desert, to travel over the interior, and to procure all the information that may be required relative to this interesting part of the globe.

It is in this same desert, between the banks of the Senegal and the Isle of Arguin, that there are to the northward, three forests of that species of tree which produces the gum, and which on that account is called the gum-tree. They are all situated at nearly an equal distance from the river, and which is supposed to be about forty leagues: the forests are ten leagues distant from each other. The first is called *Sahel*; the second, which is the largest, *Lebiar*; and the third is known by the name of *Alfatuck*. Several small clusters of gum-trees, independent of these forests, are to be found at many other points of the Senegal.

The tree which produces the gum is a small species of *Acacia*: it is thorny, branched, and loaded with leaves, which are rough, always green, very narrow, and of a middling length: its flowers are white, and have but five petals, which form a calix, filled with stamina of the same colour, surrounding a pistillum which, changes into a pod or husk from three to four inches long: this at the beginning is round and green; but at its maturity acquires the colour of a dead leaf. It is filled with small, round, hard, and blackish seeds, which serve for the reproduction of the tree.

The gum is nothing else than the superabundant parts of the sap of this tree, which sap being too small in quantity, and drawn rapidly up by the heat of the sun, swells the fibres of the tree, bursts the imperceptible coats which surround it, and make a passage through the pores of the bark. This never happens when the tree only has the necessary quantity of sap for its preservation and growth; and then, if gum be wished for, it is necessary to use violence, and gain it from the nutriment of the tree by means of incision. This practice affords some produce, but cannot be executed without the loss of a large portion of the gum that escapes through these incisions, which the sap always endeavours to heal.

Two gum harvests are made every year: the first, which is the most abundant, takes place in December: the knots are then larger, cleaner, and drier. This harvest is the best, because the rains, which have just ceased, have moistened the earth, which has, in consequence, afforded a more abundant sap to the trees; and this the heat of the sun has had time to consolidate, though without drying it. The second harvest is made in March; but this affords less, and the produce is of an inferior quality, because the heat is then too violent, and it is necessary to make incisions before the gum can be obtained.

Before the Senegal gum was known, that from Arabia fur-

nished the whole consumption of Europe; but since this discovery the former has superseded the latter, and the Arabian gum is no longer to be seen: the little, however, which does come to us is derived from the Levant by the Provencals. They are in the habit of boasting of its properties as far beyond those of the Senegal gum; but several experiments have proved, that one is as good as the other, and may be employed for the same purposes. Besides the usual application of it in manufactures and medicine, we have a way of depriving it of its natural faintness; and, in several towns in France, they make it into excellent preserves. The Moors and Negroes are very fond of eating it in its crude state.

The regular consumption of this gum in Europe is estimated at 1000 tons of 2000 lbs. each. The India Company formerly imported, every year, 1200 Moorish quintals (the quintal is reckoned equal to 900 lbs. French.) At present our trade is about 1,500,000 lbs.; and we might extend it to 2,000,000, without the concurrence of the English at Portendick.

The price of gum is always regulated by the number of pieces of Guinea which it costs at first hand, and this price varies every year in consequence of the difference in the harvests, but chiefly from a combination amongst the purchasers. This combination was, a year or two since, carried to such an extent, that the ship-owners lost fifty per cent. by the expedition. In my time, 1785 and 1786, the price of the quantar, which weighed 2400 lbs. was fixed at ten pieces of Guinea: it has since been raised to fifty, and even sixty pieces; it will, probably, soon get above an hundred: in short, the Moors will ruin the French, if government do not interfere, and check the effects of their combination. According to the relative value of merchandize; the gum, in time of peace, ought to cost, on the spot, from fifteen to twenty sous per pound, and be worth in France from forty to forty-five sous.

Three races or tribes of Moors, each of whom have their chief, frequent the desert which borders on the Senegal, collect the gum, and carry on the trade exclusively. The first is called *Trarzas*, and occupies all the country comprised between Arguin, St. John's river, and the Senegal. This country extends from the shores of the sea to forty leagues in-land; and the chief of the tribe is a descendant of Alikandora, whose name is celebrated in the festivals of the country: his name is Alikouri. The state is hereditary; and the eldest son of the king succeeds the father. In default of children, the crown descends to the nearest relation of the reigning family.

Alikouri being almost always encamped near Portendick, causes the gum which is collected by his tribe, to be conveyed

thither, and only sends to Isle St. Louis what he cannot find room for at Portendick. Our government pays him annually a duty of 11,347 francs; and he likewise receives considerable fees from our merchant ships.

The second tribe is known by the name of Marabous of Armancour. The chief of this race is named Chems, and is also named *Aulad-el-Hagi*: these collect the gum from the forests of Lebiar, and bring it to the French in the Senegal, at about forty leagues only from Isle St. Louis. It does not appear that government pays any duty to the Marabous of Armancour, though they get much by trading with us, and the merchant vessels pay them nearly the same fees, as to king Alikouri. All the members of this tribe are Marabous, that is, doctors or preachers of the law of Mahomet: they are hypocritical and superstitious; but they have good memories, are artful in their commercial dealings, and reason well on the course of the stars, which they are in the habit of observing.

The Bracknazians are the third tribe of Moors: they have a king named Hamet Mocktar, whose dignity is hereditary. They collect their gum from the forest of Alfatack, and sell it to the French near Podor.

This kind of fair or market is held in the open air: it begins in April, and ends in June or early in July; the rains then set in, and give the signal for retreat. They do not weigh the gum, but serve it in a cubic measure called *quantar*, which should be of a size that was long ago agreed on between the Moors and the French, but which the latter have taken care to augment, as often as they have found an opportunity. The measure is fixed on deck; it has a sliding bottom, which lets the contents fall into the hold as soon as the measure is full. At first it contained about 220 lbs. of eight ounces to the pound; but its size has so much increased, that at the time of my residence in the Senegal it held 2400 such pounds: I believe it has not been thought prudent to increase the size of the measure beyond this point. The Moors, however, are too cunning to be imposed on by such a gross artifice; and have therefore increased the price in the proportion already mentioned, which is about equal to the frauds practised in the measure.

During my stay at Isle St. Louis, I entered into some treaties with these tribes relative to the gum trade; and in April 1785, I went to the fort of Podor, where the trade was going on. I there found king Hamet Mocktar, his brother, the queen, their daughter, and suite. The Moors received me kindly, and I passed the day with them. The next day the king, his brother, the queen, and the daughter, made me ask them to dinner: they came betimes; and it is a fact, that during the two months

while I remained in the environs of Podor, this family constantly *honoured* me with their company.

I received them with distinction, and under discharge of cannon. We dined under a tent, which I had caused to be erected upon deck. Hamet Mocktar was a fine figure, large, and well made; he was covered with a scarlet cloak, embroidered with yellow tinsel; his hat was laced in the same manner, and he wore green half-boots. After the first compliments, he began to put himself at his ease by taking off his clothes; and he, as well as the rest of his people, remained only in their shirts. His brother had no mark of distinction, but was dressed like the other Moors. The queen, who appeared to be about thirty-five years old, was of an ordinary size, but so prodigiously fat, that she could not walk without the support of two men, who never quitted her. The daughter was about sixteen or seventeen years old, and had a pleasant physiognomy: her figure was perfectly handsome. Both mother and daughter were dressed according to the custom of the country, but they were covered with gold and corals.

The dinner was very convivial, and the guests conducted themselves with the utmost decency and discretion, not the smallest excess or disturbance taking place. During the whole time of dinner we were regaled by music of the king's band.

In the evening the guests retired within the fort; and every succeeding morning they not only returned the visit, but remained with me the whole day. We often went to walk on the banks of the river, and the king's daughter was always of the party. She taught me a few Arabic words, and I in return instructed her in French; in which she made such progress, that before we separated, she could express her wishes, and ask for whatever she wanted. The king and queen testified no uneasiness at the familiarities that passed between us.

One day this young princess conceived she had a complaint against one of my clerks, named Bourdonnois, she having taken offence at a proposition which she did not rightly understand. She appealed to me, and relieved her mind by shedding tears. The king coming in unexpectedly, and observing the state of his daughter, flew into a dreadful rage. I ordered the clerk to be brought forward, and without wishing to hear what he had to say, gave orders, that he should be embarked, and sent to Isle St. Louis: I was immediately obeyed. As he was going away, the king and his daughter relented, and intreated me to pardon him. I pretended that I would not excuse him; but they pressed me to forgive him, and finding that I still refused, the princess fell at my feet. I raised her immediately, and granted her request. As soon as she was sure that the man would be libe-





*Durand entertaining King Hamlet & Family.*

rated, her face was overspread with smiles, and I recognised by this trait the goodness of her heart. The king himself went to fetch back Bourdonnois; he brought him before me, and the pretended injury was forgotten. On this occasion my conduct was politic, and was attended with success. I suddenly terminated a discussion which might have become serious, if I had seemed to doubt of the offence, or hesitated to repair it.

I have mentioned this anecdote by way of opposition to the naturally obdurate, barbarous, and cruel character of the Moors in general. It is a light upon the dark picture which I have already given of their savage manners; and it affords a proof, that our connections with these people render them more communicative, sensible, and humane.

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## CHAP. XV.

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ACCOUNT OF A JOURNEY BY LAND FROM ISLE ST. LOUIS, ALONG THE SENEGAL, TO GALAM, IN WHICH ARE GIVEN THE PARTICULARS OF THE DIFFERENT COUNTRIES, INHABITANTS, AND PRODUCTS ON THE ROUTE. —OF THE KINGDOMS OF CAHOR, JOLOF, BARRA OR MANDING, BAMBOUK, JOULY, MERINA, BONDOU, &c. &c.

ON setting off for Isle St. Louis, I promised that I would penetrate into the interior of Africa, and decide our doubts as to the state of that part of the world: The same project had excited the attention of the English; and I must declare that I was eager to imitate, or even to anticipate, them in such an undertaking. Nevertheless I did not wish to venture upon one of those journeys which, transporting a single man, without any fixed object, amidst savage hordes, exposes him to all sorts of privations and risques, without affording him proper means of information: but, on the other hand, I was well aware that those dangers, which often occur, are provoked by imprudence, or exaggerated by misfortune and a wish to excite interest.

It was, however, my wish to visit an unknown soil, but which I thought less liable to difficulty and labour; and I resolved to execute what had, till then, appeared impracticable—a journey by land from Isle St. Louis to Galam. My intention was, should I succeed, to travel afterwards over land to Morocco and Tunis\*.

My choice of this journey for a trial likewise had another motive. I wished to know if the inconveniencies of the route which I was about to trace through the interior of the country,

\* The author, doubtless, meant that he would cause these journeys to be executed; for it does not appear that he had any intention of performing them himself.—Ed.

would not be much less than those of the voyage hitherto performed along the coast of the Senegal, to arrive at fort St. Joseph, the most distant of our factories.

This attempt met with the most complete success. I shall proceed to give an account of it, in which it will be seen that the Negroes, though avaricious and needy, received my traveller with affection of the most hospitable and generous kind; that they appeared with all their natural good qualities, and the simplicity of the early ages; and that they every where professed a desire to gain information with all the efforts of a rude people approaching towards civilization; while they eagerly expressed their wish, that we would establish ourselves amongst them.

I must first make known what means were in my power for executing my project, and what measures I thought would insure it success. I had no compass in my possession, and was therefore obliged to regulate the journey by the course of the stars, and the indications of the natives.

I could not hope for any great accuracy in the observations which might be made during the journey; but I imposed an obligation on the person, whom I employed to perform it, to mark the number of days' march by the rising and setting of the sun, so as to point out, as nearly as possible, the hour of his arrival at, and departure from, each station. I also pressed him to note in his journal, the changes he might experience in the soil, the hills, mountains, forests, trees, lakes, rivulets, animals, and kinds of cultivation. He was likewise to observe the different tribes which he might meet with in his route, and to give an account of their manners, customs, religion, language, and the reception which he met with amongst them. My ulterior object was, that, after making all these remarks on the country, he should prepare the people for a general intercourse with the French, discover the exact situation of their gold mines, and continue his route as far as the isthmus of Suez, after which he might return to France from some of the ports in the Mediterranean.

I have to regret, that the noble enterprize which I had planned, though equal to my expectations, was far from affording the results which might have been expected; as, since my departure, it has never been followed up, and because the principal agent in it became the victim of an unpardonable negligence.

M. Rubault, the person employed under my orders in this expedition, left Isle St. Louis on the 11th January, 1786, in company with a Marabou Moor, named Sidy Carachi: this Moor, from his quality as priest and doctor of laws, enjoyed, like all his cast, the greatest veneration from all the hordes in Africa. I gave Rubault two domestic Negroes, three camels to carry the baggage and convey the travellers, and ordered him

such a supply of provisions, merchandize, and arms, as I conceived adequate to the undertaking. The party set off from Gandiollé, whither I accompanied them, on the 13th, at break of day. After a march of seven hours, over a flat soil covered with palm-trees, they arrived at a village called Camessou, the master of whom received them with great kindness, and gave them a preparation of flour and milk.

Each village, in this part of Africa, has a chief known by the title of master. In some parts of the country the name does not correspond with that of master; but the prerogatives and attributes of the chief are the same. He receives a tribute from all the inhabitants for his expenses, and is charged with executing the orders of the king in whatever relates to the police or general justice, except that recourse is had to the sovereign in cases of condemnation to death or slavery. This establishment is nearly the same as the feudality which is said to have prevailed in the earliest times of the creation. The master is the lord of the village.

On setting out after his repast, at three in the afternoon, Rubault arrived by seven at another village, named Bety, where he passed the night: this he left at ten next morning, and at seven in the evening came to a third village, called Meriné-Giob.

The inhabitants of this village were celebrating the Gammon, which is an annual festival in honour of the birth of Mahomet; it lasts three days. Here Rubault was well treated, and proceeded onwards the next morning at six o'clock. The country over which he travelled this day was covered with little hamlets. Amongst the trees he observed a white tamarind, or ape's bread-tree, of so extraordinary a size that he stopped to measure it, and found it to be eighty-four feet in circumference. He next reached Gure, a village governed by a prince of the royal family; and afterwards that of Hyam-Hyren, where he arrived at noon, and stopped for three hours till the intense heat had subsided. The chief here refreshed him, and had him taken to a couch, where he ordered one of his women to stand and fan him.

On the 16th, after passing through several small Negro villages, he arrived at that of Meriné, where the inhabitants received him with acclamations, which testified their great pleasure. The master and the principal inhabitants came in bodies to salute him, and kept off their people, who pressed on him through curiosity. At the same time a prince named Yousoufat, the governor of a neighbouring village, having heard of the arrival of a white man, came with a numerous suite of cavalry, and offered his services. This prince urged him to stop a few days in his village, which he declined, but was obliged to promise that he would accept the offer on his return. On the 17th,

when he was about to leave the village of Meriné, the master came with great ceremony to wish him a good journey: he prostrated himself at his feet, kissed his hands, and refused to accept of any present whatever.

He next reached the village of Beteldiabi, where the people came out and danced before him to the sounds of the instruments of their country, which are the rude kind of drum already described, and one which resembles our mandolines. It is remarkable, that the Negroes of the Senegal can never accustom themselves to European drums, with which they have been acquainted for a length of time.

The village of Beteldiabi is the last in this direction which belongs to the kingdom of Cayor. Rubault left it at three in the afternoon, and travelled the rest of the day, and a great part of the night, through a forest which is near this place. He saw in it a great number of tigers, lions, wolves, and other ferocious animals, which came very near to his party at different times, and whose roarings were dreadful. This forest was composed of palm, tamarind, gum, and other large trees, of which Rubault did not know the species.

The kingdom is a dismemberment of the Yolofs. The extent of the latter was so great, that its king, Burba-Yolof, not being able to govern it himself, was obliged to divide it into several provinces, and entrust them to lieutenant-generals. The one who governed the country now called the kingdom of Cayor, soon revolted, and caused himself to be declared king of the country in which he was stationed. Some others followed his example; and thus were composed the states of Brack and Siratick, which formed parts of the above-mentioned empire, but which are now independent kingdoms. At length the legitimate sovereign had only the smallest part of his territories left him, and this was the worst and the most distant from commercial intercourse. Notwithstanding this almost general defection, Burba-Yolof always maintained his pretensions to the countries which he had lost. He found a favourable opportunity for attacking the kingdom of Cayor, and hastened to turn it to advantage.

The people, irritated at the tyranny of Damel, were disgusted with his government, and wished to shake off the yoke. Burba-Yolof fomented this dissension, and speedily raising an army, attacked Damel, who was killed in the first battle, and his forces were defeated and dispersed. On this occasion Burba-Yolof gave many proofs of valour, but he wanted prudence. He entered, it is true, on an usurped domain; but the people wished him to make his conquest legitimate by a new election, which could not fail to be in his favour. Far, however, from adopting

this simple formality, he treated those proud people like revolted subjects; on which the great men withdrew to Tin, king of Baol, and intreated his protection against their sovereign, whom they now stigmatized as an usurper. Latir-Fat-Soucabé, king of Baol, entered immediately into the views of the refugees, and fearing that he would himself be driven from his territories, if he gave Burba-Yolof time to strengthen himself in Cayor, he raised a body of troops, whose number was rapidly augmented by the discontented hordes who quitted the kingdom of Cayor. He then conducted them with so much skill and courage, that he beat Burba-Yolof in several skirmishes, and killed him in a general engagement; on which such of his army as were not cut in pieces took flight, so that, in a short time, the kingdom of Cayor had neither enemies to fear, nor a sovereign to govern it.

Hitherto king Tin had only acted as an auxiliary: he had played the part of a man who, seeing his neighbour's house on fire, runs and uses all his efforts to extinguish the flames in order that he may preserve his own. He had only taken part in this quarrel to maintain an equilibrium amongst his neighbours, and to prevent the most powerful from overrunning the others; but now finding himself at the head of a numerous army, he wished to possess himself of the kingdom of Cayor, and to keep it by covering his usurpation with the veil of a legitimate election. With this view he convoked all the notables of the kingdom, and, on the appointed day, the people repaired to a vast plain, on which the army of Tin was encamped. He addressed them on the necessity of having a king who would govern them with equity, and protect them from invasion; declared that he knew no person better qualified for such duties than himself; and without waiting for their opinions, he added, that whoever did not immediately approve of his proposition he should consider as his capital enemy. He even went farther, and pronounced the *Desoulé Sabai*, which is the most terrible oath in use amongst the Negroes: it is a violent imprecation; and he thundered it as a solemn defiance against whoever might oppose his election.

All the electors acutely felt this injury, which was the greatest that could be done to them. The Negroes never pardon it, and nothing can efface it but the poniard: they were, however, in the midst of a conquering army, which would have cut them in pieces if they had presumed to oppose the wishes of its chief; they therefore looked at one another for some time in melancholy silence, and seeing that they had no alternative, they acknowledged him as king, to the prejudice of the heirs of the sovereign whom he had killed, and whom they already began to regret.

As soon as he was proclaimed king he distributed honorary ti-

tles to some of the electors, promised rewards to others, and assumed the functions of royalty without waiting to be bathed in a spring consecrated to the coronation of the kings of Cayor. He took the name of Damel, and abandoned that of Tin; he then received the homage of the great people, who took the oath of fidelity, and appointed two lieutenant-generals to govern the kingdoms of Cayor and Baol.

At length his usurpation being evident, and his cruelties having rendered him odious to the whole state, he began to fear that the principal people might raise the rest against him; to prevent which he cut off the heads of those whom he suspected, and sought to gain the affection of his subjects by opposing the demands which the notables had upon their vassals, and which they had a right to receive. This measure ruined them, and obliged them to retire to the neighbouring states. But the people, though relieved from the tribute, were neither richer nor happier; as Damel soon appropriated to himself what the great men used to receive. He made himself rich at the expense of all, and by ruining them all without distinction, he deprived them of the means of rebellion.

By such conduct this prince maintained himself upon the throne of Damel until his death. The two states of Cayor and Baol, which he had united to his dominion, were afterwards divided, but they remained with his family: that of Burba-Yolof has never been able to recover its rights, and appears to have renounced them.

The descendants of Latir-Fat-Soucabé still reign at Cayor and Baol. This family, elevated by crime, has gradually acquired wisdom and moderation. It has had much influence on our commercial and political operations, which it still preserves, and nothing indicates that it will lose its present power and consideration.

I have already touched on the subject of this revolution; but I have now added some circumstances that were omitted, and which I think relate essentially to the history of the country.

On the 18th January, after travelling part of the night, Rubault arrived at four in the morning at Lequekié, the first village in the kingdom of Yolof, which he left on the 19th; and, after passing two or three others, he was met, on the 20th, by an envoy from the king of Yolof, who came to congratulate him, and escort him to the village in which the king resided: it is called Hicarkor, and our traveller was conducted to a large square in front of the king's hut. Immediately the sovereign approached, followed by his whole court, and having on his left a great number of those buffoons whom the Negroes call griottes: there are both men and women who devote themselves to this

profession, for which they are reckoned infamous, and deprived of burial. Their actions are highly gross and indecent: there is a party of them for each village; and as they have a right to insult and injure those against whom they have a complaint, they are very well treated during their life, and even enjoy a sort of respect; but at their death the people avenge themselves by offering the greatest insults to their remains, and generally suspend their bodies on a tree. At Senegal, however, where the people are more civilized and humane, they are interred like the rest.

Those who accompanied the king of Yolof sung songs in praise of his goodness, and celebrated the arrival of a white man. One of them carried a mat for the king to seat himself on, the instant he might wish to rest. On coming up to Rubault, the king received him with open arms, and taking him affectionately by the hand, held it a long time; he then caused a mat to be spread, and placing himself upon it, made the stranger sit on his right-hand. Then, after a silence of some time, he asked him what had brought a white man into his states, where one had never arrived before? Rubault explained that he had been sent to Galam by M. Durand, and was ordered to salute his Yolof majesty, and to express the desire of the French government to form an establishment in his kingdom. This answer pleased the king, who immediately ordered a hut to be prepared for him, to which he was conducted to repose. About noon, a prince belonging to the royal family came with great ceremony, to invite him to dinner at the hut of the king; on reaching which he observed a young Negress washing the sovereign's feet; she left off as soon as the stranger appeared, and the king then taking him into another apartment, they sat down together on the same mat. They parted with great ceremony, and the next day the king expressed the high satisfaction he felt at the proposition of M. Durand; and assured Rubault that he would do every thing in his power to favour the French. He then requested the envoy to accept an axe, and pressed him to remain some days longer in the village, in order that his subjects might see him, and consign the fact to their history, that, during his reign, they had had the happiness to know that a white man had arrived in their country.

On the 23d, the king had a long conversation with Rubault, with the aid of two interpreters, and informed him, that an escort would be ready on the 25th to accompany him to Galam. After the conference; the ladies of the court, with their attendants, came to visit him; they approached very near to him; seeming to examine him with great curiosity, and described their sensations to each other in a very low voice. They all seemed satisfied with the sight, and expressing their wishes for his health and happi-

ness, retired; amongst the number were four of the king's wives.

On the 25th, at two in the afternoon, M. Rubault was ready for his departure; when he received a most affectionate and pompous farewell from the royal family, the king declaring that he would himself write a letter to M. Durand. He then accompanied him to the spot where his camels were waiting, and taking him kindly by the hand, said, "I pray the Lord to preserve thee on thy journey."

The king gave Rubault three men to accompany him to Galam; and on leaving the village of Hicarkor, they travelled over a large plain planted with gum-trees, of which the Negroes appeared to know neither the use nor value. On quitting this plain on the 27th, he was informed, that for the next four days' journey, he would meet with no habitation, but would have to pass through a vast and difficult forest, all the trees of which were of a thorny nature, and very close together. Arrangements were in consequence made: they reached the wood at noon, and travelled in the midst for the remainder of the day and part of the night. They then waited for the return of the sun, and reposed, together with their camels, in a space surrounded by a large fire. They heard, and occasionally saw several lions; but these animals made off on hearing the slightest noise. M. Rubault travelled through this large forest from the 28th to the 31st; and he asserts, that half of it is filled with gum-trees.

At five in the evening he left the kingdom of Yolof, and entered that of Barra. I have observed that the king promised to write me a letter, and send it by three of his subjects: this expedition shortly afterwards took place. I received the three Negroes with much distinction, and kept them a fortnight at Isle St. Louis; after which I sent them home with a proper answer, and presents for the king and his family.

The letter of King Babakoury expressed the delight he experienced at the sight of a white man, and the superior happiness he should derive from my acquaintance. It concluded with inviting me to come and see him. In my answer I regretted that I could not have that pleasure, in consequence of being obliged to return to France, but that I expected soon to come back again, and should take the first opportunity of paying him a visit.

From the dismemberment of the kingdom of Yolof, have not only been formed several powerful kingdoms, particularly those of Cayor, Walos, and Foules, which reach along the Senegal, from Galam to its mouth, but they cut off all communication between the Yolofo and that river. Hence these people being confined in the interior, have lost much of their power and commercial influence; but even as it now is, the Yolof king-

dom, on account of its great fertility, presents striking advantages.

Rubault, after five hours journey through a wood, arrived at ten at night at the first village in the kingdom of Barra or Manding. All the inhabitants were asleep; and the arrival of this little caravan amongst them threw them into such alarm that they took up arms; they were, however, soon appeased by the people of the King of Yolof; and the master of the village conducted Rubault to a hut, served him with supper, and presented him with a goat.

On the 1st of February he left this village, which was called Passe, at two in the afternoon. He travelled over a vast plain, which was well cultivated, and planted with fine trees. It is inhabited by laborious and more civilized Negroes than the generality of that race. The houses were well built, and cleanliness seemed as general amongst them as with the whites. These people are observers of the laws of Mahomet, have public schools; and almost all of them can read and write. The children go to school in the middle of the night, or a few hours before break of day. The men in this part drink neither wine nor brandy; they all keep the rhamadan with strictness, and have a great partiality for agriculture. They live under a sort of republic, which is wisely administered by a council of elders; they are faithful, good-natured, and humane; mutually assist each other, and take slaves from the other hordes, but never make them amongst themselves. When their fellow-citizens have been guilty of crimes, they are condemned to slavery and sold; but it is the law which pronounces the punishment.

With respect to their women, they are less rigorous than Mahomet; as they think, that if the prophet could place in paradise his camel, cat, and many other animals, they may also expect their women to enter it. To give them hopes of this event, they cause them to undergo circumcision; and in order that their natural modesty may not be hurt, the operation is performed by women. They teach the females to expect beatitude, but only on condition that they are chaste, faithful, and obedient to their husbands.

In this plain, which is covered with trees, Rubault observed several of the wild fig kind, which had grown to the vast girth of upwards of thirty feet. The trunk, after reaching the height of thirty-five or forty feet, divides itself into several large branches, which produce an infinity of smaller ones, that are loaded with fruit and leaves: the latter resemble those of the walnut-tree are of a light green, and grow so thick that they form an impenetrable obstacle to the sun. The fruit of this tree is of the shape and size of pigeons' eggs; it has a faint taste,

and is filled with maggots. Animals feed on it; but the Negroes do not use it. The timber is not fit to burn, is difficult to saw in planks, and is used by the Negroes for bowls, platters, &c. The Negroes repose and receive visits under its shade.

There are found in this part of the country all the animals peculiar to Africa, as well as an abundance of elephants, lions, tigers, wild hogs, gazelles, civets, tiger-cats, and ounces. The gazelles partake of the camel, the goat, the deer, and the hare; their hair is like that of the camel; and, as well as that animal, they have a black circle above the eyes; their body is like that of the hind; their bleat imitates that of the goats; and their legs, like those of the hare, are shorter before than behind. They ascend with rapidity, but they lose much in coming down a hill, and when the declivity is steep they often roll down instead of running. In a flat country they are at their ease, and go well, extending themselves to such a degree that their bellies almost touch the ground; they prick their ears at the least noise. Their horns grow straight till within an inch of the extremity, when they curve inwards, as if nature wished to prevent them from doing any harm. They are extremely gentle, and easy to tame. They pass over Africa alternately, from the northern to the southern part.

The Negroes salt or pickle the flesh of the gazelles; but when thus prepared, it is not very good; though it is extremely delicate when eaten fresh. They have a singular manner of hunting these animals. When the grass is dry, they set it on fire, and place themselves at the passage which the gazelles must take to escape, where they watch for them, and when they appear attack them with arrows, sagayes, and clubs, making prodigious slaughter.

The civet is an animal as large and thick as a tolerably great dog; it has a pointed muzzle; the eyes and ears are small; the whiskers like those of a cat; the skin spotted with white, black, and yellow; while its tail is as thick and long as that of a fox. It is a wild, cruel, and carnivorous animal, whose bite is dangerous. The Negroes take them by snares; and those who buy them keep them in iron cages, and feed them on raw flesh.

This animal is merely an object of curiosity with the Africans, as they do not eat it. The Europeans derive from it an unctuous liquid, similar to an ointment, which collects in the males in a bag placed between the testicles and the penis; and in the females between the pubes and the anus. This bag is about three inches deep, by two and a half wide: it contains a number of little glands filled with odorous matter, which is obtained by compression. The operation is thus performed:—They seize the tail of the animal while confined in the cage, and draw it be-

tween the bars; they then bring the hind legs in the same manner, and hold them tight; they then pass a plank before the animal to prevent him from going forwards; and in this position they introduce into the sac a small iron spoon, with which they lightly scrape the internal emissaries. This motion compresses the glands, and obliges them to evacuate the matter they contain, which is then removed with a spoon.

This process cannot, however, be performed daily; as the animal does not produce a sufficient supply of matter; it therefore takes place every third day, and in certain seasons, once in two days. Each time affords about a drachm and half, or at the utmost two drachms. When the substance is first taken it is white, rather bordering upon grey, but changes imperceptibly to a brown. Its smell at a distance is sweet and agreeable; but when near, is too strong, and affects the head. The perfumers prepare it by mixing with it other drugs, which interrupt the violent volatility of its particles, and thus render the smell not merely supportable, but to many people delightful.

The Dutch breed a number of civets, and send to Paris all the musk which they obtain. They feed the animals on nothing but milk and the yolks of eggs; and it is asserted that this food renders the Dutch musk whiter than which comes from Africa, or the East and West Indies, where they feed them promiscuously and abundantly on different kinds of raw flesh: in other respects, the colour excepted, all musk has the same qualities. It is, however, almost impossible to procure pure musk, as the Jews of Holland and Cairo, and indeed all those who trade in this article, almost always adulterate it. They gain much by this practice, and we lose nothing: in the way we receive it, it is equal to our wants, and even to our luxuries.

A great number of civets might be raised in the European factories in Africa; but it is evident that the rage for musk is past, as our nerves are become so delicate that we can scarcely think of it; it is therefore only used in medicine, in which it is administered for the cholic in children, by applying it to the navel, as well as in certain female complaints; and, however small may be the quantity that we receive, we find it sufficient for our consumption.

The ounces are a species of the leopard, and their skin is extremely beautiful. This animal is very active, runs in a leaping or cantering manner, and darts like lightning upon its prey. It is said, that the Persians used them for hunting gazelles, and the following is the manner in which their chase has been described: they carried the ounces on horseback, either before or behind them; and when they perceived a gazelle, they shewed it to one; and let him loose. The ounce made after it, seized it by the neck,

and strangled it; but if he missed his leap, and the gazelle escaped, he remained in the greatest apparent confusion. The huntsman then caressed him, took him again on horseback, and continued the sport, when the ounce became so eager to retrieve his credit, that the next animal that appeared was sure to be taken.

The Africans do nothing towards taming ounces, but leave them in a pure state of nature, so that they are less docile, amusing, and useful.

This animal is about the size of a greyhound: it has a round head, a wide mouth, and very sharp teeth. There is nothing ferocious in its appearance, but it is naturally savage. It never approaches villages or farms, except at night, and does not attack either men, women, or children; but every thing else suits its purpose. There is nothing good about it but its skin.

The tiger-cat in Africa is merely a degenerate species of the tiger, with which we are acquainted; and though it be smaller and less strong, it possesses all the untameable ferocity peculiar to its prototype.

There is also very common in this country, a curious species of lizard or cameleon; this animal is generally two feet long, from the muzzle to the root of the tail; and the tail itself is not less than three feet in length. It lives on fruit and roots; its skin is covered with little yellow, green, black, and white scales, which appear as if varnished, so bright are the colours. Its large red eyes, which are even with the top of the head, seem to sparkle when you come too near it, or irritate it. When in a state of anger, its bag, which is under its throat, suddenly swells, and the animal becomes agitated and furious. Its bite, without being venomous, is severe; and it never lets go the part which it has seized. If it be not quickly killed, it carries away the part which it has caught, and it is not easy to deprive it of life. Blows do it no harm; but the only part at which it can be mortally wounded is the nostrils, on which it sheds a few drops of blood, opens its mouth, and expires. Its feet have five toes, armed with long, strong, and sharp claws, which serve to climb trees, as well as to attack and defend itself. Its tail is also a weapon of defence with which it does much injury. The Negroes eat these animals, and find the flesh excellent; they hunt them with their ordinary arms, and often take them with a slip-knot when they find them on the branch of a tree.

The vast plain which Rubault now quitted, is partly under the dominion of the King of Bambouk. He arrived at seven o'clock in the evening in the village of Maleme, the ordinary residence of the king. This kingdom, however, which Rubault calls Bam-

boek, is not that which contains the gold mines, which I shall afterwards speak of.

The prince received him with marked attention, and waited on him at his hut, accompanied by all his court; he told him he was the protector of travellers, and desired him to inform his countrymen, that he wished them often to visit him. The next day, the 2d, he proceeded on his journey, when the king gave him an ox, and Rubault returned the compliment by a piece of Guinea. On that day and the third, he passed through the villages of Cassime, Cambalot, and Caldenne, at which he stopped to procure a supply of provisions. He observed that the inhabitants of this village were all dyers, and that they made a quantity of indigo; their lands were highly cultivated, and were covered in many parts with gum-trees, as well as with the species which produces incense, aloes, and mastic. The Negroes are but little acquainted with the value of these productions; but Rubault considers them if properly collected, as an inexhaustible source of riches.

The incense is a kind of gum. These two substances, though of a different nature, are obtained at the same period, by different processes, from the trees which produce them: the latter also are very much alike. That which gives the incense is very full of branches, which are slender, flexible, and covered with prickles; they have a thin adherent bark, of a grey colour; their leaves are long and narrow, always green, and coupled, though each shoot is terminated by a single leaf. The pedicle is red and tolerably strong. On rubbing them between the hands, they give out an unctuous liquid of a strong and aromatic smell, and rather an acid taste. A great quantity of these shrubs are found near the gum-trees in the desert, as well as on most spots in this part of Africa. The greatest consumption of incense takes place in our churches; it is also used in medicine. The substance called aloes is also sought for in the isles of the Red Sea, though it may be more readily obtained on the coasts, and in the interior of Western Africa. The Indians make much use of this resin as a powerful cathartic. Mastic is also obtained in great quantities, and the apothecaries employ the pulverised wood of the trees which produce it, in their compositions.

The people of the state of Bambouk are rigid Mahometans, and their government is hereditary and absolute.

On the 5th of February, at four in the morning, after a journey of two hours, Rubault entered the kingdom of Youly, and arrived at noon at the village of Cambia, the whole of which was surrounded with a palisade ten feet in height. Here the master gave him a good dinner, and in two hours afterwards, he reached the village of Lancemo, where he passed the night. The next

day at dawn, as he was about to proceed on his journey, an envoy arrived from the king of Youly, requesting he would visit his majesty at Medine, the place of his residence. Rubault answered that, although he had the greatest desire to see his majesty, circumstances would not permit him, as he was in haste to get to Galam; besides which, he had no merchandize left worthy of the acceptance of so great a personage.

The envoy, who seemed to attach more importance to the present than the visit, answered shortly, that this was an unsatisfactory excuse, as the camels which he saw were loaded with property. It was in vain that our traveller assured him of his mistake, and he insisted on inspecting our baggage. Being then convinced, he said, that his master had been imposed upon by false reports, and he would set him right. He then suffered the party to proceed, and accepted the blade of a sabre.

The kingdom of Youly is very mountainous, and the hills are covered with fine trees. The villages are situated in the vallies, and the soil is very fertile. The inhabitants cultivate great quantities of grain, indigo, tobacco, and cotton.

The town of Medine, which is the capital of the kingdom, is of a considerable size, and contains about a thousand houses. Its fortifications are the same as those of the other towns in Africa. These people, like all the rest, are superstitious; and though most of them are pagans, they place implicit confidence in the grisgris or amulets of the Mahometans: the reason is, that they consider the art of writing as magic; and therefore place more faith in the talent of a magician, than in the sentences of the prophet.

Mungo Park observed at Kolor, an institution which is worthy of being known, particularly because Rubault speaks of it in more succinct terms. They both saw suspended to a tree a kind of masked habit, which they were told belonged to Monbo-Jombo, a name which they give to a magistrate peculiar to themselves, and whose office is very singular. It is formed for the purpose of frightening the women, and is established in almost all the Maudingo towns. When a husband thinks he has reason to complain of the conduct of his wife, he disguises himself, or dresses one of his friends, in this masked dress; then, armed with a rod, as the sign of his authority, Monbo Jombo announces his arrival by making terrible cries in the wood near the towns: these cries are always heard in the evening or night; and the figure on entering the town repairs to the bentang, or spot, at which all the inhabitants make a point of assembling.

This apparition terrifies all the women; because as the person who acts the part of Monbo Jombo, is totally unknown to them, each of them fears that the visit is made to herself. The ceremony

commences by songs and dancing, which continue till midnight, and then the guilty female is singled out by the mask. Instantly she is seized by the company, stripped naked, tied to a post, and cruelly scourged by the rod of the magistrate, amidst the cries and shouts of all the spectators. It is remarkable, that on these occasions the women most loudly ridicule the unfortunate person who is punished. At break of day the mask makes himself known; and the poor woman, who has almost sunk beneath the stripes, retires confused and dishonoured. Thus terminates this indecent and barbarous farce.

On the 8th of February, after a journey of two hours, Rubault entered the kingdom of Merine. He had set off at five in the morning, and at noon reached the village of Gambia, which belongs to this sovereignty. He was here informed by the master that he would have to travel for two days through the desert of Sinbani, where he would find no habitation; he received refreshments in the village, but was obliged to pass the night in the wood.

The inhabitants of Gambia informed Rubault of a very singular custom which prevails amongst them, as well as the whole kingdom of Merine. These Negroes are travellers; and when one of them is on a journey, his neighbour takes possession of his wife: the woman is obliged to receive him, feed him, comply with his wishes, and take the greatest care of his person. This custom is reciprocally observed, and the Negroes never fail to conform to it: hence, as it is general, it does no harm to any one.

Rubault set off from this village in the morning, continued his journey till ten in the evening, and, as was predicted to him, passed the night in the forest. This forest appeared astonishing to Rubault; he spoke with surprise of the numbers, height, and beauty of the trees, amongst which were all those of the gum kind. He did not feel the want of water; but all his provisions being exhausted, he suffered much from hunger, and was obliged to eat the fruit of a tree called *yonne*: he compared it to potatoes, with this difference, that it was less compact; he observed that it was the ordinary and favourite food of wild hogs, of which animals he met with great numbers, as well as with wolves, apes, tigers, and lions, but received no harm from them, though they approached tolerably near to him. He even saw a lioness and her cubs walking at a very short way from him, while the lion remained at the distance of musket-shot. Besides these animals, which are very common in Africa, the country of Merine contains several others which are found no where except in that state and its environs.

The most remarkable of these is *guiamala*, which is nearly

as high as the elephant, but much less stout: it is a kind of camel; it has a long neck; the same sort of head; and two protuberances, which form a kind of natural saddle on its back; it has also extraordinarily long legs. The horny substance of its foot is black and cleft like that of an ox; it walks fast, and runs well during a great distance. It eats little, and is not delicate, but feeds on thistles, reeds, leaves, and shoots of trees. It is always in a half-starved state; but the Negroes eat its flesh, which they find very good.

The natives have never attempted to tame this animal, or to make use of it for carrying burdens; they do not therefore know whether it is docile, or capable of bearing a load. They do not approach it without difficulty, and never without alarm. Nature has furnished it with seven horns, which are straight, black, strong, and pointed; and in those which are of full age, they are above two feet in length, but when the animal is young, they are not more than six inches: they are then enveloped in a rough kind of hair to within two or three inches of their extremity; but this hair drops off when the horn has attained a certain length. It resides in the woods and on the highest mountains.

There is also in this part of the country a species of white apes, whose colour is as beautiful as that of our finest white rabbits. They have fine red eyes, are of a small stature, and are very gentle and docile when young; but as they grow up, their natural cunning and malignity are developed. They are so delicate, and so much attached to their native country, that they refuse food, and starve themselves to death when taken out of it. The French residents at Galam had several of them; but they were never able to bring any alive to Isle St. Louis. It cannot surely be said that it is the loss of liberty which causes them to pine to death: for they care little about being chained in their own country; and while in this state, they eat and thrive abundantly; but they will not leave the territory. This is a great pity, as they are the most beautiful animals in the world; and setting aside their malice, nothing is more agreeable or diverting.

The weazle of this country is not larger than that of Europe; but it is totally white, and so brilliant is the colour, that it seems to be covered with silver. It is fierce, and naturally untamable: it bites in a strange manner; and when it gets any thing between its teeth, it is easier to kill it, than make it let go its hold. It is long, strong, and slender; and its continual motion gives it such an extraordinary appetite, that it is obliged to be continually in search of food. It preys upon birds, fowls, rats, and serpents; indeed, nothing comes amiss to it; and when it meets with an animal for which it has a liking, consulting less its strength

than its courage, it springs upon the victim, forces in its sharp and long claws, and in the end always overcomes it.

The Negroes continually hunt this animal, though with great precaution, for they have a singular dread of its bite; and to secure themselves against it, they catch the weazle by snares, and kill it before they take it from the trap; they then eat the flesh, and sell the skin to the French at the factory of Galam, or to the English, by the means of caravans which convey the slaves.

The pigeons of this country are large, and in shape like our own; but they have this peculiarity, that their plumage is quite green, there not being a feather of any other colour. At a distance they look like parroquets. They breed fast, and are very good to eat.

The kingdom of Mériné is not very large: Rubault passed through its narrowest part. The people are Mandingos, and possess an active and mercantile spirit. They consist of Mahometans and idolaters, but the latter are most numerous; they, however, live in harmony together, and never suffer religious differences to disturb their peace.

On the 10th of February, Rubault set off early in the morning, and arrived at noon at the village of Talliko, a frontier of the kingdom of Bondou: this is probably the same village which Mungo Park calls Tallika, and by which he also entered the kingdom. The major part of the inhabitants of this village are Foulahs, who profess the Mahometan religion: they are merchants, who enrich themselves either by supplying the caravans which pass through their country with provisions, or by the sale of ivory, which they procure by hunting elephants, to which they are accustomed from their infancy.

By the 14th Rubault had reached the village of Coursan, the ordinary residence of the king of the country, whose name is Almami. It is worthy of remark, that Mr. Park no longer followed the track of my traveller: for he indicates the residence of the king of Bondou to be at the village of Fatteconda, on the right bank of the river Félémé, and at a great distance from Coursan. Both gentlemen saw the king, and have given a description of the palace which he inhabited, which exactly correspond; hence we can only reconcile the difference in the places to arise from the king having palaces at each of them.

His majesty being at a country seat, the stranger was received by his prime minister, who supplied him with provisions, and told him that the king would arrive the next day. On the 14th the queen saw him, and intreated him to stop a little longer, as she had sent an express to her husband, who shortly returned with intelligence that he was coming. An ox was therefore killed; and the king, on arriving, sent for our traveller. After

asking him the usual questions, as to what had brought him into his country, he wished to know, if I had not sent him some present: Rubault answered that I intended to do so, but that he had distributed all the merchandise which I had given him. He, however, promised to send the king whatever he might wish for, as soon as he arrived at Galam. His majesty appeared surprised, and replied, that his father used to receive great presents from the factory at Galam; but he had had nothing from them. He concluded by adding that, as Rubault had brought him no present, he would not suffer him to depart. The next day, however, he became more tractable, told him that no harm should happen to him; but insisted on receiving a present, it being an ancient privilege which he would not forego. It was at length agreed, that Rubault should send him a compliment from Galam, which was fixed at two pieces of guinea, a fine musket, four pounds of powder, one hundred flints, one hundred bullets, and a pair of double-barrelled pistols. This demand from so powerful a king was considered as very moderate: nevertheless, by way of making sure of the articles, he ordered three men to go with Rubault as far as Galam, under pretence of escorting him, where they faithfully received the promised allowance, as well as several magnificent presents for the king's women.

The queen having reported her opinion to the other women, they all wished to see the traveller, and he was in consequence conducted to the square where they resided. Immediately on his entrance, they all rushed out, surrounded him, and expressed their astonishment by laughing and shouting. Several of them would touch his eyes, and others, his hands, nose, &c. at which they expressed surprise and curiosity: they then asked him a number of questions, as to the origin of the colour of his skin, as well as about the white women, their amorous propensities, and the conduct of their husbands towards them. Rubault satisfied them as well as he could, and did not fail to flatter them. Indeed, he asserts, that there were many of them that were handsome and well shaped. Most of them were young: he endeavoured to count them, but could not, as they were continually running about him; he, however, supposes, that there were at least fifty.

The village of Coursan is surrounded with palisades, and contains about 1200 inhabitants. Rubault then continued his journey: and on the 17th quitted the kingdom of Bondou. The duties or customs are very rigorous in this state; and in many of its towns, the value of a bar in European merchandise is paid for the passage of a loaded ass. In the part where the king resides, they demand a musket and a barrel of powder. I lately spoke of the preparations for war, which this sovereign was making

against the king of Bambouk: the expedition was successful, and the conquered party was obliged to cede all the countries and villages on the eastern bank of the Félémé.

If it were not for the uncharitable maxims of the Koran, the Foulahs of Bondou, who are naturally good, would be kinder to strangers, and less reserved in their conduct towards the Mandingos: my traveller, however, had nothing to complain of, as he was very well treated.

The government is under the influence of the Mahometan laws, with the exception of the king and his family; but though the great people of the state be Mussulmans, they are wise enough not to sanction religious persecution; and Pagans and Mussulmans consequently live in peace together.

The Foulahs have a particular language; but almost all of them speak Arabic: they are graziers, farmers, and merchants, and every where live in abundance; but at Bondou they enjoy in profusion all the necessaries of life.

## CHAP. XVI.

EXTRACT FROM THE JOURNAL OF SIDI-CARACHI ON HIS RETURN FROM GALAM TO ISLE ST. LOUIS.—FARTHER PARTICULARS OF THE COUNTRY IN THE ENVIRONS OF GALAM,

**S**IDI-CARACHI, the Marabou Moor, who accompanied my traveller to Galam, set off to return to Isle St. Louis on the 29th of March, 1786. As he did not exactly come by the same route which he went, I shall give an extract from his journal, which will shew the distance of the journey by hours, from Isle St. Louis to Galam†.

*	From Tombaboukané . . . . .	to Golombo,	6 hours.
*	Golombo . . . . .	— Médiné	5 ditto.
	Médiné . . . . .	— Kainoura,	7 ditto.
*	Kainoura . . . . .	— Gougourou,	5 ditto.
	Gougourou . . . . .	— Sambacolo,	5 ditto.
	Sambacolo . . . . .	— Buggil,	6 ditto.
**	Buggil . . . . .	— Cossan,	5 ditto.
*	Coursan . . . . .	— Coudi,	4 ditto.
**	Coudi . . . . .	— Granado,	6 ditto.
**	Granado . . . . .	— Tellika,	5 ditto.
**	Tellica . . . . .	— Gambia,	8 ditto.

† The places marked with an asterisk, were visited by Rubault and Sidi-Carachi, when they travelled together. Two asterisks indicate the place which Mungo Park passed through as well as our travellers.

* From	Gambia	. . . . .	to	Kolor,	6 hours.
**	Kolor	. . . . .	—	Lamen,	8 ditto.
	Lamen	. . . . .	—	Caldenne,	4 ditto.
*	Caldenne	. . . . .	—	Cafime,	6 ditto.
*	Cafime	. . . . .	—	Maleme,	5 ditto.
*	Maleme	. . . . .	—	Passe,	6 ditto.
*	Passe, four days travelling in the woods to arrive at Kiamen; eight hours march per day,				32 ditto.
*	Kiamen	. . . . .	—	Caka,	6 ditto.
*	Caka	. . . . .	—	Gury,	5 ditto.
*	Gury	. . . . .	—	Hicarkor,	6 ditto.
*	Hicarkor	. . . . .	—	Douai,	4 ditto.
	Douai	. . . . .	—	Gasama,	6 ditto.
	Gasama	. . . . .	—	Kibi,	5 ditto.
*	Kibi	. . . . .	—	Coqui,	7 ditto.
	Coqui	. . . . .	—	Betel-Diabi,	5 ditto.
*	Betel-Diabi	. . . . .	—	Mériné	6 ditto.
*	Mériné	. . . . .	—	Keainderain,	4 ditto.
	Keainderain	. . . . .	—	Mériné-Giob,	5 ditto.
*	Mériné-Giob	. . . . .	—	Maricamp,	5 ditto.
	Maricamp	. . . . .	—	Gandiolle	7 ditto.
*	Gandiolle	. . . . .	—	Isle St. Louis,	6 ditto.

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Total 206 hours.

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These 206 hours journey are calculated at the rate of three-fourths of a league per hour, a progress which appears reasonable, and which gives the distance of  $154\frac{1}{2}$  leagues. By the river, it is estimated at not less than 300 leagues; which makes an enormous difference; while it is evident that the abridgment of the journey nearly two months, in consequence of performing it by land, is the least advantage which Europeans will derive from the discovery.

I have said that Sidi-Carachi left Galam on the 29th of March; he arrived at Isle St. Louis on the 22d of April following. He performed his journey homewards without experiencing the least obstacle, and was every where received with the most generous hospitality. He returned upon one of the camels which had gone with the party to Galam. At the village of Sambacolo he was treated with great distinction. The place is remarkable for being inhabited entirely by farmers and hardware-manufacturers: the latter comprise sword-cutlers, smiths, farriers, and copper and gold-smiths, but they have neither forges nor shops. They work outside their houses, under the shade of trees, and convey the whole apparatus of their trades wherever they wish to move to; their working materials, however, consist only of a very small anvil, a goat's-skin which serves them for bellows, a few hammers, a vice, and two or three files.

These workmen are naturally so indolent, that they always sit at their employment, and are incessantly talking and smoking.

They never work alone; for the smallest job requires at least three assistants: one blows the bellows, and uses all sorts of wood for fuel; while the other two sit with the anvil between them; and in this posture they beat the metal carelessly, and with as little strength as if they were afraid of hurting it. Nevertheless, they manufacture articles of gold and silver, which appear by no means common; and if they were less idle and better informed, they would become excellent workmen.

In the articles which they make from iron, they are equally adroit; and the temper which they give to their cutting instruments is perfect. They have iron mines, but they prefer iron from ours, which we convey to them in bars. I have already observed, that these bars are considerably reduced, and serve for money, in the bargains which we make with them. Our iron ought to be nine feet long, two inches wide, and four lines thick: it is divided into fifteen parts, of seven inches and a half in length, which are called flaps, four of which form the bar.

Sidi-Carachi speaks, in his journal, of a tree which is found in these environs, where it is called Sanare: it is about the size of a large pear-tree; and its leaves, which resemble those of the rose, are always green. Its wood and flowers are odoriferous, and the Negroes use them to perfume their huts. They carefully preserve this species of tree, because the bees delight in it, and they sell their wax and honey to the English.

At Kiamen, Sidi-Carachi lodged with a Marabou Negro, who was the richest and most respectable of the inhabitants. This man enjoyed the highest reputation, on account of his holy character; and people came from very distant parts to make him offerings, and buy his gris-gris. He behaved extremely kind to his brother in Mahomet; and after talking on the object of his journey, he spoke about the desert which our traveller had just passed through. "It is there," said the Marabou Negro, "in a vast place surrounded by trees, that I perform the august ceremony of circumcision."

This ceremony takes place in the following order:—The procession is led by the Guiriots, who beat their drums, and march with a solemn step, without singing: they are followed by the Marabous of all the neighbouring villages, who are dressed in white, and walk in pairs. At some distance onwards, are placed the young Negroes who are to undergo the operation: they wear no breeches, and march one after the other, holding a large sagaye in the left hand: they are accompanied by their relations, who not only witness their profession of faith, but excite their courage to support the pain they are about to suffer, which, though very acute, the patients must not seem to feel.

The principal Marabou, or he from Kiamen, walks after the

candidates, and the procession is closed by a body of armed men. On reaching the spot, the Marabouts place themselves on each side of a plank, which is raised on two benches in the midst of the circle. The candidates and their relatives stand opposite to the platform, at the distance of about fifty feet, in the same order in which they arrived; and the armed men surround the place of sacrifice.

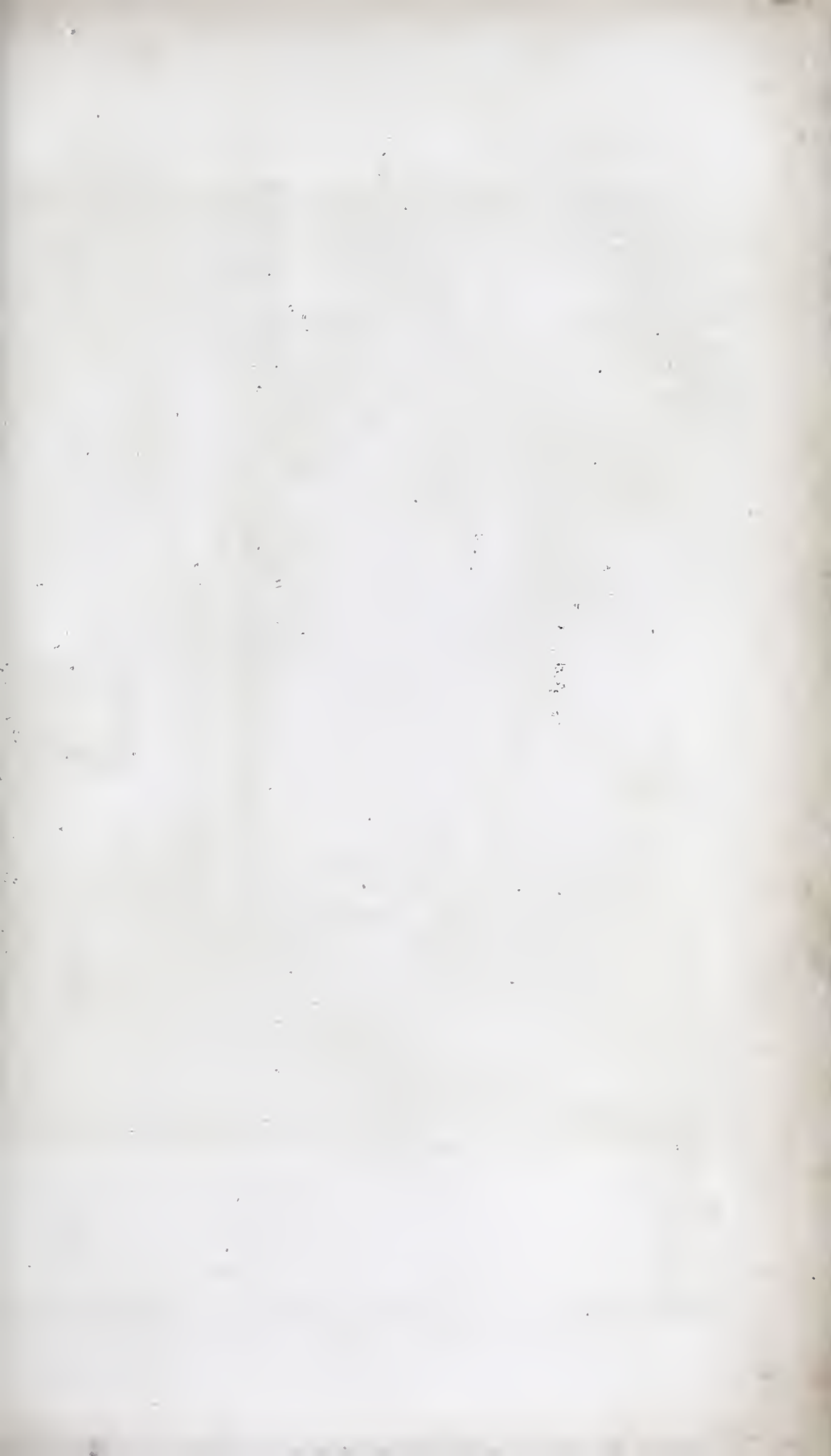
The Marabou operator then turns himself towards the east, says a *sala* or prayer, which all the assistants repeat with much gravity. This ended, the first candidate, followed by his friends, approaches the plank and bestrides it, taking off the *pagne* which covers his shoulders and body. The Marabou takes the *prepuce*, draws it as far as possible over the gland, holds it between his fingers, and quickly separates it with a knife. The Negro then gets from the board, retires laughing, and does not seem to mind the bleeding of the wound. The other candidates submit to the same ceremony, and all remain in sight till it is over.

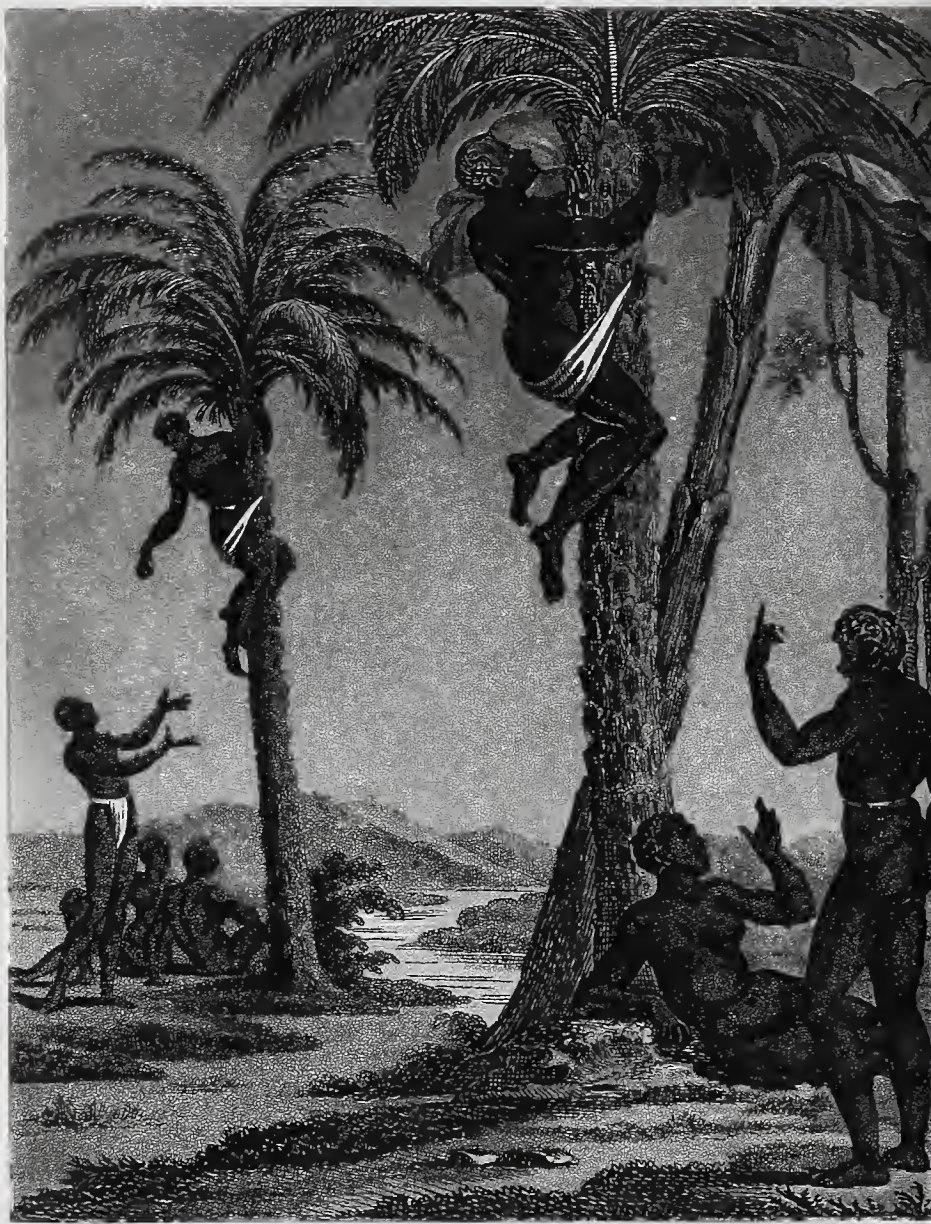
When the wound has bled for some time, it is repeatedly washed, and this is continued every day with fresh water till it be healed, which generally takes place in ten days or a fortnight. This cure must be performed without any drug; and all the patients, when descending from the plank, are obliged to assume a cheerful aspect, though many of them are so much overcome as to require the help of their friends to conduct them away.

When the wounds are healed the patients make a tour through all the villages, and raise contributions for a public festival.

These people are rigid observers of all the laws of Mahomet; and one of their duties, which they exercise to the utmost extent, is to rob and cheat the Christians as often as possible. They say prayers five times a day, and on Friday, which is their sabbath, seven times. The Mahometans of Senegal only pray three times daily, viz. at the dawn, at noon, and at sun-set: for want of mosques, they meet in the place appropriated for public business, and join in prayer with much devotion and gravity. The ceremony lasts about half an hour each time, and no excuse is admitted for non-attendance. On praying they always turn their faces towards the east; but on the contrary, when they wish to satisfy the wants of nature, they turn towards the west, and crouch down like women.

All Mahometans are obliged to fast once a year for an entire moon, and this fast is called the *ramadan*. The period at which it takes place, changes annually, in consequence of their year being a lunar one, which makes it ten days shorter than the solar calculations; but the less informed Negroes, fix their fast on the appearance of the September moon, or the autumnal equinox. As soon as it appears, they salute it by offering it their right hand,





*Negroes Swarming Trees.*

which they previously spit in; they then bow their heads towards it, and walk two or three times in a circular direction.

All the Mahometans have a great veneration for the moon, insomuch that they never fail to salute it as soon as it rises. They present it their open purses, and pray that it will cause their money to increase, as it grows. They call their months by the name of moons.

Sidi-Carachi stopped at Gasama, a large village situated in a valley, which contains a prodigious number of palm-trees of every kind, and with the wine from which the inhabitants carry on a considerable trade. It is a liquor which runs from the top of the tree by means of an incision, and is of the consistence and colour of skimmed milk; it ferments like champagne: it is sweet when it issues from the tree, but becomes sour in a few days, and speedily changes to vinegar; notwithstanding which the Negroes frequently make it their common drink. This wine is very spirituous, and the intoxication which it produces often gives rise to fatal effects. One branch of these trees will frequently yield, from a single incision, two quarts of wine in twenty-four hours, and continue running for thirty or forty days; after which the Negroes, who interest themselves to preserve the trees, stop up the hole with clay, in order to give the sap another direction. Each branch will bear an incision, with the same result.

One manner of drawing off the wine is, to make a hole at the top of the tree, in which they fix a cane, to conduct the liquor down into their pots. The Negroes do not know why this method is preferable, but they say, that they pursue the means adopted by their forefathers: the reason, however, is obvious; for if the tree were perforated towards the bottom, the sap would run off before it had imparted any nourishment to the tree; and it is likewise ascertained, that the higher the tree, the more sweet and rich is the wine.

The Negroes do not use ladders to ascend these trees, but climb by means of a strong rope of cotton, or of palm leaves twisted together: this rope is long enough to embrace the trunk of the tree and the body of a man, leaving about two feet between them. The Negro encloses the rope by means of a button and loop, and then, by a circular motion, ascends the tree with the greatest confidence, having his arms at liberty to perform any operation.

Besides the wine, the Negroes derive from a certain species of the palm-tree, a kind of oil, which they eat, and use for anointing their bodies; it renders their skin glossy, and their joints supple. This oil has the taste and consistence of butter. The Europeans employ it in their cookery, and find it very good when

when fresh; but if kept for a time, it becomes rank, and loses its colour, taste, and smell. It is said to possess some medicinal virtues, particularly in the gout, the pain of which it relieves.

There are several species of palm-trees, all of which are produced in Africa in great abundance. Those which are found on the banks of the Senegal, afford no fruit; nor did I ever find any dates amongst them, though I made a particular search. Why these trees are barren in the positions just mentioned, I cannot perceive, as they bear fruit in the interior and on the coast of Barbary.

I have now said enough to shew the utility of the journey that I have described. I received through Rubault a letter from Sirlan, prince of Galam, stating that soon after my envoy's arrival, he had procured for the company upwards of 200 slaves, and a quantity of gold and ivory.

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## CHAP. XVII.

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ACCOUNT OF THE SITUATION OF RUBAULT AT GALAM, AT THE TIME OF MY DEPARTURE FROM ISLE ST. LOUIS.—PERIOD OF MY EMBARKATION.—ARRANGEMENTS WHICH I MADE FOR THE SAILING OF A FLEET TO GALAM, AND FAILURE OF ITS OBJECT.—MELANCHOLY END OF RUBAULT.—GENERAL REFLECTIONS ON THE VOYAGE TO GALAM.—REMARKS ON THE KINGDOM OF BAMBOUK AND ITS GOLD MINES.

**I**T was evident that Rubault was treated with the highest respect at Galam; the governor and the inhabitants were all eager to serve him, while the neighbouring princes sought his alliance, and kept up an amicable correspondence with him, to induce him to form establishments in their states; to effect which, negociations were actually opened, that would have answered our most sanguine wishes. The report of the re-establishment of the French factory at Galam was soon spread through the country, and every day produced important changes in our favour; while the routes from the interior were covered with people, who conveyed their slaves and merchandize to Galam. In short, the influx was so great, that Rubault had no merchandize to give in exchange. Nevertheless the Negro merchants or Moors gave credit to Rubault for all their articles at a price agreed on, and which was to be defrayed on the arrival of the fleet.

Rubault had purchased upwards of 1000 slaves of different nations, and had collected a quantity of gold, 800 quintals of ivory, and a number of precious stones and objects of natural history; while the trade, which had already become so important,

would have been considerably augmented during the stay of the fleet, as that was the period of the fair, and the general rendez-vous of all the African merchants; in short, he had fully acquitted himself of his mission, as he had procured the company immense benefits, and had disposed the neighbouring princes to receive us on their territory.

Such was the situation of Rubault at Galam, when I left Isle St. Louis on the 21st of July, 1786. I had made arrangements for the sailing of the fleet, which repaired to its destination, but too late, as Rubault no longer existed. He found it impossible to maintain, through nothing but the respect which was shewn to him, the great number of slaves which he had procured, and they became refractory and set themselves at liberty. He had for some time foreseen the fate which would befall him, and was making arrangements to avoid it, by returning over land to Isle St. Louis; but while he hesitated, the others acted. One fatal night, the slaves revolted and pursued him with fury; the house which he inhabited, was a feeble structure, and they easily forced the doors. Rubault jumped out of the window, but was immediately seized and massacred; the house and magazines were pillaged, and all the property disappeared with its collector. This event arose from the discredit which our commerce experienced: for it is not enough with the half-civilized nations in Africa, to pay in merchandise, but there must be a rigorous punctuality in the times of payment. The most afflicting result, however, of this catastrophe, was the abandonment of the discoveries which I had attempted to make in a country still unknown, as the documents which Rubault had collected were destroyed; while in consequence of his unfortunate end, I could find no one who would attempt the journey again. Thus all my hopes were defeated.

During this horrible night, the prince of Galam, and the inhabitants reposed in peace. When they were informed of the insurrection, it was too late to stop its course, which was so rapid, that they had scarcely time to take measures for their own security. The inhabitants were so much afflicted at the event, that they sent a deputation to Isle St. Louis, to express their regret at what had happened; but the evil was without a remedy, and it was agreed to think no more of it.

The great inconvenience of the voyage to Galam is, that then is the only period at which a fleet can sail, as the river cannot be ascended, except after the first rains, which are during the sickly season. The vessels generally leave Isle St. Louis at the end of July, or the beginning of August, when the current of the river has an incredible force, and the wind is almost always contrary, so that it is necessary to tow the ships by ropes over a difficult and uncut

road. Indeed, every circumstance is combined to protract the voyage and render it disagreeable.

The diseases also which prevail in this season, are more frequent and active on the river. The burning air does not circulate, nor is it ever tempered by the sea-winds. The banks of the river are covered with trees, whose leaves and offal, which seem to have been collecting ever since the creation, corrupt and infect the atmosphere, and render poisonous the air which is inhaled. Besides this, the voyagers are devoured by insects, drenched by almost continual rains, and singed by lightning, which incessantly threatens their lives.

The ships are obliged to pay duties to several princes, in order to obtain a free passage; and as these are not regulated beforehand, the navigators are compelled to stop every year, and enter into a fresh negotiation on the subject; by which they lose the most valuable part of their time, and sacrifice the health of their crews. The princes are also sometimes so exorbitant in their demands, that the ships attempt to pass without yielding to them, and this petty warfare seldom turns to our advantage. In short, these and numerous obstacles, render two months requisite to go by water from Isle St. Louis to Galam; and even such Europeans as have performed it, return in a dying state, and seldom perfectly recover their health. These were the considerations which induced the English to abandon the post at Galam, when they were masters of the Senegal; but they did wrong, and it becomes us to improve by their error.

The route by land does away all these difficulties, as it is safe, convenient, occupies only twenty days, and may be undertaken during eight months of the year. The most favourable time for setting out, is the month of March, at which period the season is fresh, the sky pure, and the winds blow constantly from the north. Travellers by land might also carry on a considerable trade with the inhabitants on their way, as the country abounds with gum-trees and gold mines. The passage which I caused to be traced, was made by a single man; but it might be performed by caravans of any number, though they should always be under the guidance of a Marabou, as these priests possess the greatest influence over the Negroes. By such means we might obtain a proper knowledge of the interior of Africa, and by extending our political and commercial relations, make ourselves rich, and the people happy.

The kingdom of Bambouk is a large-country, celebrated for its gold mines. The Moors acquire this metal by repairing to the spot, while the French and English receive it from the Mandingo Negroes, who bring it to the Gambia. This kingdom is bounded on the N. by that of Galam; on the N. E. by the Ka-

jaaga; on the E. by the river Senegal; on the S. by the districts of Kulla and Konkadou; on the W. by the Satadou; and on the N. W. by the kingdom of Bondou.

It is a mistake which has prevailed, that the kingdom is not governed by any king; it has its sovereigns like the other neighbouring kingdoms; and each village has a master. Towards the river of Félémé, these chiefs are called *Farims*, with the addition of their residence. In the interior of the country, they are called *Aleuranni*: they are all independent of each other, but acknowledge the supreme head of the kingdom; and they are obliged to unite for the defence of the country in time of danger.

The Mandingos have possessed themselves of this state, in addition to their other conquests; and the natives of the country, who are called Malincops, have received them, and formed alliances with them, so that they are now only one nation, in which the religion, customs, and manners of the Mandingos, are absolute.

There is no country with which we are acquainted, that is so rich in gold mines as Bambouk. The experiments that have been made, prove that their ore is far superior to that of the mines of the Brazils and Peru; besides which, from the nature of the soil, ten men would extract more gold from Bambouk, than a hundred would in the rich mines of Spain and Portugal. In short, the country is so filled with gold mines, that the metal is found in every direction; but the richest of those that have been discovered, are in the centre of the kingdom, between the villages of Kelimani and Natacou, about thirty leagues to the east of the river Félémé. The gold is very pure, and appears in a surprising abundance.

The country is intersected by high and barren mountains; and the inhabitants having no means of subsistence but what they procure with their gold, are obliged to work sedulously in the mines; but they must first obtain the permission of the chiefs of their villages, who only grant it for a certain time, and on condition, that they retain not only half the produce, but likewise all the lumps which are above a certain size.

The Negroes of Bambouk have no notion of the different species of earth, nor the least rule for distinguishing that which produces gold. They know generally that their country contains much of the precious metal, and that the more sterile the soil is, the more may be found in it. They watch indifferently in various parts, and when they by chance meet with a small quantity of the ore, they continue to work in the same spot till they see it diminish, on which they move somewhere else. They are of opinion, that the gold is an evil spirit, which delights in tormenting those who love it; on which account it often changes its

place. When the mine happens to be rich, and they are satisfied with its produce without much trouble, they stop on the spot, and dig to the depth of six, seven, or eight feet; but they never go farther, being totally ignorant of the art of working by strata; nor are they sufficiently industrious to prevent the ground from falling in upon them.

By this manner of proceeding, they never come to the principal veins; while the ramifications are so rich, and the gold which they contain is so pure, that no mixture of marcassite or other mineral substances prevails in it: it is, indeed, so pure, that there is no occasion to melt it; but just as it comes from the mines it may be worked.

When the lumps are covered by mould, the Negroes put them into water, which detaches the terraqueous parts, and the gold sinks to the bottom.

It may be conceived, that with such little industry they not only obtain but a small part of the gold which is in the mine, but that they only imperfectly collect what they have extracted, because, on pouring off the water and mould, an infinity of particles pass with them.

Besides the gold which is so abundant in the country of Bambouk, there is found in many parts a quantity of blue stones, which are considered as certain tokens of other valuable mines. There have been discovered copper, silver, lead, iron, and tin, as well as excellent loadstones and salt-petre.

Iron is found at Bambouk as well as in all the contiguous states; and the mines are not only abundant, but the ore is of the best quality. The Negroes make it into pots and kettles, without any other aid than the hammer and a fire; they therefore will not buy our iron unless it be wrought.

They have somehow or other learned the art of making gunpowder, which they use when they are not in possession of our's; but the latter always fetches a certain value, on account of its superiority.

Almost all the commandants at the fort of Galam have made attempts to acquire a perfect knowledge of the kingdom of Bambouk and its gold mines. In 1716 M. Compagnon undertook this perilous journey, and surmounted all its difficulties. He resided in the country nearly eighteen months, travelled all over it, visited the mines, and described them in the most satisfactory manner; he even so far gained the good opinion of the inhabitants, that they not only allowed him to visit all their mines, but they even permitted him to take as much earth as he pleased and to send it to isle St. Louis. In 1720, he published an account of the principal mines which he discovered, and states them to be at *Fourquaronne*, *Sambanoura*, *Segalla*, *Guinguisarama*,

*Niausabana, Tambacoura, Netteco, Naye, and at Tomanz Niacanet.* Since then new discoveries have been made, and those of the two mines of Kelimani and Natacou, are supposed to be the richest in the whole kingdom.

Several projects have been presented for forming establishments in this kingdom, but to me none of them appear feasible. One person has proposed the conquest of this vast country, and has only demanded for that purpose 1200 men; without reflecting that the most numerous army, even supposing that it were to arrive on the spot, and experience no resistance on the part of the natives, which is not likely, would be destroyed in a short time by the privations it would undergo, and the heat of the climate. Another project was, to build a movable fort of wood, in order, under the protection of such machinery, to examine the mines.

I consider both these projects as illusory dreams, because they are impracticable. I shall now state my own:—I think the most simple, least expensive, and the easiest of execution would be, to establish, under modest pretensions, a factory at Galam, and to rebuild the forts of St. Joseph on the Senegal, and St. Peter on the Félémé. Our intercourse is desired in these countries, and we should be received with open arms. Hence we might become the masters of their commerce and the whole of their gold mines, and might afterwards arrive at Tombut, which is still farther, and by which we might complete the grand tour of the interior, which I have already alluded to.

I shall now say a few words on the different hordes of Africa, and the relative advantages they derive from their connection with the Europeans.

All those countries are inhabited, either by Moors or by men whose complexion is of different shades of black, and were called Negroes. There is no race of men more perfidious and cruel than the Moors; they do not possess any of the virtues of the Arabs; they oppress the Negroes, and consider the persecution of strangers as a religious duty.

The Negroes, on the contrary, are naturally good, humane, and hospitable. Those who inhabit the environs of the Senegal are large, muscular, and well-formed men; their countenance is noble; their feelings sensitive and grateful; and their spirit is courageous and indefatigable. There are no domestics more attentive or capable of sincerer attachment; their activity and information render them fit for all the arts and trades; but, as I have already said, they are not adapted for agricultural labours, their bodies not being accustomed to stoop.

The women of these countries are generally handsome, gentle, modest, tender, and faithful; they have in their looks a certain degree of innocence, and in their language a timidity which

adds to their charms. They have an invincible inclination for love and voluptuousness, and they express their wishes in this respect with such an attractive voice, as their organs alone seem capable of uttering. Their skin is as black as ebony. Nothing can be more agreeable than their physiognomy; their nose is well formed, and generally aquiline; their eyebrows are finely arched; their lips thin, and of a beautiful vermillion red; they have the finest teeth in the world; the shape of their body is uncommonly elegant; in short, they combine every perfection which constitutes beauty.

At Goree the men and women are also handsome; but there the Mulattoes of both sexes, who have descended from Europeans, are distinguishable in point of appearance, as they possess the grace of their fathers, and dress in the European manner. I may add, that the people of Goree are uncommonly cheerful; and a love of pleasure and gaiety prevails amongst them to a greater extent, than in any other part of the coast of Africa.

To the south and east of the Senegal, the Africans degenerate in a wonderful manner. Their colour is no longer the fine black just described, but an olive. Their form is indeed still robust, but awkward; their limbs are stiff, and the lineaments of their face are so gross, as to defy the judgment of the physiognomist. The figures which they paint on their foreheads and cheeks add to their ugliness. They are useful in all labour which requires exertion, but they possess no ingenuity. Their women are ugly and sallow; and they are, to those who were lately described, what the most barbarous ignorance is to a polished education. Their vivacity is so violent as to resemble anger.

All the governments of Africa are more or less absolute and despotic. Whether the kings be entitled to the throne by birth, or be called to it by voluntary election, the people are equally subjected to the arbitrary will of the prince, who disposes of their liberty and even of their lives, according to his pleasure; but he cannot destroy more than one at a time: he may do any thing to an individual, but nothing to a body of people.

There are a few small states or rather families in this part of Africa, who live together and are governed by elders whom they deem worthy of confidence; these are not the masters who have been described; and the people who live in perfect liberty, would be happy, were they not disturbed by their neighbours. They are often, however, attacked, and being too weak to defend themselves, are taken and sold as slaves; so that even the most peaceable inhabitants of this unfortunate country seem destined to wear chains.

These people in general have no knowledge of the art which is so revered amongst us, under the name of politics. Though

they observe state formalities, and the custom of sending ambassadors is familiar to them, either to solicit assistance against a powerful enemy, or to obtain a mediation on points of difference. These ambassadors, however, do not occupy themselves with complicated subjects, but speak only on affairs of the moment; they are every where honoured and respected, their persons are held sacred, and they generally go in bodies of five or six together, preceded by a drum, which announces them at a distance.

Their wars are not better arranged than their politics. Every free man is a soldier; but no government has troops in its pay. On the first signal, the army collects and marches; and often, hostilities which began in the morning, are finished before night. They never yield a portion of territory, but take or keep all or none. Sometimes they dethrone a king, and another takes his place; but the territory always belongs to the people at large. Thus neither the great nor small states are dismembered, as the commonalty would oppose such a proceeding, and the chiefs are too wise thus to aggrandise themselves. Besides, these people do not attach any idea of glory to their conquests. Their prisoners are slaves, except the princes, who, as has already been stated, always enjoy their liberty by unanimous consent: they are given up immediately on certain conditions, or put to death; the rest are either exchanged or sold.

The ordinary occasions for the wars which almost always prevail in these countries, are, an insult at the time of a ceremony; a violent robbery; the injury of a girl, or the attack of a banditti.

In the course of my work I have explained the religion of all these hordes, as well as their laws relative to polygamy, marriage, and burial. Polygamy is not only even permitted, but honoured amongst them, whether Mussulmans or idolaters. The Christians here, as in Europe, have only one wife. I believe that the custom which formerly prevailed, of interring several persons alive with the dead body of a man of quality, is totally abolished.

One of the distinctive characteristics of these people, except such as reside on the coasts, and for whom commerce has created artificial wants, is a total indifference towards riches; in consequence of which hospitality is a common virtue amongst them. Their houses are open at meal-times, and travellers, whether rich or poor, may enter, and eat and drink with the family: they may even reside with them, if they wish so to do, and all their suite is well treated during their stay, without any recompence being expected. Amongst themselves, the Negro, who would refuse to divide with his relations, friends, and neigh-

bours, the produce of his hunting or fishing, would be held up to public contempt.

Agriculture, that necessary art, is considered amongst them to be the occupation of slaves or women; and in some parts, the only advantage which the latter have over the slaves, is, that they are allowed to rest every third day, from what may be considered excessive labour.

The nature of their food, clothing, and dwellings, has been already described. Hence, it is evident, that the Africans have lost nothing, nor can they sustain any loss from their intercourse with Europeans; but they have acquired information, property, and a practice of virtue; advantages which have contributed to their happiness. Let us therefore hope, that all the hordes of Africa may one day resemble the inhabitants of St. Louis and Goree; they will then be happy, and owe their improvement to their connection with the whites.

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## CHAP. XVIII.

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### ACCOUNT OF MY RETURN TO EUROPE, WITH THE PARTICULARS OF MY SHIPWRECK.

I LEFT the Senegal for Havre on the 24th July, 1786, on board the brigantine *l'Amable Marthe*; the crew consisted of the captain, whose name was Doré, a lieutenant, a carpenter, a mate, and three sailors. The passengers were Messrs. Gourg, naval commissioners at Senegal, Longer, captain of a frigate, Bernard my cook, a young Negro and myself.

After an uncommonly long and dangerous passage, we were of opinion, on the 12th September, in the morning, that we should arrive in the course of the night at Havre; and we in consequence gave ourselves up to that pleasure which travellers always experience at the end of a long voyage; when I perceived that the captain was out in his reckoning, and that we were in the Bristol channel. I informed him of this circumstance, and his surprise was equal to my own. The weather was stormy, the sea ran high, and the rapid gusts of wind indicated an approaching tempest.

At three o'clock we were in sight of Lundy island, and attempted to take refuge at it; but our efforts were unavailing; and we then directed our course for the bay of Tumbay, which we entered, though here our hopes of finding a shelter also proved abortive; and we could not withstand the violence of the wind and tide. We were, however, near enough to the shore to observe the inhabitants collecting upon it, and expressing their regret that they could not afford us any assistance. We had

dropped our bower anchor, but we were under the necessity of cutting the cable, and then our loss seemed inevitable. We nevertheless attempted to reach the isle of Caldy; and for this purpose we kept tacking the whole night, during which the weather was dreadful. The wind was W.S.W. and blew so strong, that we could only let out the main and mizen-sail. We were then in three fathoms water; but after tacking on different points, we found ourselves at two o'clock in Laugharn Bay, in only two fathoms water: the sea was furious, and every instant covered the vessel, while the rain was violent in the extreme, so that it soon became impossible to work the ship: she therefore ran aground, with three violent shocks, which laid her open, unslipped the rudder, and decided our fate.

We now found ourselves completely wrecked; and, in order to lighten the vessel, we cut away the masts, when we found that she remained fixed in six feet water, but was every instant covered with waves of an enormous size, which seemed ready to swallow her up. In this dreadful crisis some fell to making rafts, others seized on pieces of wood, and all endeavoured to avoid that death which seemed to be prepared for them. At this period it was remarkable that some of our little crew were concerned about futurity; and one of them being very anxious respecting the fate of the Negro boy, who had never been christened, baptized him in my presence with some fresh water, and then held him fast in his arms. with a view that they might die and arrive together in the other world.

About three o'clock the storm began to subside, and the waves broke with less violence against our vessel. We then perceived that it was low water; but the darkness of the night prevented us from distinguishing where we were, or ascertaining the place of our shipwreck; nevertheless, without knowing what distance we were from land, we thought it probable that we might get to it, and resolved to make the attempt. A small canoe was therefore let down, and I was the first who got into it: Longer and the lieutenant followed me, but we did not find sufficient water to work the boat; we therefore got out of it, and walked for about an hour in the sea, preceded by two sailors, who sounded at every step, and served as guides. After passing through different depths of water, but not sufficient to stop us, we at length landed, and sent back the two sailors to inform our companions that we were safe, and invite them to follow the route we had taken.

On quitting the vessel we left all our clothes, which might have prevented us from swimming, if necessary: I had nothing on but a pair of trowsers, in one of the pockets of which I had put a letter with my address, in order that my family might be in-

DURAND.]

formed of my fate, if I should be drowned, and cast on shore. This was the only precaution which I thought it necessary to take. We therefore found ourselves on an unknown spot, four in number, almost naked, and without the means of subsistence.

The night continued to be very dark, and the rain poured down in torrents. We, however, continued to walk for two hours, without knowing whither we were proceeding: at length we reached a mansion, which we walked round several times, but could not find any door open, or a place in which we could obtain shelter, though we made noise enough to be heard, if the inhabitants had not all been in a sound sleep. At length, after much trouble, I discovered a little gate, which led into the park. I raised the latch, the gate opened, and we found ourselves, with inexpressible pleasure, in a large walk, which led to the vestibule of the mansion. I knocked at the door with all my strength, and we heard the barking of dogs inside; we also soon found that the domestics were stirring: they appeared to be running to the chamber of the master, doubtless to inform him that the house was infested by banditti; as they only spoke to us through a garret window. They asked us first in English, and then in bad French, for what reason we had entered the park at such an hour? I answered in a feeble voice, and lamentable accent, that we were unfortunate Frenchmen, whose ship had been wrecked, and that we requested an asylum.

If that is the case, answered the person who first spoke, you may be easy; I will order my doors to be open, and you shall receive all the assistance that you may be in want of.

Soon afterwards the doors were thrown open, and we saw in the hall all the servants of the chateau, armed with muskets and sabres: it seems they had taken this precaution, lest we had deceived them by our story; but when they saw us naked, almost frozen, and objects of pity rather than fear, they put down their arms, and paid us every attention.

We were at first conducted into the kitchen, where, before a large fire, we warmed our frost-bitten limbs. Soon afterwards the mistress of the house, and all her female domestics, came and brought us linen, and other apparel, which we divided amongst each other as well as we could. A table was then laid out, and we were supplied with victuals and drink; which we devoured with the greatest eagerness, being almost famished.

After the repast, I was shewn to a chamber; while my companions and the master of the house went down to the shore, to endeavour to save something from the wreck. On their return, I learnt that the vessel had gone entirely to pieces at three o'clock.

All the crew were saved; but most of them had taken ano-

ther direction: my cook and boy lost themselves, and three days elapsed before they found me.

About noon the lady of the mansion sent to know if I would take some tea: I begged to be served with it in my apartment, but she insisted that I should come down stairs, and take it with her. I had much difficulty to bring myself to accept this compliment, as I was still in a most deplorable condition, and not fit to be seen. About five in the afternoon the gentleman returned, with several of his neighbours, and some of the crew. They had saved very few things from the wreck; but they restored to me a bag with about 500 dollars, and a box containing my papers, which I got dried in the oven. My boy John also saved a sack with nearly 1200 livres; a packet of virgin gold, from Senegal, which I sold in London for about 100 guineas; an ape, a yellow parroquet, and some ostriches' eggs. The loss, however, which I sustained by this wreck I shall ever regret, on account of the useful knowledge which it has prevented me from communicating to my country. I lost a choice assortment of plants, unknown in Europe; several bottles of distilled palm wine; some water taken from the Senegal, at Isle St. Louis and Podor; several tons of the earth from the gold mines at Galam and Bambouk; a collection of the scarcest reptiles, birds, and fishes; and drawings of the costumes, arms, equipages, &c. of all the hordes in this part of Africa.

At six o'clock we sat down to an excellent dinner, and remained a long time at table. The repast terminated in the English manner; that is, we swallowed bumpers of wine till we were all drunk. The next day our host conducted me to Carmarthen, where I purchased a new wardrobe, and equipped myself from head to foot.

This day we received an express from the merchants of London; who, having heard of our shipwreck, sent to offer us their services. We were grateful for their attention; but situated as we were, we could only thank them, and answer that we wanted for nothing. I shall always regret that I lost the letter from those obliging merchants, whom we afterwards saw at London, where they treated us in a magnificent style. I should have had the greatest pleasure in making known to my countrymen the names of those liberal gentlemen, so respectable for their humanity, and the nobleness of their sentiments; but being deprived of the means, I must content myself with speaking of their countryman, whose care saved me from misery and death.

The name of this generous Englishman was Henry Trollope; he was a native of Norwich; was then 36 years of age, and was a captain in the navy. His lady, who was handsome, modest, and of the gentlest disposition, was a native of London, whose

maiden name was Fanny Best. She was then about 22 years old. They had no children; a circumstance which they felt severely, as they were both very anxious to have a young family. I hope, for the happiness of themselves and the human race, that their wishes have been fulfilled. Mrs. Trollope, when a girl, had been educated at Brussels, so that she, as well as her husband, spoke French sufficiently well to be understood. I must here add, that the attachment of this amiable woman towards her husband, had induced her to accompany him in all his voyages.

They inhabited Westmead castle, about three miles from Laugharn, in Wales, the place of our shipwreck. It stands in a delightful situation, is well built, and its architecture possesses a noble simplicity. Its internal arrangements are well adapted; the park is large and well planted, and the gardens are judiciously laid out. At the time I was wrecked Captain Trollope had taken a lease of it from Lord Montalt, of which three years had expired.

During my stay at the castle, the liberal inhabitants incessantly endeavoured to dispel from our minds the remembrance of our misfortune; and every day was distinguished by some new festivity: hunting, fishing, gaming, and feasting, succeeded each other without interruption; and the only care seemed to be how fresh pleasure could be procured. O! Mrs. Trollope, worthy and affectionate wife of the most humane of men, I feel the most lively emotion in thus bearing testimony to the gratitude which I owe you, and which will never be effaced from my heart.

On the 24th of September, in the afternoon, Captain Trollope proposed to me a hunting party; but I preferred keeping company with his wife, and he left me alone with her. We were walking in the park, when we observed at a distance a huntsman riding at full gallop; he passed by us without saying any thing, and without stopping at the castle.

Mrs. Trollope was alarmed, and said to me, "some accident has happened to my husband." We soon learned that his horse had fallen and rolled on him, by which he was dangerously hurt; and the messenger who passed us, was riding to fetch a surgeon. It is impossible to describe the distraction of the lady, and our own consternation, when we saw Captain Trollope brought home upon a litter: he was taken to his chamber, followed by his wife, who made the most pitiable lamentations; he, however, turned towards her, and said, with much unconcern, "Fanny, be quiet, wipe away your tears, and cease crying."

On the arrival of the surgeon, our fears were dispelled, as he assured us that the accident would not be attended with any bad consequences. In short, by proper medical attention, the cap-

tain was in a few days restored, and we were enabled to resume our ordinary exercises and amusements.

After passing eighteen days in this delightful abode, without being suffered to incur the least expence, we embarked for Bristol, at the very place of our shipwreck. Our separation cost tears on both sides. I left my ape with Mrs. Trollope, together with whatever I had saved from the wreck, that was worth her acceptance. My parroquet was unique of its kind; it spoke well, and was the only one of a yellow colour that I ever saw even at Senegal, where I obtained it. It came to a miserable end, having been caught and devoured by the cats. Mrs. Trollope was inconsolable at the event, and spoke of it every day.

The generous Captain was not satisfied with the kind reception that he had given us in his mansion, but wished to serve us after our separation. He therefore gave us letters of recommendation to Bristol, Bath, and London; in consequence of which we were every where received with the highest respect.

END OF DURAND'S VOYAGE.

# INDEX.

**A**FRICA, general remarks on its inhabitants, 87.—Laws of the different tribes, 96, 173.—Africans, remarks on the religion and manners of the, 93.—The appointment of their kings, 95.—Almany Abdulkader, war between him, Alikouri, and Damel, 126.—Ambergrease, discovery of a remarkable lump of that substance found at Gorce, 28.—Animals, short account of the principal, on the right bank of the Senegal, &c. 127, 154.—Ants, remarkable account of, 48.—Apes, white, the most beautiful animals in the world, 160.—Arabic, immense extent where that language is spoken, 138.—Arabs, their character, manner of living, trade, &c. 139.—Arguin, isle of, historical sketch of that Dutch settlement, 23.—Arnaud, his revolutionary fanaticism in destroying Free-town, 84.—Azounas, see *Arabs*.

Bagnous, sketch of their character, 47.—Baking, singular method of, practised by the Moors, 15.—Balantes, character and customs of those Negroes, 57.—Expedition of the Portuguese against it, 58.—Caution requisite in trading with them, *ib.*—Bambouk, account of the kingdom of, richness of its gold-mines, &c. 170.—Banions, see *Bagnions*.—Baol, extent of the kingdom of, 35.—Barra, interesting account of the kingdom of, 38.—His authority, revenues, &c. 40.—Bats, curious account of them in some parts of Africa, 47.—Beaver, captain, his laudable conduct as governor of the isle of Bulam, 70.—Beauty, Moorish ideas of, 132.—Biafares, their expulsion from the island of Bulam, by the Bissagos, 67.—Bintan, present state of the village, the residence of the emperor of Foigny, 46.—Population of the Portuguese there, *ib.*—Bird, description of a curious sort at Goree, 29.—Bissagos, archipelago of the, first discovered by the French, its site, number, government, &c. 53.—Its formation, 70.—Character of the natives, 53.—Their war with the Biafares, 67.—Bissaux, the isle of, its discovery, establishments, productions, &c. 60.—Religion, manners, and customs of the inhabitants, 62.—Their mode of warfare, 64.—Account of the order of succession, 65.—Bizaur Mansare, character of the Negro king, 71.—Blaiks, their general character, 99.—Much addicted

to superstitious practices, 107.—Boat, indifference of the inhabitants to the crocodile, 76.—Bondou, arrival in the kingdom of, &c. 161.—Boufflers, M. account of his interview with Damel at Senegal, 33.—Bourba, an amphibious animal, account of the, 31.—Brack, king, interview with him described, 123.—Bread-fruit tree in Africa, account of the, 90.—Brisson, M. de, account of his shipwreck on the coast of Africa, his treatment by the Moors, 811.—Is transferred to a new master, 19.—His dangerous encounter with two Moors, 20.—His arrival at Morocco, and interview with the emperor, 21.—His liberation, by order of the emperor of Morocco, departure for France 25.—Brue, M. account of his dispute with Damel, 34.—His reception on the isle of Cazegut, 54.—Buffoons, numerous among the Negroes, 150.—Bulam, description of the island of, its situation, extent, &c. 66.—Soil, productions, and trade, 68.—History of the English establishments formed there, *ib.*—Bumbalon, description of this curious contrivance for conveying orders, 63.—Bussi, remarks on the isle of, 56.

Cabo, remarks on the kingdom of, 70.—Cachaux, particulars of the Portuguese colony of that name, its government, &c. 50.—Cape, see *Cabo*.—Cape Verd, its situation, directions to mariners on approaching it, 26.—Casamanca, the, impediments to its navigation, 49.—Casnabac, an island in the archipelago of the Bissagos, 53.—Cayor, historical sketch of the country, order of succession to the throne, 32.—Religion of the country, 33.—Superstition of the inhabitants, *ibid.*—Cazegut, account of the isle, its fertility, &c. 54.—Dress and character of the inhabitants, 56.—Cereses, account of some singular tribes of Negroes so called, 29.—Chastity, its relative value among the Blacks, 105.—Chimpanzee, description of that animal, 92.—Circumcision, ceremonies attending the practice of, 93.—Description of the performance of the operation, 165.—Cisterns, account of two remarkable, in the isle of Arguin, 23.—Civet, account of this animal, 154.—Costume of the sexes in Africa, 102.—Crocodiles, proof of the possibility of training them, 76.

Damel, dispute of that Negro king

# INDEX.

- with M. Brue, 24.—Damel, royal magnanimity of, to a vanquished enemy, 127.—Devoise, M. his death, in consequence of cruel treatment, by the Moors, 18.—Diseases incident to the Moors, 136.—Durand, M. shipwreck of, 177.—Duval, M. instance of his black perfidy and cruelty, 25.—Dwellings, manner of constructing them, their site, &c. 103.
- Elephants, singular revenge of a, 77. English, remarks on their establishments on the Gambia, 43.—Their trade, 45.—Their dispute with the king of Geres, 46.—History of their establishment in the isle of Bulam, 68.
- Factories, English, account of those situated in Africa, 44.—Fanaticism, revolutionary, disgraceful instance of French, 84.—Felups, character of the, 42.—Articles of trade with them, 44.—Fertility of the soil in the vicinity of the Senegal, 127.—Fetiso, see *Hippopotamus*.—Fishes, their abundant produce on the coast near Portedick, 26.—Foigny, short account of the kingdom of, 38.—Formosa, supposed to be the residence of the gods of the Bissagos, 53.—Foulahs, the, site of their country, remarks on the inhabitants, their manners, &c. 43.—Account of them, their religion, constitution, manners, &c. 125.—Free-town, history of its establishment, 83.—French, their establishments on the banks of the Gambia, 44.
- Galam, general remarks on the voyage to, 169.—Diseases of the country, &c. 170.—Galline, sketch of the isle, 53.—Gambia, description of the river, its extent, navigation, &c. 36.—Its discovery by the Normans, 37.—Kingdoms on its banks, *ibid.*—History of its Establishments, 43.—Objects of trade on this part of the coast, 45.—Geres, account of the different establishments formed in the village, 36.—Gesves, course and extent of the river, its commercial advantages, 72.—Goli, situation of the river, its trade, &c. 72.—Goree, remarks on the passage to it from Europe, as well as the Senegal, 26. Dutch origin of its name, 27.—Numerous contests respecting its possession, *ibid.*—Extent of its commerce, *ibid.*—Productions of the island, 30.—Goudnum, account of the town, its buildings, manufactures, and trade, 20.—Guenala, remarks on the kingdom of, and its inhabitants, 72.—Guamala, description of the, 160.—Gum, account of the tree which produces it, importance of the trade with it, 139.
- Hamet, Mocktar, entertainment given to him and his family, 141.—Hippopotamus, account of this singular animal, 77.—Method of hunting it, 79.—Hospitality, conduct of the Moors to those who abuse it, 135.—Hospitality, English, interesting instance of, 178.—Hundreders, account of the, 86.
- Idoles, account of the islands of, 75.—Incense, its abundance in some parts of Africa, 157.—Interview with a Negro king described, 151.—Iron, the staple article in trade with the Africans, 120.—James, remarks on its inhabitants, their trade, &c. 49. Joukakonda, remarkable on account of the English factory there, 44.—Journey by land from isle St. Louis to Galam, reasons for the tour, &c. 145.—Distance of the route, 163.
- Knavery, specimen of reciprocal, 141. Lajaille, M. de, his dangerous situation owing to the treachery of the Bassantes, 59.—Lake, account of a singular, found on the isle of Goree, 28.—Locusts, their ravages, are eaten by the Africans, 122.—Los, its site, trade of this isle and its vicinity, 76.—Louis, St. description of the isle, its climate, soil, customs of the inhabitants, &c. 112—120.
- Mahometans of Senegal, sketch of the tenets of their religion, 166.—Maldonado, Don Juan, description of his settlement near Pasqua, 48.—Mandingos, the, origin of the name, manners, customs, government, &c. 38.—Their religion, 39.—Their method of manufacturing salt, 40.—Dress of both sexes, *ib.*—Population 41.—Marabous of Armancoeur, remarks respecting the, 141.—Maroons, their laudable conduct at Sierra Leone, 86.—Marriage, ceremonies attending it at isle St. Louis, 117.—Merine, sketch of the kingdom, its productions, &c. 159.—Micheiry, account of the tree of that name, 67.—Magador, arrival of the captives at, remarks on the town, 21.—Moors, their barbarous and cruel character on the coast of Africa, 10.—Specimen of their cupidity, 11.—Instance of their pusilla-

- nimity, 14.—Insulting manners of the women, 18.—Treatment of their European slaves, *ibid*—Their dreadful retaliation of French perfidy and cruelty, 25.—Account of the different tribes on the right bank of the Senegal, 129.—Specimen of their pride and ignorance, 132.—Their trade, manufactures, agriculture, provisions, &c. 133.—Manner of conducting warfare, 134.—Costume, 136.—Religion, 138.—Moors and Negroes, comparison between the, 173.—Morocco, sketch of the city of, 21.—Remarks on the inhabitants, 22.—Morocco, the emperor of, his ridiculous pretensions to learning, &c. 21.—Musk, process for obtaining it, 154.
- Negroes, their natural aversion to labour, 88.—Negroes, free, contrasted with slaves, 99.—Negroes and Moors, comparison drawn between the, 173.—Generosity of the former, 175.—Normans, the first discoverers of the coast of Africa near the Gambia, 37.
- Ordeal, mode of trial in Africa by, 106.—Ormond, his success in commerce on the river of Sierra Leone, and tragical end, 81.—Ounce, employment of that animal by the Persians for hunting, 155.—Oyster-shells, remarks relative to an inexhaustible quarry of, 112.
- Palm-wine, manner of obtaining it, its effect upon the constitution, 167.—Parroquet, account of a newly discovered species of, 128.—Pasqua, view of the country surrounding the village, its productions, &c. 47.—Phenomenon, singular in the isle of Bissaux, 65.—Piracy, French, disgraceful account of, 55.—Pisania, description of the English factory, commerce, &c. 44.—Portendick, description of the bays of, its former commercial establishment, 24.—Struggles between the Dutch and French for its possession, *ib.*—Its produce and trade, 26.—Portuguese in Africa, general remarks on the, 41.—On their manners and commerce, 51.—Purrah, account of the institution so called, 97.
- Rio-Grande, trade carried on by way of the, 73.—Royalty, singular order of succession to, 65.—Rubault, his departure from Isle St. Louis, to travel by land to Galam, 146.—Success of his journey to Galam, 168.—Account of his murder, 169.
- Salt, peculiar method of making it by the Mandingos, 40.—Singular species of, an antidote against poison, 74.—Salt-pits at Gandiollé, the, allotted for the dowry of the queen of Cayor, 31.—Salum, dominions of the king of, 35.—Salutation, curious method of, 54.—Sea-horse, see *Hippopotamus*.—Senegal, the, description of the bar of that river and its banks, 110.—Senegal river, its course, distinction between it and the Niger, 121.—Scrays, see *Cere-ses*.—Serpents, indifference of the Negroes to them between Gorée and Senegal, 30.—Sharp, Mr. G. his establishment of a colony at Sierra Leone, 83.—Sidi Carachi, account of his journey from isle St. Louis to Galam, 161.—Sierra Leone, the river of, its discovery, 81.—Account of the different establishments of Europeans in that quarter, 82.—Present state of the English colony, 86.—Productions of the banks of the river, 89.—Animal productions, 91.—Sin, sketch of the kingdom, 35.—Slave-trade, ingenious remarks on the, 109.
- Tamara, site of the isle, and productions, 75.—Tin, king, his usurpation of the kingdom of Cayor, 149.—Travelling in Africa, the difficulties of, described, 14.—Trollope, captain, his generous treatment of some shipwrecked Frenchmen, 179.
- Villages of the Negroes, description of the, 147, 153.
- Wadelims, manners, customs, &c. of the, 129.—Wedding, description of a Moorish, 130.
- Yolof, account of a revolution in, 148.—Brief remarks on the character of, &c. 43, 122.—Youly, general remarks on the kingdom of, 157.
- Zapes, account of the different hordes called, 74.

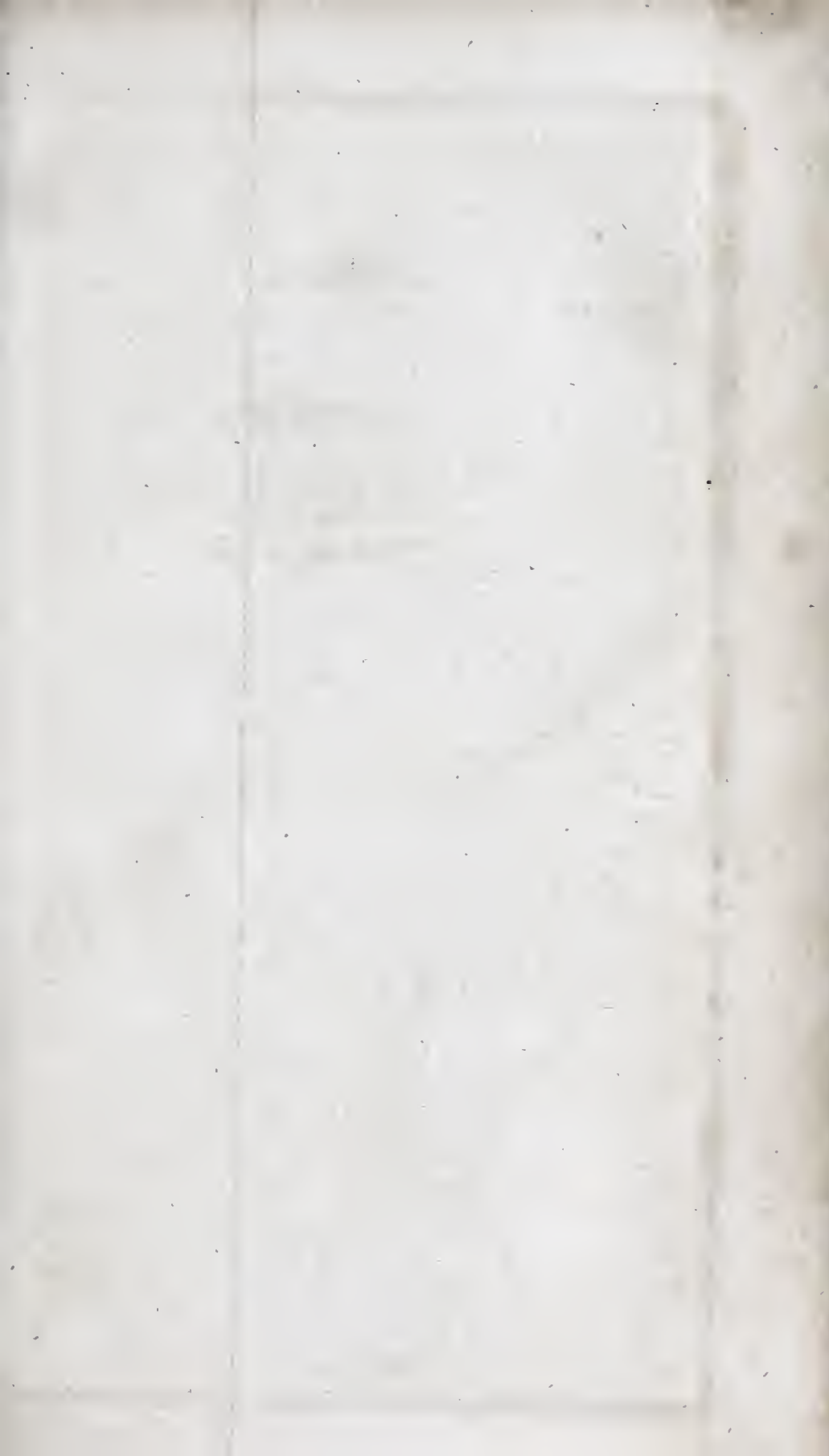




Chart  
of the Captain Generalship  
of  
**CARRACCAS,**  
(Comprehending)  
the Provinces of  
Venezuela, Maracaybo, Tarrinas,  
Cumana, Guiana & the Island  
of St Marguerite.

TRAVELS  
IN  
PARTS OF  
SOUTH AMERICA,

DURING THE YEARS 1801, 1802, 1803, & 1804;

CONTAINING

A DESCRIPTION OF THE CAPTAIN-GENERALSHIP OF CARRACCAS,

WITH

AN ACCOUNT OF THE LAWS, COMMERCE, AND NATURAL  
PRODUCTIONS OF THAT COUNTRY;

AS ALSO

A VIEW OF THE CUSTOMS AND MANNERS OF THE SPANIARDS  
AND NATIVE INDIANS.

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BY

F. DEPONS,

AGENT FROM THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT TO CARRACCAS.

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*Complete.*  
LONDON:

PRINTED FOR RICHARD PHILLIPS, 6, NEW BRIDGE STREET,

*By J. G. Barnard, 57, Snow-Hill.*

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1806.



## ADVERTISEMENT.

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**F**ROM the extreme jealousy of the Spanish Government, no stranger is permitted to land, far less to reside for any length of time, in any of their foreign settlements, especially on the American continent, without an express order to that effect from the king, which it is very difficult to obtain.

On the other hand, the Spaniards themselves, instigated by the prospect of immediate gain, held out to them by the mines of Mexico and Peru, flock in great numbers to these provinces; while the more eastern part of Terra Firma is regarded by these adventurers as comparatively of little value, though the fertility of its soil, and the richness and variety of its productions, are unequalled in any other part of America. As the whole Spanish nation, and even the government itself, appear in some measure to participate in this erroneous opinion respecting the true value of their American possessions, it cannot be matter of surprise, that no individual of that nation has hitherto devoted his talents and leisure to explore a country, which is regarded by his fellow citizens with perfect indifference. Hence that part of Spanish America, which forms the subject of the following work, is very imperfectly known to Europeans. To supply this deficiency, and to correct the inaccurate accounts respecting it, which have found their way into our best modern geographical works, is the

professed object of the present undertaking. The author's long residence in the provinces he describes, fitted him in a peculiar manner for the task he imposed on himself; while his official situation, and the esteem in which he seems to have been held by those at the head of the government of Carraccas, opened to him the most valuable and authentic sources of information.

The reason, M. Depons informs his readers, which led him to give the new appellation of the *Eastern Part of Terra Firma* to the country he describes, was, in order to distinguish it from the more westerly part, dependent on the vice-royalty of Santa-Fé, and which is bounded to the north by Cape Vela, and to the west by the isthmus of Panama.

# TRAVELS

IN

## SOUTH AMERICA.

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DISCOVERY OF SOUTH AMERICA.—DIVISION OF THE  
CAPTAIN-GENERALSHIP OF CARRACCAS.—TEMPERATURE  
—MOUNTAINS.—MINES.—PEARL-FISHERIES.—SALT.—  
MINERAL WATERS.—SEASONS.—RAINS.—EARTHQUAKES.  
—FORESTS.—PLANTS, GUMS, RESINS, AND MEDICINAL  
OILS.—LAKES.—RIVERS.—SEAS, TIDES, WINDS.—PORTS,  
BAYS, &c. &c.

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### *Sagacity and Intrepidity of Columbus.*

**T**HE discovery of America justly appears to us, and must appear to the most remote posterity, an astonishing phenomenon, and its conquest almost a miracle.

Christopher Columbus, an enlightened and learned astronomer, had been led to conjecture, from the figure of the earth, that the existence of another hemisphere was essential to the equilibrium of the globe. The hints on this subject scattered through the works of the ancients, opened to his mind a vast field for meditation ; his astronomical, geographical, and physical knowledge supplied the rest. Plato, Aristotle, Pliny, and Strabo had suggested to his mind the idea of a problem which his sagacity enabled him to solve, and of a project which his ardent love of glory impelled him to execute.

It is not my intention to enter upon the history of the different expeditions to South America, but to confine myself to the con-

sideration of the eastern part of Terra Firma and Spanish Guiana.

Of all the conquests made in the new world, in the name of the king of Spain, that of the country in question was the most tedious, arduous, and we may add, the most incomplete.

The mountainous nature of the ground, the numerous rivers, which often swell to such a degree as to cut off all communication between one part of the country and another for a considerable portion of the year, the lakes, marshes, and deserts, presented difficulties which only the most determined courage could have overcome. But what tended still more to retard the progress of the conquerors in several parts of America, was the number of small governments, which, unlike the extensive empires of Mexico and Peru, rendered the victories of the Spaniards less decisive, and their negotiations more difficult. It was seldom that any of the numerous caciques formed a league amongst themselves: and still more seldom that they either offered or accepted a challenge to try their strength with the Spaniards in the open plains. The overthrow of a single tribe seldom gave to the conquerors possession of more than a few leagues of ground; and in order finally to gain a secure footing in the country, it was necessary to support the greatest privations, and to encounter the greatest dangers with exalted courage and unwearied perseverance.

It was during the third voyage of Columbus, in 1498, that he discovered that part of the continent, known under the name of Terra Firma. His intention was to proceed to the equator, but he was prevented by the calms which prevailed, and was carried along with the currents to the mouths of the Dragons, situated between the island of Trinidad and Terra Firma. Lopez de Gomara asserts that Columbus discovered all the coast as far as Cape Vela; but Oviedo, whose testimony I have always found worthy of credit, affirms that he only coasted Terra Firma as far as Point Araya, which bears north and south from the western point of Marguerite, whence he steered north for St. Domingo. Fernando Columbus, the admiral's son, relates that his father, after having discovered the gulph of Paria, steered along the coast of Terra Firma, west of the island of Testigos; after which he shaped his course towards Saint Domingo. From this concurrent testimony, it must be sufficiently obvious that the assertion of Lopez de Gomara is deserving of little credit.

From the account transmitted to the court of Spain, by Columbus, of his recent discovery of this part of Terra Firma, of the manners of the inhabitants, and of the richness of the country, particularly in pearls, the government was induced to grant permission to Captain Alphonso Oyeda still farther to pro-

secute this discovery. He was accompanied in his voyage by Americus Vespusius, a man who has since enjoyed an usurped celebrity over Columbus, and who was instigated to this enterprise by cupidity rather than a love of glory. This expedition reached in twenty-seven days the land of Maracapana, in 1499, and afterwards proceeded along the coast as far as Cape Vela, entering the different ports in their course, with the view of taking an accurate survey of them. From Cape Vela he immediately returned to St. Domingo, according to Oviedo and Robertson; but some other authors relate that he previously revisited Maracapana, situated on the coast of Cumana.

On his return to Europe, Americus Vespusius found means to make it be generally credited, that he himself was the real discoverer of America, and that Columbus had only discovered some islands, which could be regarded in no other light but as avenues to the main land. This bold fabrication at first passed for truth; the name of this adventurer was given to the new world, which it still retains, notwithstanding the efforts of historians to restore to Columbus an honour so hard earned, and so justly his due.

#### DIVISION OF THE CAPTAIN-GENERALSHIP OF CARRACCAS.

That part of the new world which constitutes the Captain-Generalship of Carraccas, is more particularly the object of the present work. It comprehends the province of Venezuela in the centre, the government of Maracaybo to the west, Guiana to the south, the government of Cumana to the east, and the island of Marguerite to the north-east.

This department is bounded by the sea towards the north, from the 75° of long. west from the meridian of Paris, to the 62° that is, all the space from Cape Vela to the promontory of Megilones or of Paria; and to the east by the sea from the 12° to the 8° of north lat. Dutch Guiana and Peru form its boundary to the south; and the kingdom of Santa-Fé to the west.

#### TEMPERATURE.

From the situation of this country, which lies beyond the 12° of north lat. we might be led to imagine that its soil would be barren and parched, and that it would be nearly uninhabitable by the extreme heat; but here the temperature is so diversified by a variety of causes, that many places enjoy an uninterrupted spring; whilst in others the influence of the latitude is fully felt.

#### MOUNTAINS.

The difference of temperature evidently depends on a range of mountains, which stretching from the Andes of Quito,

crosses Merida and the district of Varinas, after which it trends northwards towards the coast; whence proceeding in an easterly direction, and gradually becoming less elevated, it terminates near the island of Trinidad.

The space occupied by these mountains, which cross the provinces of Carraccas, seldom exceeds fifteen leagues in breadth; in some places it is however twenty, but in none does it fall below ten. From their small degree of elevation they are in most places susceptible of cultivation, and adapted to become the residence of man; except the eastern Picacho near the Carraccas, and Tumeriquiri in the province of Cumana, the former of which is 1278, and the latter 935 toises above the level of the sea.

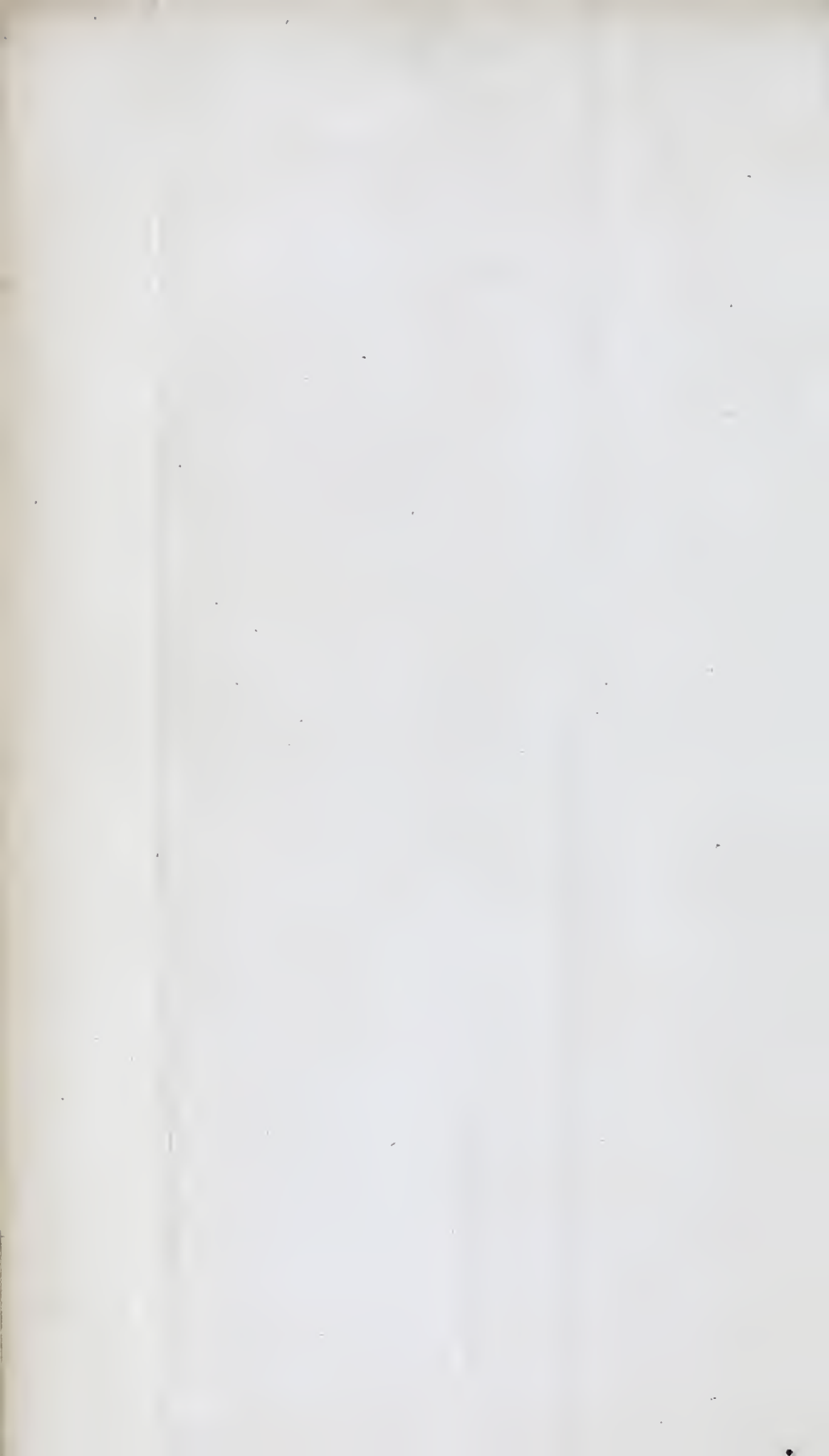
These inequalities of the ground necessarily produce great variety of temperature, which proves extremely favourable to different productions. On the mountains there uniformly prevails such a temperature as approaches to coldness. The immense valleys which they form are proportionably cool, according to their exposure, and the degree of elevation.

After traversing these mountains, which stretch from north to south, we arrive at immense plains, running from east to west, from the village of Pao, which is situated in the 67° of west longitude, from the meridian of Paris, to the very base of the mountains of Santa-Fé. They are bounded on the south by the great river Oroonoko, and by the country known under the name of Guiana. The heat experienced in these plains is excessive.

According to the generally received theory respecting the formation of primary mountains, those of Venezuela are not sufficiently elevated to be considered as belonging to this class, neither is their form sufficiently pyramidal, nor their sides destitute of verdure, which is a constant effect of the particles of earth being carried along with the rain waters; on the contrary, they are covered with a vigorous and abundant vegetation. Hence it is evident that they are composed of strata of different substances, formed by the hand of time. This opinion is farther strengthened by the calcareous matters found in these mountains, as well as marble, which is well known to be produced from the shells of madrepoores and other marine animals, that are only met with in secondary mountains, which derive their existence from some of the revolutions sustained by our globe. Humboldt has, notwithstanding, found in the mountain of Selle, the highest part of this chain, very pure granite, of which quartz, feld spath, and mica, are the constituent parts; which seems to prove at least, according to the theory of M. Pallas, that this mountain, is either primitive, or has emerged from the bosom of the deep at a much more early period than others of



*San*  
of the Town of  
**CARACCAS,**  
in  
**SOUTH AMERICA;**  
the Capital of the Province of  
Venezuela, Maracaybo,  
Tarinas, Guiana.  
— &c —



the same chain. I shall not however enter upon this investigation, since it is only my intention at present merely to give a description of the country, and not to write a history of the globe.

#### MINES.

What has tended greatly to the prosperity of the provinces of Carraccas is, that every attempt of the Spaniards to work the mines of gold and silver discovered by the first conquerors, has been hitherto rendered abortive, by the repeated insurrections of the Indians, who beheld in these projects the total overthrow of their independence. If the provinces in question have been thus prevented from enjoying the transitory and fallacious wealth derived from the digging of the precious metals, they are fully compensated by the abundant productions of a fertile soil, which afford to them a secure and never failing source of affluence and prosperity.

In the district of Saint Philippe there are considerable mines of copper of a very superior quality; but they are not wrought to such an extent as to prove prejudicial to agriculture. Exclusive of the local consumption, they furnished in 1801, to Porto-Cabello, one hundred and seventy-one quintals for the purpose of exportation; and there is every reason to suppose, that had it not been for the war, the quantity would have been still more considerable.

#### PEARL FISHERY.

On the first discovery of Terra Firma, the pearl fishery constituted a lucrative branch of commerce to the country, and furnished a considerable revenue to the king. It was carried on between the little island of Cubagua and that of Marguerite, and proved little less injurious, in its consequences, to the Spaniards and Indians than working in the mines. The isle of Cubagua is wholly destitute of wood and water, and displays such an appearance of sterility, that nothing but the extreme cupidity of the Spaniards could have induced them to form a settlement upon it. Fortunately circumstances soon occurred which induced them to abandon the pearl fishery, which has never since been resumed. It is even affirmed by the Spaniards that no pearls are now to be found along the eastern coast, until they reach a bay situated between Cape Chichihacoa and Cape Vela, which is occupied by the Guahoirs Indians, who dispose of their pearls to the English and Dutch.

#### SALT.

This article is produced in the northern side of the province  
DEPONS.]

of Venezuela, in a considerable quantity, and of a very beautiful white colour; but it is at Araya where it is procured in the greatest abundance, and of quality far superior to that of any other part of America, not even excepting Turk's island. It will be seen in the chapter on imposts that it is farmed or sold on account of the king: yet it is truly astonishing what a trifling revenue is derived from a source which might with moderate industry be rendered so productive.

#### MINERAL WATERS.

These provinces abound in both cold and warm mineral springs, some of which are alkaline, others acidulous, and several of them of a chalybeate nature. They are very little known, and not much frequented by invalids, on account of most of them being at a great distance from the inhabited part of the country.

The heat of some of these springs approaches nearly to that of boiling water. The temperature of those near the old road between Porto-Cabello and Valence is 72°, and that of another in the valley of Aragoa is still higher.

#### SEASONS.

In South America spring and autumn are alike unknown; here the year is merely divided into summer and winter; or to speak more accurately, into the rainy and dry seasons. The former commences in May and terminates in November; during the other six months of the year rains are much less frequent, and sometimes the drought is very considerable.

#### RAIN.

It has been estimated that nearly an equal quantity of rain falls in the provinces of Venezuela, Cumana, and Guiana. Both the high and low grounds partake of the inconveniencies, and share the benefits of these rains, which, however, are not constant. Sometimes a whole day will pass without a single drop, while on others it rains without intermission. During the wet season it rains on an average, according to the most accurate calculation, three hours every day, and this most frequently happens after mid-day. Hence we never experience the drizzling showers of the polar regions; the rain pours down in torrents, causing the rivers to overflow their banks during the greatest part of this season: the ravins which are dry all the rest of the year, become also at this period immense torrents; and the plains are in many places laid under water, so that the traveller can only observe the summits of the highest trees, which serve to him as kind of land-marks. These inundations occur chiefly in the plains

north of the Orconoko, and cover a space of ground from forty to a hundred and fifty leagues.

## EARTHQUAKES.

It has been remarked by the inhabitants of these provinces, that the rains which fell previous to 1792, were uniformly accompanied by tremendous thunder storms; but since that period, though the rains be more copious, similar storms never occur. It seems highly probable that to a surcharge of electric matter, attracted from the atmosphere by the neighbouring mountains, were owing the dreadful earthquakes which proved so destructive to Cumana in December, 1797.

Neither Maracaybo nor Porto-Cabello have experienced any earthquakes since 1778 and 1779, if we except a few slight shocks in 1800 and 1801.

This part of South America, although situated between the Antilles and Peru, where earthquakes are so common, nevertheless enjoys an exemption from such calamities, that might be deemed miraculous, were it not a well known fact, that the air here being more dense is unfavourable to the action of electricity, and that the earth contains within itself fewer of the principles of fermentation and combustion.

On the first of May, at eleven o'clock at night, there was felt at Caraccas a very violent shock of an earthquake, with a vibratory motion of the earth from east to west; on the twentieth of the same month, about four in the evening, another shock was experienced, during which the earth seemed, as it were, to heave up and down for the space of a minute; and on the fourth of the following July, at 48 minutes past two in the morning, two very violent shocks were felt, and on the same day another was perceived, but less violent, at 35 minutes after six.

## FORESTS.

The mountains of Venezuela produce the same kind of trees as the Antilles, as well as many others which are indigenous. The vast forests with which they are covered, might furnish for a succession of ages, timber for ship-building, if the nature of the country and the state of navigation did not render it too expensive to the mother country. All the timber employed in refitting and building of ships, is transported by the rivers Tocuyo and Yaraqui to Porto-Cabello, which is situated about fifteen leagues to windward.

A little to the windward of the mouth of the river Tocuyo, in the latitude of the small islands Tucacas, timber-yards might be readily established, on account of the proximity of the forests

in that quarter ; but the demand is so small as to afford little encouragement for their erection.

At Maracaybo they employ wood of a quality superior to any other in Terra Firma, for the purpose of ship-building. In this village the ship-carpenters find constant employment, and there would be room for many more hands, if the bar at the mouth of the harbour did not prevent vessels of a large burden from sailing out of it.

These forests likewise abound in various kinds of wood, fit for the use of the joiner and the cabinet-maker. In general they prefer that which the Spaniards term *pardillo*, for beams, rafters, door-posts, gates, &c. In some places they substitute for the *pardillo*, the *Quercus cerris*, Lin.

The cabinet-makers mostly employ cedar-wood for the purpose of making doors, window-frames, common tables, chairs, &c. In these forests are likewise found various species of wood, which from the high degree of polish of which they are susceptible, are well calculated for ornamental furniture ; among others is distinguished the black ebony, which grows in several places, but particularly on the banks of the river Totondoy, which flows into the east side of the lake of Maracaybo. It is there where nature appears to have established a nursery of trees calculated to supply the wants and to administer to the pleasure, and even to the caprice of man. The yellow ebony is more common than the former in the forests of Terra Firma, as well as the red ebony. The Spaniards term the black ebony *ebano*, the yellow *palo, amarillo*, and the red *granadillo*. Mahogany is neither found in such abundance in Terra Firma, as in the French part of St. Domingo, nor can it be compared with it in the beauty and richness of its veins, or the high polish of which it is susceptible.

In works which require wood of great durability, they employ iron wood, *sideroxylum*. It serves for the axle-trees of mill-wheels, the rollers or frames of the cylinders employed to express the sugar canes, &c. This species of wood is common in every part of Terra-Firma, except in the valley of Aragoa. The red ebony is also sometimes employed by the Spaniards for similar purposes, and it is affirmed even to exceed the iron wood in durability.

The only woods calculated for the dyer hitherto found in this country, is the Brasil wood, which abounds between Victoria and Saint Sebastian of los Reyes, and fustic, which is most commonly found in the neighbourhood of Maracaybo. The inhabitants of Merida, without the aid of any other substance, dye with it a variety of colours, which are as lively and durable as they can be rendered by art. In proportion, however, as man shall penetrate into the immense forests of this country, which at

present are the exclusive habitation of reptiles and wild animals, new productions must be discovered; calculated to enrich the arts and to augment commerce.

#### PLANTS, GUMS, RESINS, AND MEDICINAL OILS.

The above observation is equally applicable to the gums, resins, medicinal oils, &c. of Terra Firma. Were enlightened naturalists and able botanists sent out at the expence of the government to explore this rich and fertile country, the result of their labours would doubtless not only prove beneficial to humanity, but would likewise tend to the promotion of science, and the increase and extension of commerce. At present the cocoa oil, which is prepared in the province of Cumana alone, considerably exceeds the internal consumption.

Notwithstanding the numerous species of medicinal vegetables and plants, profusely scattered over this extensive continent, there were only exported in 1796, from the port of Goayre, the only one which at that time enjoyed the privilege of a free trade with the mother country, four hundred and twenty-eight pounds of sarsaparilla, with which the plains and vallies are covered; five hundred pounds of tamarinds, which may be collected every where in the greatest abundance; and two hundred and thirty-nine pounds of Peruvian bark (*Cinchona officinalis*,) which last is indeed not very common in this part of the continent.

It should seem however that their exports have not lessened since that period; for in 1798 the amount of the cargoes sent by neutral ships, which on account of the war were then suffered to enter the port of Goayre, was three thousand six hundred and sixty-four pounds of sarsaparilla, and three thousand four hundred pounds of resins. In 1801 they exported from Porto-Cabello two thousand, three hundred and eighty-four pounds of sarsaparilla, and forty-seven thousand nine hundred and sixty-nine pounds of guaiacum. But the number of these articles is trifling, and the quantity which was really exported, extremely insignificant in comparison with the profusion and variety of the vegetable productions in the provinces of Carraccas.

#### LAKES.

As the description of a country necessarily includes every thing that can tend to convey a just idea respecting it, we must not omit to notice the lakes which are produced by a collection of rain water, as well as those which are merely formed by the reservoirs of rivers. Many of the first species are met with in the low lands, in the vicinity of the Oronooko; the most magnificent of the second kind are those of Maracaybo and Valence, which appear to merit a particular description.

## LAKE OF MARACAYBO.

According to Oviedo this lake is about fifty leagues in length, nearly thirty in its greatest breadth, and its circumference exceeds one hundred and fifty. It seems to have owed its formation to the slow and successive excavation produced in the land by the numerous rivers which flow into it from the east, the west, and the south. It is navigable for ships of the greatest burden; and by means of the rivers which disembogue themselves into it, the town of Maracaybo is supplied with provisions of all kinds either for its own consumption or for exportation. Storms seldom occur on this lake, but it is continually subject to a kind of undulatory motion, which appears to be in proportion to the action of the winds on its surface; and during sudden squalls, particularly when it blows from the north, canoes and other small craft are frequently overset and lost. At such times only the water of the lake, as far as the town, becomes brackish; for in general it is perfectly fresh and potable, even when taken up near the sea.

All the different species of fish found in the rivers of South America, also abound in this lake, except the tortoise, which, however singular it may appear, is found every where else.

To the north-east of the lake, on the most sterile parts of its banks, near a place called Mena, there are several inexhaustible pits of mineral tar, which seems in all respects the same as the *pix montana*, the asphaltus of the ancients. This bituminous matter mingled with suet is employed for paying the sides of ships and various other purposes.

The exhalations which arise from these bituminous minerals, so readily take fire in coming into contact with atmospheric air, that they throw out a pretty vivid light during the whole night. It has been remarked that this phenomenon is more constant during great heats, than when the weather is less sultry. These lights are styled by the inhabitants *the lantern of Maracaybo*, because they serve as a pharos to the Spaniards and Indians who navigate this lake without a compass or instrument of any kind.

The sterility, and still more the insalubrity of the banks of this lake, have hitherto prevented them from being inhabited. Even the Indians prefer living in a sort of floating huts upon the lake itself, which they construct of a durable species of wood similar to the iron wood. According to the testimony of Oviedo, which is confirmed by that of the inhabitants themselves, every portion of this wood which is under the water becomes petrified in a very few years.

The Spaniards, on finding many of these aquatic villages constructed without order, but with a considerable degree of solidity,

gave to them the name of Venezuela, which is the diminutive of Venice; an appellation that has since been transferred to the province. It was long supposed that these habitations had been constructed as a place of security against the wild animals, with which the country abounded; but this is now discovered to be an error, as the Indians refuse to abandon them for others ashore, although every idea of danger from the approach of wild beasts is at an end.

Since 1529, when Alfinger carried devastation and death among the peaceful inhabitants of the lake, these numerous villages have all disappeared, except four, which are situated on its eastern extremity, at unequal distances from each other. They are named *Lagunillas*, *Misoa*, *Tumoporo*, and *Moporo*. There is a church upon the water, in which a pastor performs service, and distributes spiritual aid to these aquatic Indians; but it is far from being a desirable situation, since seldom a few days elapse before his health begins to suffer, and scarce a single instance can be recollected in which the life of any of their clergymen was prolonged beyond six months.

These Indians sometimes come ashore in search of provisions, but their chief subsistence is on fish. They also find a considerable resource in the wild ducks, which abound on this lake, and which they take in a very singular and ingenious manner. For this purpose they constantly allow empty calabasses to float on the lake around their habitations; in order that these birds, by being habituated to see them, may not be intimidated. When an Indian wishes to procure any of these fowls, he puts on his head a calabasse, perforated so as to permit him to see without being seen. In this manner he goes into the lake, keeping always his head above the surface of the water, but taking care that no part of his body shall be visible; he proceeds thus swimming to the spot where the wild ducks are collected in the greatest number, then seizing them by the feet, he immediately drags them below the water, so that they have neither time to cry out, nor to make any motion which can warn the others of the impending danger. As fast as they are taken he fastens them to his girdle; and never thinks of retiring, till his wants be fully satisfied. Such a mode of entrapping these animals is attended with this advantage, that it does not frighten them, and may always be renewed at pleasure, and without expence. The fertility of the soil, on the west side of the lake, has induced a few Spaniards to brave the inclemency of the air, and to raise a few plantations of cocoa and other provisions. In the center of these scattered habitations, stands a chapel, in which a pastor performs divine service, and administers the sacrament.

The land on the southern side of the lake, remains altogether

uncleared, and is wholly destitute of inhabitants. The climate on the northern side is as intensely hot as the others; but it is incomparably more healthy. The town of Maracaybo stands on the left side of this lake, towards the west; and directly fronting it are two villages called *Punta de Piedra* and *Altagracia*. The former of these is inhabited by Indians, the latter by Spaniards.

#### LAKE OF VALENCE.

This lake is less extensive, but it displays a much more agreeable aspect, than that of Maracaybo: its shores are also more fertile, and the climate more salubrious, and of a milder temperature. The lake of Valence is upwards of thirteen leagues in length, and about four in its greatest breadth. Its form is that of an oblong square. It is situated about a league from the town of Valence, and in a valley hemmed in by mountains on all sides, except on the western, towards the interior of the country. The numerous rivers that flow into it have no visible outlet. It is about six leagues distant from the sea, and the intermediate space, by which they are separated, is occupied by almost inaccessible mountains. We find it very difficult to conceive, how this lake should have no visible out-let, while rivers flow into it in all directions; a circumstance which seems to prove that it is merely a basin. But how then on this supposition can we explain why it has remained of the same dimensions for a succession of ages? Can it be supposed that evaporation alone, however great it may be between the tropics, is equivalent to carry off the water which so many rivers pour into it? The supposition is altogether incongruous, when we consider the small extent of the lake's surface. Hence it should seem that there must be some subterraneous vent, by means of which a quantity of water equal to that which is poured into it continually escapes. This opinion, though only conjectural, is yet supported by such strong probabilities, as to give to it every appearance of truth. It is observed that vessels sailing on the lake move very swiftly from the shore to the center, while in returning much more time and exertion are necessary. Are we not warranted to infer from this fact, that there exists at the bottom of the lake an opening by which the water finds an exit? Hence we may readily explain why it has not become augmented in proportion to the volume of water which it constantly receives. The same supposition will also account for the great diminution which this lake appears to have undergone within a very few years: for we have only to suppose, that a greater quantity of water than formerly now finds its way through the out-let in question, and the phenomenon is satisfactorily explained. But without

having recourse to such an hypothesis, we find an easy solution of the successive and rapid diminution above-mentioned in the numerous cuts, made by the inhabitants, into the rivers in the vicinity of this lake, for the purpose of watering their plantations. These waters being diffused over a greater extent of ground, are either evaporated or expended in the production and support of different vegetables.

In proportion as the lake diminishes, new soil is exposed, which being composed of various substances that have been deposited on it for ages, possesses a wonderful degree of fertility. This new soil is preferred by the planter to every other for his agricultural operations.

The east side of the lake is planted with tobacco on account of the king. There are plantations of this kind which give employment to fifteen thousand individuals. The remainder of this alluvial soil is appropriated to different species of culture.

Numerous species of birds inhabit the environs of the lake; many of which are remarkable not only for the extreme beauty of their plumage, but for the variety and sweetness of their notes. The vast abundance of water fowl contributes also to render the country in the vicinity of the lake still more agreeable. But the perpetual verdure which embellishes its banks, as well as the various productions which cover them, excite sensations of pleasure in the mind of the beholder, which are altogether undefinable.

Vessels of different sizes are regularly employed to waft over the lake different kinds of provisions, which are raised on its shores, or on those of the rivers, that discharge their waters into it. Its navigation is not however unattended with difficulty, not only on account of the cause already assigned, but on account of the numerous islets which are interspersed in the lake, and which render the use of sails almost unavailable.

Many of these little islands have perceptibly increased in proportion to the diminution of the lake. They are all inhabited; that known under the name of Caratapona contains a population fully adequate for its cultivation. Here there is an abundant spring of water, much superior in quality to that of the lake. On being applied to the hands it produces the same effect, as water impregnated with lye. This saponaceous quality may perhaps depend on the quantity of animal and vegetable matter which it contains, and which is continually undergoing the process of decomposition.

There is plenty of fish in this lake, but not many different species. That which the Spaniards call *guavina* is the most abundant. There is likewise the bagre, *silicis bagre*, Lin. and another termed by the Spaniards *bava*, *blennius pholis*, Lin.

The shores of the lake abound with reptiles of various kinds, among which are particularly distinguishable two species of lizards; one of these the guana, termed in Spanish *mattos*, is considered by some of the Spaniards themselves, as well as by the Indians, a most delicious morsel. The early prejudices of youth which had induced me to rank this animal with serpents, toads, &c. always prevented me from eating it; though I have often witnessed that neither the Spaniards nor the Indians, were affected with any similar disgust.

I was unacquainted with this circumstance, when one day being much oppressed with the heat as I strolled along the banks of the lake of Valence, I resolved to repose myself for a few hours in one of the houses inhabited by a family of Indians. I immediately after my arrival I observed the chief take his bow and quiver. On enquiring the reason of this he told me he was going to procure something for dinner, and in about an hour returned with a large guana. This worthy Indian appeared at first extremely mortified on my refusing to partake in his repast, but on explaining my reasons for declining his hospitality, he laughed very heartily. The lizard after being skinned and boiled was served up, and constituted the only dish at the table of this family.

#### RIVERS.

After having spoken of the lakes, the rivers fall next in order to be noticed. In a mountainous country like that under consideration, where the rains are so abundant, we may naturally expect to meet with numerous rivers; and in fact there is no place more favoured in this respect than the eastern part of Terra Firma.

All those which originate in the chain of mountains formerly mentioned, and flow from the south to the north, discharge themselves into the sea; while those which have their source in the southern side of the same chain flow towards the valley, and pour their waters into the Oroonoko. The first are sufficiently hemmed in by steep natural embankments, while the second running in shallow beds overflow their banks, and during the greatest part of the year inundate the neighbouring plains.

It is my intention at present only briefly to notice the most remarkable of these rivers, deferring until I come to treat of Guiana, the consideration of the Oroonoko and the different rivers which flow into it. From Cape Vela to Maracaybo, there is not any river of much importance. It has been already observed that this lake appears to have been produced by the waters that flow into it from almost every quarter.

## GUIGUES.

Sixteen leagues to the east of Coro is the river Guigues; it flows past the village of Guigues de la Yglesia, which stands at the distance of six leagues from its mouth, and is navigable as far as this village by canoes and other small craft; but owing to the sterility of the land in its neighbourhood, this circumstance is unattended with any advantage to the inhabitants.

## TOCUYO.

This river disembogues itself into the sea twenty-five leagues farther to the east than the former. Its source is about fifteen leagues south of Carora, more than sixty leagues from the sea. TocuYO is navigable as far as Banagua, a village situated on its banks, at the distance of forty leagues from its mouth. It is by means of this river that they transport the wood required for ship-building, with which its environs abound; and if the extreme sloth of the inhabitants did not prevent them taking advantage of the fertility of the soil, they might very profitably engage in other branches of commerce.

## AROA.

The mouth of this river is ten leagues to windward of that of TocuYO. Canoes may proceed up it a short distance from the sea, but the navigation is neither safe nor useful.

## YARACUY.

In ascending along the shore of Aroa, we perceive at the distance of three leagues from its mouth, the river of Yaracuy. It originates forty leagues to the south, but only deserves the name of a river when it has reached within two leagues to the east of Saint-Philippe. It is at this place where it becomes navigable, and whence the inhabitants begin to transport the different commodities produced in the vallies of Saint-Philippe and in the plains of Barquisimeto, which are sent by sea to Porto-Cavillo, the nearest port.

## TUY.

From Yaracuy no navigable river is met with until we reach Tuy, which flows into the sea thirty leagues to the eastward of Goayre. This river takes its rise in the mountains of San Pedro, ten leagues from Carraccas. It flows along the vallies of Aragoa between Victoria and Cocuisas, and afterwards through those of Tacata, Cua, Sabana of Ocumare, Saint-Lucia, and Saint-Theresa, and at last forms a junction with the Goayre:

these united rivers are navigable for ships of considerable burden, which serve to transport the produce of the neighbouring vallies, chiefly consisting of cocoa, of a superior quality. The inundations of this river are more extensively destructive than those of any other in the district of Carraccas. A plan was presented to the government in 1803, by an enlightened pilot, named Pedro Caranza, pointing out the means proper to be pursued in order to confine it within proper limits; but this plan, however judicious, has not hitherto been acted on.

#### UNARE.

After leaving Tuy there is no river to the windward of sufficient importance to arrest the attention before reaching Unare. This river serves as the line of demarkation between the governments of Carraccas and Cumana. It is navigable as far as the village of Saint-Antonio de Clarisas, situated six leagues from the sea. It is forty leagues in length, and runs from south to north.

#### NEVERI.

This river is sixteen leagues to the east of Unare. It originates in the mountains of Brigantin twenty leagues south from its mouth. Owing to its size, and the great declivity of its bed, it is only navigable as far up as Barcelona, or very little higher.

#### MANZANARES.

Pursuing our course along the east bank of the Neveri, we reach at ten leagues distant from its mouth, that of Manzanares, which washes the walls of Cumana. It is this circumstance alone which renders it worthy of notice, since it only admits very small shallops to come up as far as the city, which is situated not above a quarter of a league from the sea. It serves, however, to irrigate and fertilize the adjoining lands, which would be otherwise extremely unproductive.

#### CARIACO.

Near Cumana we discover the gulph of Cariaco, into which several streamlets, and a large river bearing the same name, pour their waters. It flows past a city to which the Spaniards gave the name of Saint-Philippe. But in spite of every effort made by the government to this purpose, it still retains the name of the lake, from which it is only distant two leagues. This river is only navigable as far as the city of Cariaco, and that merely during the rainy season, at which period it sometimes overflows its banks, so as greatly to incommode the inhabitants. According to the tradition of the Indians, the gulph of Cariaco was formed by an earthquake.

## GUARAPICHE.

Along the north side, as far as Cape-Paria, which forms with the Isles of the Dragons, the great entrance north of the gulph of Paria, there is not a single navigable river. Among those which pour their waters into this gulph, the most considerable is Guarapiche, which takes its rise in the eastern side of the mountain of Brigantin. This river is navigable for ships of considerable burden, as far as the forks of Tantasma, and they might even proceed higher up, were it not for the obstructions thrown in their way by the large trees blown down by the winds, and drifted along by the current: such obstacles the inhabitants have little temptation to remove, since the neighbouring lands produce little else except wild fruits.

Besides the rivers which disembogue themselves into the sea, the upper or northern part of the provinces of Venezuela and Cumana are intersected in every direction by various others of different dimensions, which form a junction with the former, in some part of their course; while the inferior or southern part of these provinces are also covered with rivers, running from north to south, and discharging their waters into the Oroonoko. The most considerable of these are the Mamo, Pariagoan, and Pao, the Chavita and Zoa, Cachicamo, Aracay, Manapire, Espimo, and lastly the river Apure, which flows into the Oroonoko by several mouths. It receives in its course an infinite number of streams, which forming a kind of fan, occupy a space of more than thirty leagues to the south of the province of Venezuela. The greatest part of these rivers are navigable for forty or fifty leagues from the point where they flow into the Oroonoko, along with the river Apure.

## SEA.

The sea which washes the shores of this part of Terra-Firma, is termed by the English the Caribbean Sea, because, in fact, the chain of the Antilles from Trinidad to Cuba and Terra-Firma, forms a belt, which is bounded by the country formerly occupied by the Caribs. It is somewhat surprising that none of the other European nations have adopted this denomination, which is so well calculated to distinguish a particular point of the globe, that is vaguely comprehended by them under the name of the North Sea.

## TIDES.

The tides along the north coast from Cape Vela to Cape Paria, are so imperceptible as never to enter into the consideration of the navigator; while, on the contrary, all along the

eastern coast, from this last mentioned cape, as far as Dutch Guiana, they are so strong as considerably to influence the sailing of vessels in these latitudes. This singularity can only be imputed to the bearings of the coast.

#### WINDS.

The winds are much more regular upon the coasts, than in the interior of the country, where their direction is impeded by the nature of the land and other circumstances. The wind which usually blows on these coasts is the same as that which prevails between the tropics from north-east to east, known under the name of the trade winds. There is, however, this difference, that at sea these winds are constant, whereas on the coast they only prevail from nine or ten o'clock in the morning until the evening, when they are superseded by the land breeze, which blows in the contrary direction.

All the ports in these seas are infested by a species of ship-worm, known by the name of *tarets*, and said to have been brought to the Antilles from Europe. A vessel not sheathed with copper, cannot remain long in any of the ports without being so much damaged by these worms as to be unfit to put to sea. Covering the ships frequently over with a mixture of tallow and tar, while they remain in port, is reckoned the best preservative against the depredations of these reptiles.

Another inconvenience common to all the ports in the provinces of Carraccas, is being constantly exposed to violent and opposite currents, which do not appear to be influenced by the winds, but which are neither less inconvenient nor dangerous on that account. The road and harbour of Porto Cavallo, are an exception to the above observation, and afford a safe and convenient asylum to ships of every description.

#### PORTS.

We now proceed to notice the principal ports in the same order we formerly considered the rivers.

#### PORTETE AND BAYAHONDA.

At the distance of five leagues to the east of Cape Vela, a harbour called Portete is situated, into which small vessels only can enter; but four leagues farther to windward there is another port termed Bayahouda, in which vessels of any burden may anchor and ride in perfect safety.

The anchorage ground in both these ports is extremely good, but the Spaniards derive not any advantage either from the one or the other, as they are both in possession of the native Indians.

The pearls which these Indians obtain in the road of Bayahonda constitute the only traffic which they carry on with the Dutch and English.

## MARACAYBO.

The first port we reach on pursuing the course of the coast as it trends towards the east, is that of Maracaybo.

A bar of sand, with only ten or twelve feet of water, which is constantly shifting, while it prevents the admission of large ships, renders even the entrance of small vessels very difficult. Immediately on clearing the bar, we obtain however a sufficient depth of water and a secure port.

## CORO

Is a port open from the north to the north-east. Here ships may anchor in any depth, as the water gradually becomes more shallow the nearer we approach the shore. This port, however, is little frequented, being neither a place of much trade, nor possessing any superior advantages in itself.

## PORTO-CAVALLO

Is not only one of the best harbours on all this coast, but perhaps in all America. It is so capacious that the whole Spanish marine might find shelter in it at the same time. It is completely protected from the fury of the winds from whatever quarter they may blow. The land by which it is surrounded on the south, the east, and on the west, is very elevated, and the two points, which form its entrance from the north, are so situated as to shelter it perfectly from the north-east wind.

The anchorage-ground, which owes nothing to art, is so extremely commodious, that ships of the greatest burden may approach close to the shore, so that loading and unloading may be performed without the assistance of boats or other small craft.

## TURIAMO, PATANEMO, BORBURATA, AND SIENEGA.

About three leagues to the windward of Porto-Cavallo is situated the bay of Turiamo, which extends nearly one league in length from north to south. Ships seldom frequent this bay, because it is not well sheltered on the north, and because the neighbouring country affords not any supply of provisions, nor commodities of any kind so as to induce them to enter it. What has been already said respecting Turiamo applies equally to the bays of Patanemo, Borburata, and Sienege. The whole population in each of these places, consists merely of a small military force, to prevent contraband trade.

## OCUMARE.

The bay of Ocumare, about five leagues east from Porto-Cavallo is very commodious, and well-sheltered, especially on the north. It affords excellent anchorage, and is protected towards the east by a battery of eight guns.

The village of Ocumare stands about three miles from the harbour, near which runs a river of the same name, which after contributing to fertilize the adjoining vallies, empties itself into the bay near the fort.

Between the bay of Ocumare and Goayre, are situated several small ports, the inhabitants of which carry on some trade with Goayre and Porto-Cavallo; but none of these ports are of sufficient importance to deserve particular notice.

## GOAYRE.

Of all the ports on this coast, that of Goayre is the most frequented, while it is at the same time the worst. This road is so exposed to the fury of the winds, that ships are often driven from their anchors, and greatly injured. Strong currents are also very prevalent, which, joined to the influence of the winds, greatly contribute to augment the inconveniencies of this port. The depth of water is no more than eight fathoms within a quarter of a league from the shore. The current here runs so strong, as not only to render lading and unlading tedious, difficult, and expensive, but even frequently impossible. These however are not the only inconveniencies that attend this port. The currents appear to act with less violence at the bottom than at the surface of the water in the road; the sand raised up and carried along by these currents, is deposited in such quantities on the ships anchors, that in the course of a single month it is impossible to raise them. In order to obviate this inconvenience, every ship is under the necessity of weighing her anchors every eight days.

It is unnecessary to add any thing farther respecting the road of Goayre, than that the ship-worm commits greater ravages here than at any other port on the coast.

## CARAVALLEDA.

After leaving Goayre, I determined to proceed without stopping till I reached the next port on the coast worthy of notice, when my steps were arrested by a spot to the east, on which formerly stood the city Caravalleda.

The cause of its desertion is too honourable to its first inhabitants to be passed over in silence.

This city was founded on the 8th of September, 1568, by Diego Losado, to whom the city of Carraccas likewise owed its existence. It was built on the same spot where Francois Faxardo had erected the city of Collado, in 1560, which the Indians forced him to evacuate two years after. Losado gave to Caravalleda a constitution similar to that of all the other cities he founded. Each enjoyed the right of electing annually its *alcades* in order to fill the office of *regidors*. The city of Caravalleda exercised this right without interruption, until 1586; at which period, Louis de Roxas, then governor of the province, ordered the inhabitants, by his own private authority, not to name the *alcades* for the following year. Representations were made on the part of the inhabitants without effect, but this did not prevent them at the usual period from proceeding to their election. Those whom the governor had nominated, presented themselves, but were rejected. This undue stretch of power had so emboldened the citizens, that they were determined to brave every persecution in opposing it. The governor, on his part, violently irritated by their opposition, had the temerity to arrest and throw into prison four *regidors*, who had conscientiously fulfilled the duties of their station.

The inhabitants of Caravalleda regarding this injury as committed on themselves, took the laudable resolution of wholly abandoning a city where the laws had been so grossly outraged, and accordingly retired to Valence and Carraccas.

The king condemning the conduct of the governor, ordered such punishment to be inflicted upon him, as might deter his successor from following so pernicious an example. The *regidors* were set at liberty, and received every possible satisfaction; yet when invited to return, the inhabitants replied, that they would never re-enter a place which must unceasingly remind them of the injury they had received.

It was from the impossibility of repeopling Caravalleda, that the port of Goayre became the emporium of this part of the country.

To your memory, wise and upright citizens, who displayed such firmness in the hour of trial, without committing any of those excesses that must have disgraced your cause, this tribute of respect is paid by one of your most sincere admirers! Your dignified retreat from a city profaned by injustice, afforded a salutary check to usurped authority. May this memorable event be for ever engraven on the hearts of all men, in order that it may be imitated by every oppressed people, and afford a lesson of moderation to governors, and those in possession of supreme power.

## PORT FRANÇOIS.

Between Goayre and cape Codera, which are separated by a space of twenty-five leagues, seventeen rivers flow into the sea at equal distances. Upon the banks of these rivers there are many plantations of cocoa, and a few of sugar-canes. Four leagues from cape Codera we meet with Port-François, which is a tolerable harbour for small shipping. It is from this port that they send off the productions raised in the neighbourhood.

## HIGUEROTE.

From cape Codera the coast extends towards the south-south-east. At the distance of three leagues is the small port of Higuerote, which is not more important than Port-François, since no trade whatever is carried on in it; the inhabitants embark here merely the articles raised in the immediate vicinity.

## BAY OR LAKE TACARIGUA.

At three leagues distance from Higuerote, we meet with a branch of the Tuy, named Paparo, and three leagues farther on discover the mouth of the Tuy itself, which is only a league and a half from the lake of Tacarigua; this lake must not be confounded with that of Valence, to which the Indians give the same name. It is in the form of a bay, and the only reason that can be assigned for receiving this appellation, is, that frequently all communication is cut off between it and the sea by a shifting bar of sand.

This lake or bay is of a circular form, and nearly seven leagues in extent from the sea to the north-east to its south-west extremity. It abounds in almost every species of sea fish interiorly, and is of a considerable depth.

For the space of twenty-eight leagues along the coast, towards the east, there are a great many rivers, which flow like torrents in the rainy season, but become dry, or nearly so, during the rest of the year.

## BARCELONA.

The next port is that of Barcelona, washed by the waters of the Neveri. On proceeding to the east of this river, we observe about four miles from its mouth, upon a little eminence, which bears the same name as the city, two small forts, intended to protect shipping at anchor in a shallow bay at a short distance. Vessels of a moderate size, from want of a sufficient depth of water, can alone enter this kind of port, which merely affords them a shelter from the wind; but a league farther to the north-

ward, in the southern part of the island of Borracha, which is inhabited by fishermen alone, is a harbour, where ships of the greatest burden may anchor in perfect safety.

From the morne of Barcelona the coast runs east-north-east to Cumana, which is situated from it at the distance of twelve leagues. This space is occupied by a chain of islets, at a little distance from the shore, but there are no bays or ports of much importance.

#### CUMANA

Is about one mile distant from the shore. The river Manzanares runs through it since the city has been extended on the western shore. But as this river has only a sufficient depth of water to admit shallops and other small craft, large vessels anchor on what the Spaniards call *Placer*, which signifies a bank of sand under water. This place, which affords safe anchorage to ships of every burden, lies west of the river, fronting a rivulet named *Bordones*, distant about a league from the mouth of the river, so that goods are obliged to be carried to and from the vessels in boats or canoes. This harbour possesses the advantage of being extremely well sheltered.

#### GULPH OF CARIACO.

This gulph lies at a short distance east from Cumana, and is formed by the Cumana coast, the promontory of Araya, and the Barrigon. Its extent from west to east is ten, and its breadth three, and in some points four leagues. Its depth in the middle of the gulph is from eighty to a hundred fathoms. Its waters are as tranquil as those of a lake, because it is completely sheltered by the surrounding mountains from all winds excepting the land breeze.

There are several good landing-places in this gulph, as Gurintar, Juanantar, &c.

#### POINT OF ARAYA.

The point of Araya, which stretches eastward from the opening of this lake, is extremely dangerous, not only because it is low, but on account of a sand-bank lying towards the north-east, which projects about two leagues into the sea almost on a level with the surface of the water. It is this point, however, we ought to observe, on arriving from Europe, in order to find readily the entrance to the port of Cumana. It is therefore necessary to steer from it north-west and south-east, until that we have doubled it. Then we may coast the shore at half a league distance.

## THE CANAL OF MARGUERITE.

Many small bays and harbours are situated between the point of Araya and that of Chacopata. In this space, towards the north, lie the isles of Coche, Cubagua, and Marguerite, and very many shallows, which render navigation extremely dangerous; on which account it is necessary to procure a pilot from the port of Pampatar.

## PORT OF CARIACO.

Leaving Chacopata on the west, the coast presents towards the east several ports, which serve no other purpose than to carry on a-contraband traffic. That of Cariaco is the only one into which ships of any burden can enter; but the want of territorial productions and a scanty population, render it almost useless.

## GULPH OF PARIA.

In pursuing our course towards the east, we arrive at this gulph, which the Spaniards term *Triste*, but which, in conformity with the French, I have named Paria.

The gulph of Paria has Terra-Firma on the west, and Trinidad on the east; from these, in a northerly direction, proceed two points, between which are three islands lying due east and west with these points, and bounding the gulph to the north, leaving however four openings, termed the Mouths of the Dragon, by which the superabundant water of the gulph finds an exit. The largest of these mouths is two leagues in breadth, and lies towards the west, between the point of Paria in Terra Firma, and the island of Chacachacares: on the western side it is full of rocks; but as they are all visible, the navigator may easily avoid them. This, however, is not the case with a rock which lies level with the water at two cables length distant from the island. Between this last island and that of Naïvois, there is another mouth, much less considerable than the first. The third is formed by the isle of Navois on the west, and that of Monos on the east. The fourth is between this island and the island of Trinidad, on the west-south-west, and is termed the mouth of *los Monos*, or of the Monkey; probably because it is the narrowest and most difficult to enter, by reason of a rock in the middle of it, which by its position occasions an almost continued bellowing noise; while the high land of Trinidad, by preventing the entrance of the wind, operates to maintain a calm, which is seldom interrupted by squalls of any duration.

The gulph of Paria is about twenty-five leagues from east to west, and fifteen from north to south; it affords throughout ex-

cellent anchorage, at different depths from eight to thirty fathoms. In fact this gulph is a real harbour, which, for capaciousness and safety, may vie with any other in the world. Its bottom is every where composed of mud, excepting near the shore, where there are a few sand-banks.

Some authors have asserted that the water of this gulph is perfectly fresh; but I affirm, on the contrary, that it is equally brackish as that of the sea. A considerable body of water runs into it with great rapidity, from the south-south-west, by the different mouths of the Oroonoko. Various reasons render it probable, that the waters of the Oroonoko have in the progress of ages detached the island of Trinidad from the main land, and that their ravages only ceased after they had opened a passage for themselves by the mouths of the Dragon into the ocean.

As the current uniformly runs through the mouths of the Dragon towards the sea, it is utterly impossible for vessels to enter the gulph, particularly by the small mouths, unless the wind proves extremely favourable. The entrance on the south, is equally difficult as on the northern side. To enter it with complete safety, it is necessary that the wind blow towards the south-east; that we keep to the south of the island of Trinidad, as far as the point of Hicacos, steering at the distance of two cables' length from it, in order to pass between it, and a high sand-bank situated in the middle of the canal, that forms the islet of Soldado, with the point of Hicacos above-mentioned. When we are at two thirds of a league towards the north, we may approach within a single league west of the island of Trinidad, until we come to anchor in Port d'Espagne.

Along the coast of Paria there are numerous ports and roads, which greatly facilitate the communication between Trinidad and the main land. This circumstance is at present solely in favour of the English, who possess that island.

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## CHAP. II.

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POPULATION OF CARRACCAS.—OBSTACLES OPPOSED TO THE EMIGRATION OF SPANIARDS, AS WELL AS FOREIGNERS TO SOUTH AMERICA.—ATTACHMENT OF THE CREOLES TO THEIR COUNTRY.—PUBLIC EDUCATION.—REFORMATION IN DRESS.—CUSTOM OF THE SIESTA.—MARRIAGES.—PARENTAL AUTHORITY.—FILIAL OBEDIENCE.—PARTICULAR MODES AND CUSTOMS.—LAW SUITS.—CAUTION OF THE SPANIARDS IN UNDERTAKING ANY ENTERPRISE.—CONSPIRACY AT VENEZUELA.—HONOURABLE CONDUCT OF CHARLES IV.—SLAVERY.—BARBAROUS CUSTOM OF EXPOSING NEW-BORN INFANTS.—NECESSITY OF AN HOSPITAL FOR THE RECEPTION OF FOUNDLINGS.

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### *Population.*

THE most accurate researches have not enabled me to procure an exact account of the population of the provinces dependent on the captain-generalship of Carraccas. The sum of all my information on this subject, is, that the province of Venezuela, including Darinus, contains a population

of	-	-	-	500,000
Maracaybo	-	-	-	100,000
Cumana	-	-	-	80,000
Spanish Guiana	-	-	-	34,000
The island of Marguerite	-	-	-	14,000

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Total - 728,000

The white inhabitants are considered as constituting two tenths of this population, the black three, the enfranchised slaves, or their descendants, four, and the Indians the remainder.

This population, upon a soil whose fertility might be increased an hundred fold, is unquestionably extremely small. It may perhaps appear surprising, that the number of Europeans who inhabit this country is so inconsiderable; but our surprise must cease, when we reflect on the scanty population by which it is supplied; upon the vast extent of the Spanish possessions, whose colonists are derived from the same source; on the natural predilection for mines, which attract to Mexico and Peru all the Spaniards whom ambition has induced to leave Europe; and, lastly, on the impediments which the Spanish government finds it necessary to throw in the way of Europeans wishing to emigrate to America, in order to prevent the depopulation of the mother country.

OBSTACLES TO THE EMIGRATION OF THE SPANIARDS  
TO SOUTH AMERICA.

No person is permitted to embark for Spanish America without an express order from the king, which is never granted unless on commercial business, and then only for a limited period. The liberty of settling permanently in that country is very difficult to obtain. Persons belonging to the sacerdotal and monastic classes are subjected to similar restrictions. Even the creoles who visit Spain are not permitted to return to their native country, without first obtaining permission from the court to that effect. This prohibition extends equally to females, who are under the necessity of obtaining a similar permission.

This system it is obvious is opposite to that of all other governments, which in general hold out every encouragement to free settlers in their colonies. Such settlements likewise afford a means of disposing of those members of the community who have committed crimes not punishable by death. The Spaniards, on the contrary, so far from transporting criminals of any kind to their foreign possessions, have not suffered any individual since 1584, to emigrate to the West Indies, unless they could produce unequivocal testimonies of good character. At no very distant period, it was even necessary before passing from one province of South America to another, first to obtain a new permission from the king; but this absurd regulation, although not formally abrogated, is now never insisted on.

The legislature has thought it incumbent on her, as an homage due to religion, to prohibit all those who have had the misfortune of being brought before the tribunal of the Inquisition, to emigrate to South America, in whatever manner they have been acquitted. But the obstacles thrown in the way of foreigners wishing to go out to Spanish America, are still greater. Till very lately it was necessary for every person desirous of obtaining passports, previously to produce documents of his Spanish descent; and unless this condition was complied with, every application to that effect was nugatory. At last, however, time, aided by the exigencies of the government, more than any real change of system, produced a regulation, whereby foreigners are permitted to visit the Spanish colonies on paying a tax imposed by the government.

## EMIGRATION FROM SPAIN TO TERRA FIRMA.

We might perhaps be led to conclude from the number of Europeans scattered over the territory of Caraccas, that a considerable emigration takes place from Spain. A slight examination must, however, convince us that this is not the case. If

we except the individuals sent out by government to fill official situations, scarcely a hundred persons emigrate annually from Spain, with a view of settling in the Carraccas. It is true indeed, that very few of those who do go out ever return to Europe. Of a grave and sedentary habit, a Spaniard seldom thinks of changing his situation; and when once settled in America, rarely manifests the least wish of returning to his native country. The Biscayans and Catalonians are the only Spaniards in whom the *amor patriæ* is not easily extinguishable.

#### ATTACHMENT OF THE CREOLES TO THEIR COUNTRY.

From the ardour displayed by Europeans to emigrate to America, the creoles conceive that their own country is superior to every other on the surface of the globe: hence they seldom express the smallest desire to visit old Spain; or even appear to regard it in the light of their mother country. It cannot therefore appear astonishing, that the population of this country, which has never either suffered by emigrations, wars, or pestilence, should have gradually augmented during the space of nearly three centuries. It would still however have been greater, had it supplied the churches with fewer priests, and the convents with fewer monks and nuns.

#### PUBLIC EDUCATION.

Manners are so intimately connected with the system of education, that they may for the most part be regarded merely as the effect of the impressions received in schools. Hence it is, when we are acquainted with the mode of instruction adopted by a people, we may form a tolerably correct notion of their manners. This view of the subject has induced me to give a short sketch of the education bestowed upon the creoles, before entering into the consideration of their moral character.

On this subject I have availed myself of the labours of Don Miguel Joseph Sanz, a creole of Valence in the province of Venezuela. This learned civilian, who is superior to the illiberal prejudices of his countrymen, was employed by the government to draw up a code of municipal laws for the government of Carraccas, in which the enlarged views of the author, and the wisdom of the measures he recommends, appear to me fully to justify their choice.

“As soon,” says this modern Lycurgus, in his Essay on Education, “as reason begins to dawn, the child is put to school, and set to read ridiculous tales, or devotional books, in which religion is reduced to certain external rites and observances, better calculated to render him a hypocrite, than a sincere and upright

citizen. Far from teaching him the moral obligations between man and man; or impressing upon his mind an exalted idea of the power, the justice, and the goodness of the Supreme Being, he is only instructed to repeat some prayers by heart, to count his beads, to carry a scapulary, and perform other external rites of christianity. Instead of teaching him his duty to God and his neighbour, he is left at full liberty to frequent the most improper company, and to pursue the most degrading and dangerous amusements. His mind is besides early inflated by the lessons of vanity and pride which he receives from his parents. There are few children in Carraccas who do not pride themselves on their descent, or foolishly boast of having an *alferez* for a grandfather, an alcaid for his uncle, a monk for a brother, or a priest for a relation.

“These faults, which naturally flow from their education, engender and nourish family feuds, and render the citizen haughty and deceitful. In place of inspiring the child with a just emulation of the virtues, or a proper detestation of the vices of his companions, he hears nothing from the mouths of his parents, but that Pierre is not so noble as Antoine; that the family of Jean has such or such a stain; and that when the family of Francois married, the family of Diego went into mourning. Such puerilities debase the mind, produce a powerful effect on public manners, create family divisions, render alliances difficult, generate distrust, and bursts asunder the bonds of charity, which is the foundation and cement of the social compact.

“The system of school education is in general extremely defective in Carraccas. The child is scarcely taught to pronounce the letters, to read without comprehending the import of the subject, and to write a wretched hand, until he is sent to the grammar school of Nebrija; without reflecting that, under such circumstances, nothing can be more ridiculous than to put him upon the study of the Latin tongue, or attempt to initiate him in a knowledge of the sciences taught at the university; because the youth must necessarily incur the greatest contempt, in such society, from his ignorance, though he may be decorated with the external insignia of a graduate. It is truly deplorable to see a student, who has attended several years the different schools of science, incapable of writing correctly, or explaining himself with precision in his mother tongue. Yet they will obstinately contend, that to render themselves familiar with their vernacular language, arithmetic, and the art of writing or speaking with ease and elegance, are vulgar accomplishments unworthy of attention.

“It is a general prejudice, that all science is comprehended in the Latin grammar of Nebrija, the philosophy of Aristotle, the

Institutes of Justinian, the *Curia Philippica*, and in the theology of Gonet or of Larraga; that it is sufficient to compose memoirs, to attend mass, to affix the badge of a graduate in the hat, or to wear the habit of a priest or a monk; that it would be derogatory to their dignity to engage in agricultural pursuits, or acquire a knowledge of the mechanical or useful arts. They wear the military uniform from mere ostentation; interlard their Spanish with barbarous French; become civilians in order to gain a livelihood; assume the sacred order to acquire respect and consideration; and pronounce vows of poverty in a monastery, with the express design of aggrandizing themselves.

“It is not uncommon to observe members of some distinguished families become military officers, who are wholly destitute of the knowledge necessary to perform the duties of their station; and there is scarce a white inhabitant, or even one of colour, who is not anxious to assume the character of a priest, a monk, or a civilian; even those who cannot attain such enviable distinctions, have the vanity to become at least notaries, writers, overseers of churches, or to enter as lay brothers, or pupils, into some religious community. Thus agriculture and the useful arts are despised; each individual longs to become a *gentleman*, and to riot in idleness, luxury, and dissipation of every kind. In this way law-suits multiply, the vicious are successful, the virtuous citizen is dispirited, and the whole body politic becomes corrupted.

“It is ignorance which gives stability to prejudices so inimical to the true interests of this people. If they were once taught, that the sacrifice most acceptable to the Deity, is to worship him in sincerity, and to promote the happiness of our fellow creatures, the sums which are daily lavished on useless rites and ceremonies, would be appropriated to the establishment of schools, and the maintenance of masters, capable of impressing on the mind of youth sound maxims of politics, morals, and genuine christianity. By this means would be trained up enlightened priests, upright magistrates, and virtuous citizens; who, so far from assuming the garb of religion to conceal their ignorance under the mask of hypocrisy, or employing their power in order to indulge their passions, or their riches with a view of oppressing the poor, would become the ornament of their country, and the promoters of public prosperity.

“In this country, we behold monasteries and religious societies of every description enriched with private donations, and priests and prebends enjoying immense revenues, to furnish which, every species of property is subjected to the most vexatious and enormous taxes, whilst no provision is made for those to whom the education of youth is entrusted. From this system of things

the clergy have so much multiplied, as to become a very grievous burden to the more active classes of the community".

This picture, sketched by the hand of an enlightened philanthropist, though intended to describe the state of education and morals in the city of Carraccas, is equally applicable to all the different provinces comprehended under that government.

Notwithstanding the defective mode of education pursued in these states, the creoles of Terra-Firma evince an active and ardent genius, and are more capable of application than those of the French colonies. They are certainly less polished and agreeable in their manners, because neither fencing, riding, music, nor drawing, or any other polite accomplishment, make a part of their education. But from the progress they make at school, by which they render themselves familiar with civil law, it is evident they are not defective in capacity, and only require, that their attention should be directed towards objects calculated to unfold their ideas, form their judgments, and enrich their minds. At present the education of the Spanish creoles partakes of the national prejudices, which regards all knowledge with contempt, that militates against their own pre-conceived theories and opinions. Some circumstances, however, appear to indicate, that the rising generation may be gradually led to adopt more enlarged views. In fact, many of the Spanish youths, aware of the insufficiency of their education, endeavour to supply what is defective, and with this view, peruse with avidity the works of foreign authors. Several of them attempt, by the aid of dictionaries, to translate and speak the French and English languages, particularly the former. They do not think, like their fathers, that geography is a superfluous science, or that history is an useless study. Commerce begins to be less despised than formerly, and although the mania in favour of rank and distinction continues as great as ever, it is natural to suppose, that it must yield in its turn to the progress of reason.

The Spanish costume is daily giving place to the French fashions. The sword, which was formerly a constant appendage to the dress of a Spaniard, is now only worn on days of ceremony. Round hats, cropt hair without powder, high pantaloons, and short waistcoats unbuttoned at the breast, form the dress of the Spanish youths, who, from their exalted rank or great riches, assume the privilege of leading the fashion. The greatest compliment you can pay a young man, is to say, he may be taken for a Frenchman; which, in his opinion, is to say, that he possesses taste, courage, and knowledge.

Not a single inhabitant in the Spanish dominions can dispense with a sleep of two, three, or four hours after his dinner, how-

ever frugal it may have been. The labouring classes of the community take care to arrange their time in such a manner as not to encroach on this indispensable indulgence, which appears rather to proceed from the nature of the climate, than from custom or example, since very few strangers fail to contract it in a very short time.

If a knowledge of the system of national education serves to throw some light upon the manners of a people, an acquaintance with their opinions respecting marriage, equally displays the state of public morals, whatever care self-love or prudence may take to disguise them.

Religion, public opinion, and national taste, all invite the Spaniard to marry early. Some privileges are besides annexed to this state: the slightest evidence is deemed sufficient to criminate a bachelor, whereas proofs of the strongest nature are scarcely admitted against a married man, unless his wife be the complainant. In the Spanish dominions females are reckoned marriageable at twelve, and males at fourteen; and nothing is more common in this country than to see a husband and wife, whose united ages do not exceed thirty. Congeniality of sentiment and disposition, is never considered in forming such connections; passion is mistaken for affection, and that important tie, which is to form the future happiness or misery of life, is entered into with as little reflection, as if it was only to remain binding for a single day. This precipitancy of entering into the marriage state, proceeds in a great measure from the Spanish laws, which in this respect give the parent too little authority over his child. It is true the Spanish law fixes the period of majority at twenty-five, and till that age the consent of parents is necessary to constitute a legal marriage; but this salutary regulation is frequently evaded and rendered nugatory: because a boy of fourteen and a girl of twelve years old, who long to be united in indissoluble bonds, demand, in the manner which the law prescribes, the consent of their parents. If the morals, education, or manners of either of the parties be deemed exceptionable, their parents have a right to refuse their consent. But this refusal, which in every other country would be sufficient to render any ulterior contract null and void, in Spain only opens a door to a vexatious and scandalous process between the child and his parents; and the law so far from aiding parental authority, forces them to furnish a marriage portion to their disobedient children, according to their circumstances, and to pay the expences of the process instituted to this effect. The only plea admitted in these courts, as sufficient to warrant a parent withholding his consent to the marriage of his child, is inferiority of birth. But if he fails to establish this point, neither the bad

conduct of the party, disparity of age, or inequality in point of fortune, will prevent the tribunal from ordering the immediate celebration of the marriage. In a country like Spain, where hereditary greatness is alone held in estimation, it is easy to perceive the ruinous consequences, and implacable hatred, which must necessarily flow from this unjust and impolitic law.

There is another, and a more simple mode, by which a child may elude parental restraint in any of the Spanish dominions, but which is nevertheless very seldom resorted to. It is sufficient to constitute a legal marriage, that the parties declare publicly in the presence of the cure of their parish, that they take each other for husband and wife. When this formality is complied with, neither the non-publication of banns, nor the opposition of parents, can prevent the celebration of the marriage. It is true the civil laws, in this respect, are in opposition to the canonical law, and proscribe such sort of contracts; but as they inflict no penalty upon the offending parties, and as parents can only seek redress by means of a tedious prosecution, they have little alternative but either to pardon, or finally throw off their offending offspring.

That domestic unhappiness so evident in this country is, we think, justly attributable to too early marriages. To the impetuosity and effervescence of passions, succeeds the calm of reflection; and a difference of character and disposition soon begins to manifest itself, which was never dreamt of by the young lovers, that frequently embitters every succeeding moment of their lives. They endeavour to support an appearance of cordiality, while their hearts are filled with mutual hatred; and fidelity becomes a farce, which they strive to get rid of as soon as possible. The children, who have continually under their eyes the infidelity of their father, and the intrigues of their mother from their most tender infancy, soon learn to despise every moral obligation; and thus vice becoming hereditary, is transmitted from generation to generation.

The blind protection afforded by the Spanish laws to females in opposition to their husbands, is another cause of unhappy marriages. No being can be more unfortunate than a Spanish husband, whose wife is jealous, dissolute, or peevish. If tormented by the first of these passions, she readily finds access to the civil and ecclesiastical authority, who in such cases evince a disposition implicitly to believe every thing, that a heated imagination can suggest against her husband. The most common complaints are, that the husband keeps a mistress, that he spends all his fortune in dissipation, while she and her family are allowed to want the common comforts of life, &c. No proof is required of these or similar assertions; she is believed

on her simple word. The husband, in such cases, according to the rank he holds in society, is either cited to appear, in order that he may receive a severe reprimand, or he is instantly, and without farther inquiry, thrown into prison, where he continues until his liberation is requested by his wife.

If a husband, on the contrary, complains of the bad conduct of his wife, she has only to bring forward an accusation which attacks his honour, and the poor husband is condemned to silence, and greater discretion; happy even if he is not subjected to the penalty, which ought to have been incurred by his wife.

A Spanish husband cannot undertake a journey without the consent of his wife, and without making a provision for her during his absence; if he does not return within the time limited in the permission he obtained, the judge, on the first application of the wife, orders his immediate return, were he even in Chili, or California, or whether his business be terminated or not: the wife has only to speak, the husband must obey. Military officers, and those employed in civil capacities, are forced to appropriate a portion of their pay, never less than two thirds, to the maintenance of their wives; and if this be not done voluntarily, the treasury has power to retain it on their behalf. Notwithstanding what has been said, it would be uncandid not to declare, that many Spanish families live in the greatest harmony, and afford an example of every domestic virtue to their children.

There is an habitual air of frankness and candour in the most trifling actions of this people, which, judging from appearances, would lead us to believe that in no country was filial obedience more respected. Every evening and morning, the Spanish children of every rank and condition, solicit and receive on their knees the parental benediction; and the same ceremony is repeated during the day, on the return of any part of the family after an occasional absence. The mode of address used by children towards their parents, is also marked with the greatest humility. They employ *su merced*, which is never used but by a slave to his master, or a free man to a white person of high rank. But such external homage proceeds less from sentiment than from fashion and habit, and may be justly ranked among those absurd ceremonies so numerous among the Spaniards.

Many ceremonies and customs, which for more than a century past have been ridiculed in most other countries, are still held by the Spaniards in the greatest veneration. Those who dare to violate them are regarded as vulgar and ill-educated, *poor hombre trato*.

The Spaniards, and indeed all those who speak the Spanish language, employ the third person of the verb in place of the

second. The *you* is never used but in the second person plural, and in sermons and public discourses. In conversation they speak of your favour, *vuestra merced*, which they pronounce syncope *usted*.

The *prebendaries*, heads of colleges, members of the audience, the fiscal auditor, and the military officers, from the colonel to the field-marshal, are addressed both in conversation and writing by the title of your Excellency, *vuestra sennoria*, which they pronounce *ousia*; the bishop has the title of *su sennoria ilustrissima*.

The term *sennor* is indiscriminately applied, except in their public acts, wherein it is restricted to those who have a legitimate right to this title. The *don* corresponds to the *de* formerly used in France; with this difference, that the Spaniards do not prostitute it so much as it was done by that nation at no very distant period: at present it is given to every white who is not a mendicant.

Either a stranger, or a native who has been long absent, expects to be first visited, except by his superiors; who even frequently condescend to pay him such a compliment. This ceremony may either be performed personally, by letter, or by a simple message. A neglect of this attention often creates a coldness between the parties, which can only be effaced by a public apology.

The laws of civility are supposed to be violated by an individual leaving his residence without intimating his departure to his friends and neighbours, by a circular letter, which is answered by a personal visit, unless the families have been not only strangers but enemies.

Visits are also paid by their friends and acquaintances to every new married couple, and the same ceremony on the birth of each child, or after the recovery of any of the members of a family from a fit of sickness.

All the Spaniards receive their friends on the anniversary of their patron saint; and a neglect to comply with this custom would be considered as a heinous offence against the laws of good breeding. On entering a house, a Spaniard generally makes a noise in order to warn the family of his approach, and waits for permission to enter. If any one was perceived silently to enter the dwelling of another, it would be supposed he either meant to surprise them when off their guard, or to listen unperceived to their discourse.

The Spanish ladies always receive company seated on a sofa; and this custom is never deviated from whatever may be the rank, age, sex or intimacy of the visitor. When they intend going abroad, they send in the morning a *recado*, or message, intimating this intention; and these visits are always paid between

five and eight o'clock in the evening. Husbands very seldom accompany their wives on such occasions; they go without any retinue, merely followed by two or three servants, in a black petticoat and a white veil.

If you praise the sword, the cane, the watch, or even the house, wife, or children of a Spaniard, he replies with the most ridiculous grimace, "they are at your disposal!"

The dress on days of ceremony, is a coat and breeches of taffety satin, or velvet; the Spaniards never wear cloth except they be in mourning, or when it is richly embroidered. The waistcoat is either of gold or silver stuff, or at least covered with embroidery; they wear a cocked hat: but their dress after all would be deemed incomplete without the accompaniment of a gold or silver-hilted sword.

Several acts of the government are regulated by the same ridiculous attention to etiquette, or to speak more correctly, are purely ceremonial. The most prominent of these are, the anniversary of the patron saint of the king, queen, and of the prince of Asturias; they term such ceremonies *dias de besamenos*, days of kissing hands. Like all the other Spanish festivals, they are strictly religious. The military officers repair to the house of the governor and captain-general, from whence they proceed to church, preceded by the captain-general, as president of the audience, with the regent and oidors. After assisting at a solemn *Te Deum*, during which a battalion of troops of the line fire three discharges, the procession returns in the same order to the government-house, where all the civil and religious functionaries attend to pay their compliments to the captain-general, as representative of the king. Some difficulty having arisen respecting the propriety of the bishop submitting to this ceremony, it was referred to the king, who determined it in the affirmative; but in order to soften the mortification of this determination, it was at the same time ordered, that the moment the prelate had fulfilled this duty, the captain-general and suite should proceed in their turn to wait on him as head of the church.

The extreme respect paid by the Spaniards to so many idle and unmeaning ceremonies render them extremely vindictive and irritable, while apparently they possess the greatest equanimity and calmness of temper. An indiscreet expression, or equivocal word respecting the family antiquity, or the nature of his titles, throws the Spaniard into the greatest rage, and fills his mind with an ardent thirst of vengeance. He will more easily pardon a jest upon himself than on his ancestors. Duelling, which is condemned by reason, and proscribed by the laws of every well-regulated state, is nevertheless sanctioned every where by public opinion and the laws of honour, except in the Spanish empire;

where a duel is never deemed sufficient to wash away an affront, nor even lead to frank and sincere reconciliation. When a Spaniard conceives hatred against any one, it only ends with his life, and is not unfrequently handed down for several succeeding generations, according to the nature of the offence. But their vengeance never occasions the effusion of blood; it produces law-suits, perverts justice, and ruins the character and circumstances of the party with whom they are at variance. Few Spanish families of any distinction, but are involved in several processes, which proceed solely from wounded pride or self-love.

The Spanish Americans are more frequently engaged in processes before the different tribunals, for some contested point respecting prerogative, than on account of mercantile and pecuniary concerns. They are passionately attached to *fight with the pen*, and this disposition, which frequently terminates in the ruin of both parties, administers to the subsistence and rapacity of a set of lawyers, whose reputation augments in proportion to their talents at fomenting discord.

Speaking with that frankness and impartiality which preside over my thoughts, and guide my pen, I am free to say, that in no other country in the world are there so many processes as in Spanish America; and particularly in the island of Cuba. Is it possible to believe that in the city of the Havannah alone, there were in 1792, sixty-two lawyers, independent of those who were scattered through the other cities and villages of the island, amounting to thirty-four, making with the sixty-two in the capital, a total of one hundred and six? The attorneys and notaries abound in the same proportion. The population of the island at this period amounted only to two hundred and fifty-four thousand eight hundred and twenty-one persons, including slaves; and the territorial exports did not reach five millions of piastres.

Some of the most respectable and most enlightened inhabitants, estimate the sums annually expended in carrying on prosecutions before the court of audience in Carraccas, at one million five hundred thousand piastres; and I have conversed with none who reduce it below one million two hundred thousand. If the number of such prosecutions, and the expence attending a decision, could be reduced to one third, how greatly would commerce, agriculture, and public morals, profit by such a reformation.

The Spanish creoles, or Europeans established in America, are not apparently of a character to delight in litigation. Instead of being petulant, active, or enterprising, they are gentle, honest, affable, and polite to excess. They do not indicate much boldness of character, and still less audacity. All their undertakings partake of a certain degree of timidity, which they call prudence. They never enter on extensive speculations; hence if they do not

accumulate rapid and overgrown fortunes, they are seldom completely ruined.

Notwithstanding that the extreme caution and solemnity of the Spanish character appears extremely favourable to the stability of the government, and affords to the mother country an almost certain pledge that her sovereignty in South America, will be of long duration; yet in 1797 a very dangerous revolution had been nearly effected in the province of Venezuela. It is true that many circumstances, which cannot again happen, concurred to give to this conspiracy a serious character.

The example of the French revolution, acting on the imagination of a few sanguine minds, induced them to attempt a similar change in the government of Terra Firma; and the political state of Europe at that period appeared extremely favourable to the execution of their design. Spain, exhausted by her struggle with France, and still more so by a new war with England, did not appear to be in a situation to afford much opposition to such a project. Besides, could she even have spared a sufficient number of troops for this purpose, what probability was there of landing them in safety on the shores of South America, while the ocean continued covered with the fleets of the English? and would not that nation, from a barbarous, but too frequent policy, do every thing in her power to assist and forward the designs of the insurgents?

Another and more immediate cause concurred to inspire the factious with the hope of effecting a successful revolution in the Carraccas. Discontents had been for several months gaining ground among the inhabitants, occasioned by a measure of police that was extremely oppressive in its operation. Already had the government been assailed by the clamours of the discontented, which might have proved of serious consequence, but for the decisive conduct of the Captain-General Carbonnell, who, in opposition to the Audience, did every thing in his power to redress the grievances of the inhabitants, being convinced of the justness of their complaints. This chief, by the firmness and moderation of his measures, had the satisfaction of beholding order restored, and of quieting the general alarm, though it is probable much dissatisfaction still remained.

Such was the state of the public mind, when three state prisoners were sent from Old Spain, who had been condemned on account of revolutionary practices, to be confined for life in the fortress of Goayre. They declared themselves to be the martyrs of liberty, and victims of despotism. Gifted with the power of persuasion, they interested the guards in their favour, and received every indulgence it was in the power of the officers or soldiers to bestow. They were permitted to walk within the

fortress for the benefit of the air, and suffered freely to converse with any one who approached them. Profiting by this indulgence, they formed the project of realizing their revolutionary maxims in the province of Venezuela; and cautiously unfolded their intentions to a few individuals whose principles accorded with their own. After some time spent in sounding the dispositions, and in endeavouring to make converts among men of all ranks and conditions, they began to perceive the impossibility of setting in motion the cold and apathic inhabitants of Venezuela, and therefore turned their attention to the best means of securing their own freedom. Under the pretence of collecting their adherents scattered through the provinces, and of proceeding to the English islands, in order to secure their co-operation in their measures, they not only obtained their liberty, but were furnished with the means of secretly leaving the country: it is scarcely necessary for me to add, that they have never reappeared.

On the 13th July, 1797, the secret so carefully guarded for several months, was discovered, and the whole transaction made known to the government.

As the focus of the conspiracy existed at Goayre, an order was immediately sent thither to imprison all those concerned in it; and a similar precaution was taken at Carraccas. These measures produced the desired effect. The principal conspirators fled: the one, an officer of the line, retired from service; and the other, corregidor of the village of Macuto, near Goayre. Others of them took advantage of the pardon held out by the Audience, and named their accomplices, in proof of their repentance. I add, with regret, that in this respect the promises of the government were not altogether fulfilled.

I proceed to record with satisfaction a trait of clemency which does honour to the reign of Charles IV. Scarcely had that monarch been apprized of the event in question, than he transmitted a secret order to the Audience of Carraccas, enjoining them to spare the effusion of human blood, and to enter into a compromise with men who appeared rather to have been seduced through ignorance, than to have acted from any preconcerted design. This order threw the Audience into a state of great perplexity, and forced them to abandon a system of rigour they had commenced. They spared several victims; it was the intention of the King that all should have been spared. The opinion that a general amnesty had been granted, induced one of the chiefs to leave the asylum he had found in the English colonies, and return at the expiration of two years, to his family at Goayre. But no sooner was the return of the corregidor of Macuto made known to the new captain-general Don Manuel de Guevara Vasconzelos,

than he caused him to be arrested, and thrown into the prison of Carraccas. He was executed on the eighth of May, 1799. Seventy-two individuals were implicated in this conspiracy; seven of whom were ordered to be executed; thirty-three were condemned to the galleys, or to temporary imprisonment from two to eight years; and the remaining thirty-two were sent to Spain to be disposed of by the king, who pardoned them in 1802, on condition of their not returning to Venezuela, promising at the same time that they should be employed in Spain in the same rank and station in which they had served in America. Twenty-five of those engaged in this plot were Europeans, and forty-nine creoles.

After the conquest of America, the court of Spain hesitated between the alternative of establishing slavery in their new possessions, or relinquishing the great benefits which would arise from the cultivation of the fertile soil of the new world; when Barthelemy de las Casas, a priest, and afterwards bishop of Chiapa, presented himself in 1517 before Charles V. in order to plead the cause of the natives. From the general principle of the natural liberty of man, he drew the strange conclusion, that the slavery of the Indians was a crime, whilst that of the Africans was dictated by necessity. He entreated with all the enthusiasm of philanthropy, for the liberty of the former, while with the most cold-blooded tyranny he pleaded for the necessity of enslaving the latter. From his representations the government was induced to purchase four thousand of those unfortunate beings, whom they landed on the islands of Saint Domingo, Cuba, Jamaica, and Porto-Rico. Thus negro slavery was first established in America; and every European state that has successively obtained possessions in that quarter of the globe, has been led to the adoption of the same cruel policy.

The Spaniards could not conceal from themselves, that to traffic in human beings was repugnant to every principle of their religion; but by a subtle compromise with their consciences, they persuaded themselves there could be no crime in purchasing the Africans when brought upon their shores. The government, therefore, in conformity to this idea, have at different periods entered into a treaty with foreign merchants, to introduce a certain number of blacks into different districts of their South American possessions. The planters were besides permitted to purchase an additional number of slaves from any of the neighbouring colonies, until the revolution in Saint Domingo rendered such a practice extremely dangerous; since it was not improbable, ideas of insubordination might be imported by means of such negroes.

The number of slaves employed in the captain-generalship of

Carraccas, in cultivating the land, and as domestics, amounts to two hundred and eighty thousand four hundred. It is generally believed that they are treated with greater humanity in the Spanish possessions than in those of any other power; but although this may be true in some respects, it is not so universally. Each country adopts a particular system for the government of their slaves, which necessarily partakes of the manners and character of the nation whence it emanates.

The English treat them with a harshness, which affords a singular contrast with the principles of humanity they affect on all other occasions. The French, without holding much intercourse with their slaves, only require that they shall work a certain number of hours, but never demand any account of their actions during the intervals appropriated to relaxation or repose. They are only punished for flight, drunkenness, and laziness. Extensive hospitals, and the best medical attendance are provided for the sick; and labour is duly apportioned to the strength of each individual. They are furnished with proper clothing and habitations suitable to the climate; and the tribunals are vigilant in restraining any abuse of authority on the part of the master.

The Spaniards are much more familiar with their negroes than either the English or French, but there is a mixture of self-love mingled with this condescension. They wish them to learn more prayers, and to be better versed in the catechism, than is commonly the case with other christians. The master becomes the inquisitor of his slaves; he forces them to comply with all the rites enjoined by the established religion of his country, and guards them as much as possible from all licentious intercourse with their fellow slaves. In the country, as well as in the city, they lock up every night the young female negroes, from the age of sixteen until they are married. They watch their steps, and lose sight of them as seldom as possible. But this vigilance does not answer the purposed end, since as great, if not greater, licentiousness prevails among the Spanish slaves, than among those belonging to any other state.

The Spanish negroes receive from their master only a supply of prayers, since they are very scantily provided with food and clothes; and the law is silent on this subject. The consequence of which is, that except from a few proprietors, whose hearts are not altogether steeled against the feelings of humanity, they receive no other provisions than what they cultivate on spots of ground allotted to them for that purpose, whether the harvest be productive or not, and they are suffered to go about literally covered with rags.

The domestic negroes are little better attended to in these respects than the field negroes: the allowance they receive for the

whole day is scarcely sufficient to furnish a comfortable breakfast; intrigue, rapine, and libertinism supply the rest. They receive no clothes but those which are termed *de livrée*, because they are only worn when they go abroad in the train of their master: at other times they remain naked, or covered with rags undeserving the name of garments. In sickness they are wholly abandoned to nature; no proper habitations are provided for their reception, nor have they any medical assistance whatever.

A royal edict was sent out, dated 31st May, 1789, which had for its object the amelioration of the condition of the slaves in respect to abuses above-mentioned, as well as several others; but this edict has not hitherto been carried into execution.

In all our modern colonies, cultivated by slaves, no provision is made for their enfranchisement; it always proceeds from the generosity of the master, or is more frequently the wages of prostitution. But the greatest number of governments, far from favouring such acts, render them extremely difficult to be performed, from the forms necessary to be gone through, and the taxes imposed on such transactions. In fact, in a population of seven hundred and twenty-eight thousand persons, who constitute the captain-generalship of Carraccas, it is estimated that there are two hundred and eighty-one thousand two hundred enfranchised slaves, or individuals born of parents who had received their freedom, and who are known under the generic appellation of *men of colour*.

The first regulations respecting men of colour placed them on an equal footing with the whites; but by an edict of the king, dated 7th of June, 1621, and two succeeding ones, their privileges were considerably curtailed. They were declared incapable of holding any public employment, or serving in the army. They were also subject to a capitation tax; and the dress of the females was regulated by sumptuary laws, which prohibited them from wearing gold, jewels, and certain other ornaments; but this law has not, for the last few years, been strictly executed.

In very few instances the king has been induced to grant his special protection to some families of colour, who thereby attained all the rights of the other Spanish inhabitants. A case of this kind occurred during my stay at Carraccas; on which occasion the females of the family, released from all restraint, displayed an ostentation and luxury, which rendered them truly contemptible in the eyes of common sense.

Alliances between whites and people of colour, though not prohibited by law, is nevertheless more rare in the Spanish possessions than elsewhere; and the first families are extremely careful not to admit such a mixture into their blood.

in the Spanish possessions; and while we behold, in the city, and provinces of Carraccas, churches richly endowed, and every species of religious societies overgrown with wealth, not a single hospital has been erected for the reception and education of those deserted beings.

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### CHAP. III.

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GOVERNMENTS AND POPULATION OF AMERICA BEFORE ITS CONQUEST BY THE EUROPEANS.—PHYSICAL AND MORAL CONSTITUTION OF THE INDIANS.—PROPENSITY TO WAR.—RELIGION.—WORSHIP PAID TO THE TOAD, AND TO VARIOUS IDOLS.—OPINIONS RESPECTING THE SOUL AFTER DEATH.—FUNERALS OF THE INDIANS.—LAZY AND SLUGGISH LIFE LED BY THE INDIANS, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE OTOMAUQUES.—TORTOISE FISHERY. MARRIAGES.—MISERABLE CONDITION OF THE OROONOKO FEMALES.—POLYGAMY.—DIVORCE.—ADULTERY.—EXCHANGE OF WIVES.—EDUCATION OF CHILDREN.—HATRED OF SONS AGAINST THEIR PARENTS.—DRESS.—THE GUARAUNOS AND GUAJIROS, INDIANS NOT YET CONQUERED.—THEIR CONNECTION WITH RIO-DE-LA-HACHE AND WITH THE ENGLISH.—INTEREST WHICH THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT HAS IN OVERCOMING THOSE TRIBES.—CIVILIZED INDIANS.—EXTREME MILDNESS OF THE LAWS IN THEIR FAVOUR.—PRIVILEGES GRANTED TO THEM.—LOADED WITH FAVOURS BY THE CHURCH.—MELANCHOLY RESULTS.—DIFFICULTY OF CONVERTING THEM INTO CITIZENS, AND THE STILL GREATER DIFFICULTY OF MAKING THEM CHRISTIANS.—PROPER TREATMENT OF THE INDIANS.—NEW REGULATIONS FOR THIS PURPOSE.—RESULT OF THESE REGULATIONS.

**W**ITHOUT entering into the question, how or whence America was first peopled, I shall confine myself to a description of the state of Terra-Firma, on the arrival of the Europeans, compared with what is at the present day.

#### POPULATION.

In general America was very thinly peopled; the state in which agriculture and the arts were found by the Europeans, afford a confirmation of this fact. The inhabitants subsisted

merely by hunting and fishing, and had not even attained to a knowledge of pastoral life. Mexico and Peru were the only countries where the principles of civilization had begun to unfold themselves. Monarchs who possessed unlimited power over their subjects, were in these states at the head of governments, which seemed to have originated from the necessity of union, in order to repel numerous and warlike hordes. Bogota, the present Santa-Fe, formed the third American government; but which was more recent than the two former, and much more imperfect. All the rest of America was occupied by particular tribes of Indians, although often the number of members did not amount to a thousand, and seldom exceeded six thousand. Such was the state of the New World when the Europeans imported into it their virtues and vices, their talents and ferocity, their knowledge and their prejudices.

All the coast, from cape Vela to the river Esequibo and the river Oroonoko, was thinly peopled with Indians. The plains were nearly uninhabited; because nature had been there less bountiful than elsewhere, and because as these plains are covered with rain-water during the greatest part of the year, they presented to the Indians no advantages to compensate for this inconvenience.

Each tribe possessed a circumscribed territory, and obeyed, in case of war, a chief called *cacique*, *quebi*, or *guajiros*, according to the idiom of the nation. So tenacious was each cacique of the limits of his possession, that the smallest encroachment gave occasion to the most bloody and sanguinary wars. Nothing can better prove the little intercourse between these tribes or nations, than the great diversity of their languages, and the multiplicity of dialects spoken by them.

All the Spanish authors who have written concerning the Indians, as well as those missionaries who have been engaged in their conversion, have discovered in their language analogous to the scantiness of their ideas.

M. Condamine, whose judgment must always carry weight, has made the same remark; and notwithstanding my wish to find them mistaken, I have been at last compelled to acquiesce in the justness of their observations. It is indeed natural to suppose, that a silent people, without external relations, destitute of any religious system, unacquainted with the refinements and delicacy of love, unambitious of riches, and wholly ignorant of agriculture and commerce; it is natural, I repeat, that such a people should possess only a very limited vocabulary, and that we should uselessly endeavour to find in their language words

The exposing illegitimate children is a very frequent practice

expressive of abstract ideas, as *existence, fatality, mind, conception*, &c. &c. I have heard the language of the Incas, which is still spoken in Santa-Fé, highly extolled for its richness; in proof of which, it is maintained that it is much better calculated to express the passion of love, than the Spanish tongue. But admitting this assertion to be a fact, the copiousness of the language of the Incas, does not flow from it as a legitimate consequence. The dialect of the creoles, which is spoken in the French colonies, is preferred in the intercourse of love to the French language: but surely we cannot hence affirm that it is more rich or abundant; on the contrary, I should suppose that it is owing to its simplicity, and the infantile modulations of which it is susceptible, that it finds its way to the heart, and lays it open to seduction under the veil of innocence.

Very few physical or moral distinctions of character are discoverable among the different Indian tribes. The structure of body common to the whole of them, is a straight forehead, eyes of a middle size, long and soft black hair, pointed nose, a wide mouth, large visage, and the head very big; they are in general of a copper colour, which varies according to the temperature of the province they inhabit; their ordinary height is from four and a half to five feet, but a few tribes are from five and a half to six feet. They have little or no beard, and few hairs on those parts of the body usually covered with them; but it is not true, as some writers have affirmed, that they are wholly *beardless*. Their members are large and muscular, which would seem to indicate that they are extremely robust: this appearance is, however, deceitful, as they are wholly incapable of any labour which requires much strength or exertion.

Laziness, taciturnity, a paucity of ideas, and a strong propensity to falsehood and deceit, may be ranked among the characteristic traits of the South American Indians. It has been justly observed, that those who lived in the interior of the country, are less cruel than the inhabitants of the coast. Among the latter were found many anthropophagi, but not one among the former.

There appeared to be among these tribes no other mode of terminating any differences that might arise, but by an appeal to arms. Vindictive and ferocious, their contests were carried on with a rage more resembling the fury of a wild animal, than the valour of an honourable warrior. Deceit and treachery were ranked by them among the first of military virtues. Poisoned arrows were in general use; they murdered the prisoners taken in battle, and not unfrequently afterwards devoured them. From the poverty of the different tribes, the love of plunder never animated them to the attack; their object in going to war was to devastate

rather than conquer, to destroy rather than possess. But notwithstanding their thirst for blood, two Indian armies were never observed to meet on the open plains. In Terra-Firma, the Caribs, who inhabited the banks of the Oroonoko, alone openly attacked their enemies; hence they enjoyed a reputation, which made them the terror of all the surrounding tribes. They owed to their courage the peaceable possession of a vast track of country, on which no other nation durst attempt an establishment.

All the Indian tribes believe in the immortality of the soul of man, as well as of brute animals; but this is the only point in which they appear to be agreed, since their ideas respecting the destination of the soul after death, varies according to the opinions held by the chiefs or pontiffs of each nation.

It is somewhat remarkable, that the Indians of Terra-Firma admit only of an *evil spirit*; while all other barbarous nations with which we are yet acquainted, believe in a *good and an evil principle*. This singularity is attributable to the extreme cowardice of their characters. In the countries which now compose the provinces of Venezuela, Maracaybo, and Cumana, religion was united to the healing art. The same individuals exercised the functions of priest and physician, but their education was chiefly directed with a reference to this last profession. They were known under the name of *Piaches*. After having been taught the elements of medicine and magic, which were regarded as inseparable, they submitted to a seclusion of two years in caverns, situated in the deepest recesses of the forests. During this period they eat no animal food; they saw no person, not even their parents. The old *Piaches* or doctors, went and instructed them during the night. When they were supposed to have acquired sufficient knowledge, they obtained the title of *Piaches*, in virtue of which they acquired the right to cure diseases, to invoke evil spirits, and to predict future events.

The practice of these professors of the healing art, consisted in licking and sucking the affected part; in order, according to them, to eliminate the peccant humour. When the fever or pain increased, suction of the joints, as well as friction over all the body with the hand, was employed. During the performance of this operation, some unintelligible words were pronounced, with a loud voice, commanding the evil spirits to depart out of the patient's body. If the malady did not readily yield, the *Piache* or physician had recourse to a particular kind of wood, known to himself alone, with which he rubbed the breast, throat, and mouth of the patient; a practice which seldom failed to produce sickness and vomiting. In the mean time, the *Piache* on his side uttered dreadful exclamations, howled, shook, and made a thousand contortions with his body. If the sick person recovered,

every thing contained in the house was given to the *Piache*; if he died, the fault was imputed to destiny, never to the physician.

The *Piaches* were supposed to be gifted with the power of prophecy. They foretold whether there would be war or peace; whether the crops would prove scanty or abundant; and, in short, if Lopez de Gomara may be credited, no people were more grossly ignorant. From what has been said, we may readily suppose, that the *Piaches* were every where much respected, and feared by the inhabitants. Their influence over the minds of the people was absolute, but they very seldom exerted it.

According to the creed of all the civilized Indians, and even of some of the Spaniards themselves, diseases proceeded from witchcraft. They even sometimes accused the *Piaches* of this practice; but they never reproached them on that account, because, according to them, they only could counteract or destroy it.

It was an universal opinion among all the Indians of Terra-Firma, that the soul, when emancipated from the body, could not exist without food. They mourned much at the funerals of their friends, and chanted the exploits of the deceased. They sometimes interred their dead, but more frequently converted the body into a kind of mummy by means of heat, and afterwards hung it up in their habitations. When they adopted the former mode, they uniformly buried provisions along with it. If the deceased belonged to a superior class, his friends regularly assembled, and celebrated his anniversary. These ceremonies, or rather orgies, were performed during the night. They disinterred the body, if it had been buried; and spent the whole night in dancing, drinking, and howling.

Such was the stupid character of the Indians of Terra-Firma, that it never entered into their minds to enquire into the cause of the wonderful harmony of nature. Insensible to her benefits, they never offered her any homage; she never excited in their minds either admiration or gratitude. They resembled man in nothing but the mere figure; their organization indicated the most wretched degradation.

The Indians of the Oroonoko, who were not much less ignorant or stupid, believed, however, in an author of all things, to whom they addressed their prayers and adoration. Some tribes, father Caulin tells us, considered the sun as the supreme being and the first cause; it was to him that they attributed the productions of the earth, scanty or copious rains, and all other temporal blessings: others, on the contrary, believed that every thing depended on the influence of the moon, and conceived, when she suffered an eclipse, that she was angry with them. When such a phenomenon occurred, these Indians practised the most ridicu-

lous ceremonies, in order to prevent the chastisements with which they believed themselves to be threatened on account of their indolence and ingratitude. They played on warlike instruments, or took arms in their hands to evince their valour, felled wood, or undertook other laborious exercises, to prove that they could not be charged with effeminacy, and punished without injustice. The women left their huts, threw maize and other grains into the air, sending forth, at the same time, the most dolorous cries, promising to amend what was amiss in their conduct, and to be more laborious for the future. No sooner, however, was the eclipse over, than they congratulated each other on having averted the moon's wrath by specious promises; they afterwards gave themselves up to dancing, which terminated, like all their other festivals, in drinking, and other acts of brutality. The Indians who have not yet been subjugated, still preserve all these customs; and even several of the civilized tribes still retain a few of them.

Some other tribes of Indians, who likewise dwelt upon the banks of the river Oroonoko, paid to toads the honours due to the divinity. Far from injuring these animals, they carefully kept them under pots, in order to obtain rain or fine weather; and so fully persuaded were they of their power in this respect, that they scourged them as often as their petitions were not answered.

The only religious rite performed by some other of these tribes, was that of dancing, to the sound of very noisy instruments, before two small idols, to which they paid reverence by chanting extemporaneous couplets.

All the Indians appear to agree, as we have already observed, respecting the immortality of the soul, but they do not concur as to what becomes of it after death. Some are of opinion that the soul takes up its abode in the same fields which the individual, to whom it belonged, cultivated during life. Others suppose that it retires to certain lakes, and is swallowed by monstrous serpents, which transport it to a paradise, where its time is occupied in constant dancing and drinking.

When an Indian slays a wild beast, he opens its mouth, and pours down its throat some intoxicating liquor, in order that its soul may inform others of a similar species of the kind reception it received, and that they may be encouraged to come and share the same favour.

Drinking and indolence constitute the supreme felicity of the Indians. The most inebriating liquors are considered as preferable to all others. Their women formerly prepared a species of vinous liquor from fruits, such as ananas, &c. which possessed very intoxicating qualities; it was called *chiche*: but since the introduction of tafia and other similar liquors, it is seldom prepared. The Indians spend all their time in drinking and sleep-

ing: they never leave their hammocks unless when imperious necessity forces them to go a hunting or fishing; on which occasions they take their measures so well, that by a single day's exertion, they generally secure subsistence and repose for a whole week.

The Otomaques, who occupy the upper parts of the Oroonoko, constitute an exception to this rule; possessing greater intelligence and activity than the other Indians, they spent almost their whole time, before the entrance of the missionaries among them, in constant action and sport, except those moments which were dedicated to sleep and lamentations over the dead.

On the rising of the sun, all of them who were capable of labour, repaired to their respective chiefs, who assigned to each his task for the day. In seed-time and harvest, a certain number of individuals also applied themselves to the labours of the field, the products of which were lodged in public granaries, and shared out by the chiefs.

Next to the Otomaques, the Guaraunos, who inhabit the islands at the mouth of the Oroonoko, are supplied most abundantly with food. They seldom feel the effects of scarcity, as from their situation they can generally take as much fish as is necessary to satisfy their wants. They cultivate besides a species of palm termed *murichi*, which supplies them with bread, and from which they make a kind of wine; but in general the subsistence of the Indians is both precarious and scanty. They are not always successful in their hunting and fishing excursions; neither can they at all seasons procure vegetables in a sufficient quantity; when in addition to these circumstances we consider the improvident character of the Indians, it must be obvious that they would be frequently under the necessity of prolonging their sleep, in consequence of having nothing to satisfy their hunger, if they did not find a resource in the turtle with which their shores abound.

Annually, on the decrease of the waters of the Oroonoko, which occurs during February, incredible numbers of turtle repair to the banks of that river to deposit their eggs in the sand, and remain till they are sufficiently grown to procure subsistence for themselves. At this period, all the Indian tribes, who live near the borders of the Oroonoko, resort with their families to the shores of that river, to lay in a supply of turtle, which, after drying by means of heat, they store up for future use. They also preserve the eggs, except those from which they extract an oil, that is no ways inferior to the best olive oil.

With these articles, independent of home consumption, they carry on a considerable traffic with the Indians living at a distance from the Oroonoko.

Marriage is established among all the Indian tribes throughout America. This institution, coeval perhaps with the world itself, is not considered by them as a religious rite; on the contrary, its sanctity is profaned by the universal practice of polygamy. But though there be no code prohibiting alliances between near relations, incestuous unions are never sanctioned by the form of marriage.

Fathers possess no controul over the inclinations of their male children; but they exercise the most unlimited sway over those of the females of their family. They must implicitly submit to give their hand to the man, or rather to the tyrant, of their parent's choice. Instead of giving a portion with his daughter, the father receives one from his new son-in-law, who pays it under the form of labour, in game, fish, or other articles. Dancing and drunkenness constitute the whole ceremony of marriage.

The relations on both sides are invited on such occasions; the men bring along with them materials proper to build a hut for the young pair, and the females present them with fish, fruit, bread, and drink; the former chant couplets to the bridegroom, and the latter to the bride. As soon as it becomes dark, the young wife is presented to her husband, which concludes the ceremony. In order to render a female worthy of the hand of a chief, it is necessary she should be descended from a family distinguished by military exploits, or should have had one ancestor, at least, a great warrior.

The same ceremonies prevail among all the tribes inhabiting the banks of the Oroonoko; they merely differ with respect to the kind of couplets chaunted by the old women to the bride. "*Ah my daughter,*" says one of these matrons, "*what torments hast thou prepared for thyself! couldst thou have foreseen them, never wouldst thou have married.*" "*Ah!*" says another, "*into what an error hast thou fallen! Canst thou believe that thou wilt pass a single minute in the married state without shedding tears of blood?*" "*The pains of child-birth,*" says a third, "*are nothing in comparison with those thy husband will make thee suffer; he will be thy tyrant, and thou wilt be his victim.*"

These prophecies are fully justified by the event: the Indian female experiences the most cruel treatment; every species of labour is performed by her, whilst the barbarous husband, stretched in his hammock, smokes his pipe and swallows spirituous liquors, without addressing a single word to his fatigued and exhausted companion.

The Otomaques are the only Indians who admit their women to participate in their diversions: among them, as elsewhere, the whole weight of domestic labour falls upon the females; but they are at least allowed occasionally to associate in their public amuse-

ments. They are besides the only tribe among whom the practice of polygamy is not admitted. A singular custom also prevails among these Otomaques, of always uniting a young man to an old woman, and an old woman to a young man: the reason assigned by them for establishing such alliances, is, that the older party is thus enabled to guide and instruct the younger. The other Indians marry as many wives as they please; but they are all, without distinction, equally oppressed, equally unfortunate.

From the practice of polygamy, we may naturally infer the frequency of divorces; and in fact a single word from a discontented husband, is sufficient to effect a separation from a wife, who is, by this means, condemned to perpetual infamy.

It has been affirmed, that jealousy cannot exist independently of love; notwithstanding, by a kind of fatality attached to the Indian women, the same man who never regards them with the eye of affection, punishes with the greatest severity their slightest infidelities. Among the Caribs adulterers are put to death by the people, in the public streets; but among the greatest part of the other tribes, the husband himself takes vengeance upon the offending wife, and his vengeance is always commensurate to the offence.

Another practice common among these people, is that of exchanging their wives with each other for a limited time; at the expiration of which, they are received back without the smallest objection being started on either side.

From the manners of the Indians, we may readily conceive what kind of education they bestow upon their children; it is sufficient to have seen them as husbands, to be convinced how ill they must perform the duty of parents. From the tenderness they sometimes bestow upon their young children, they have been pronounced not wholly destitute of parental affection; but these demonstrations of kindness proceed from a different nature. As soon as the children are able to procure sustenance for themselves, the father never thinks more of them, but to give them lessons of laziness, drunkenness, falsehood, and deceit. On the contrary, there are no children more unnatural than those of the Indians. Far from respecting the author of their being, they bear towards him the most implacable hatred, and frequently wait with impatience, until their own increasing strength, and his weakness, enable them to lift their hand against his life; and this species of outrage is always committed with impunity. The Indian children bear not, however, the same hatred towards their mother: witnesses of her sufferings, and the companions of her unfortunate life, until they arrive at a state of adolescence, they feel for her sentiments of pity, which ripen into affection.

An Indian never believes himself in a proper costume unless his whole body be covered with red paint. Even infants at the

breast are bedaubed in the same manner, twice a day. It is a law of hospitality among these tribes, when a stranger arrives at their dwelling, to cause the women to remove the paint from their bodies and apply it anew. On the occasion of any public festival, in addition to the red paint, they ornament the body with designs of different colours, and the men appear with plumes of feathers on their head, and bits of gold or silver suspended from the ears and nose.

Such were the men with whom the Spaniards found it necessary to dispute the possession of Terra-Firma; and such at this day are those tribes, who have still preserved their independence, notwithstanding the arms of the conqueror, and the religion of the missionary.

The greatest number of these tribes are found towards the south-west of Guiana, and above the cataracts of Atures. The zeal of the Franciscan mission of Cumana has been vainly exerted to overcome their antipathy to a civilized life. If they suffered their approach, it was only in order more easily to deceive them. If they apparently listened to their discourses, it was with the view of obtaining those small presents which were bestowed as a reward for their attention. The deserts, lakes, mountains, and rivers, presented obstacles to the missionaries, which it was impossible for them to surmount. It is indeed highly probable that the immense tract of country situated between the sources of the Oroonoko and the Amazons, will long remain unsubdued.

This nation, which occupies the numerous islands formed by the Oroonoko, is also one of those which have neither received the Spanish laws, nor the Christian religion. Situated between the civilized part of Spanish Guiana, and the province of Cumana, they remain independent of the Spanish government, and atheists in the midst of Christians.

The Guaraunos amount to eight thousand souls, and except the Otomaques, are the gayest of the Indian tribes. They frequent the civilized villages to the north and south of the Oroonoko, in order to sell fish, which they always procure in great abundance, as well as a kind of hammocks of their own manufacture. The missionaries never fail on the occasion of these visits to renew their attempts to convert them to Christianity, and to give them a relish for civilized life; but if we are to judge from their want of success, for more than a century past, these Indians prefer the savage state more from choice than from ignorance of the conveniences attached to civilized life. Politically speaking, their independence is a matter of great indifference to the Spanish government, since they neither possess the power, nor evince the smallest inclination, to interfere with any of their concerns.

Extremely different, however, is the character of the Goahiros, who occupy a tract of country situated between the district of Maracaybo, and the Rio, or river de la Hache, extending more than thirty leagues along the coast, and as far into the interior of the country. They have at all times been regarded as the most ferocious of the maritime Indians. The Spaniards never attempted to subjugate them. At the period when the system of missions was adopted, they sent among the Goahiros, Capuchins from the kingdom of Valence, who, with much patience and perseverance, endeavoured to imbue their minds with the truths of Christianity, and to convince them of the necessity of subordination to the Spanish authority. Some hopes were even entertained that these attempts might have ultimately succeeded; when an event that occurred in 1766, replunged them into all their original barbarity.

A missionary being informed that an Indian from a neighbouring village came regularly to pass his nights with an Indian female, living near the residence of this Capuchin, ordered him to be secured and whipt. This order was, unfortunately, too punctually executed, and the Indian retired to his friends thirsting for vengeance against his persecutor. The whole nation instantly took arms, and fell upon the village where the chastisement had been inflicted. They indiscriminately murdered all the inhabitants, and destroyed, and set fire to every thing which fell in their way. Although the missionaries were solely to blame in this transaction, they alone had the good fortune to escape.

Since this unfortunate affair, it would prove certain destruction for any missionary to appear among this tribe. They are in number about thirty thousand, and are governed by a cacique, for whom they have erected a citadel, on a small eminence, which they term *la Teta*, at a few leagues distance from the sea. They breed horses, on which their troops are mounted, and each soldier carries his carabine, cartouch-box, and his bow and quiver.

They have found in the English of Jamaica, friends who aid them with their counsel, and supply them with what arms they stand in need of. So intimate a connection subsists between this tribe and these islanders, that they send their children to Jamaica to learn the use of arms, and the proper mode of managing artillery. This strange policy of the English can have no other motive but that of securing allies, in the event of undertaking an hostile expedition against Terra-Firma.

The Spanish city most frequented by the Goahiros, is that of Rio de la Hache, dependant on the vice-royalty of Santa-Fé; they proceed thither in large companies, to traffic with the inhabitants, frequently preceded by their wives, who not only carry the children, but are loaded like beasts of burden. They have

never adopted the use of money; they usually give horses and black cattle in exchange for ardent spirits, to which they are passionately attached. When their wants are extremely pressing, they threaten the nearest city or village; and the Spaniards generally find it necessary to sacrifice a few casks of spirits, in order to procure peace. Such is the perfidy and ferocity of the Goahiros, that their friends, the English, seldom land in their country, from a dread of being assassinated. Their exchanges are usually made on ship-board. Any vessels unfortunately wrecked upon their shores, instantly become a prey to the ferocity of these cannibals, who pillage the cargo, and murder and divide the crew amongst them.

Towards the east of the Goahiros territory, dwells the tribe of *Cocinas*; but they are so cowardly and pusillanimous, that the former maintain over them all that ascendancy which courage must ever possess over timidity. These savages are, indeed, properly speaking, only the vassals of the Goahiros.

The necessity of subjugating the Goahiros Indians, is fully acknowledged by the rulers of Terra-Firma. The present governor of Maracaybo, D. Fernando Miyares Gonzales, a man of talent, employs every means in his power to repress the excesses of which they are frequently guilty. In 1801, he had forty-nine of them as hostages in the prisons of Maracaybo; one of them was a cousin of the cacique, and him he refused to surrender, until his tribe first delivered up Martin Rodrigues, a mulatto of Rio de la Hache, who had stimulated them to some hostile enterprises against the Spanish settlements. This demand not having been complied with, the Indians, as late as 1803, still remained in the power of the Spaniards. Various representations have been made at different periods to the viceroy of Santa-Fé, requesting permission to attack Goahiros on the west, while an enterprise was undertaken at the same time, on the side of Maracaybo. The viceroy, who lives at two hundred leagues distance, cannot issue the necessary orders, without first requesting the advice of the governor of Rio de la Hache, who has hitherto succeeded in delaying, and sometimes even in putting a decided negative upon the measure.

The system of rigour adopted by the first conquerors of Spanish America, was quickly succeeded by one of greater mildness and humanity. Few foreign writers have rendered complete justice to the Spaniards in this respect. The Abbe Raynal, more enthusiastic than impartial, more vehement than accurate, gives a picture of the state of the South American Indians, which is not applicable to any of the Spanish possessions, and still less to that of the captain-generalship of Carraccas. Robertson, a more correct

historian, though also a philosopher, approaches nearer to the truth; but the Spanish laws are even more favourable to the Indians, than he is inclined to represent them.

The Spanish legislature appears to have given to this class of men, all the advantages it did not believe to be incompatible with their dependance on the mother country.

The principal regulations adopted by the mother country, to ensure their sovereignty over America, was to deprive the Indians of all weapons whatever, either offensive or defensive; to interdict the practice of riding on horse-back; to prevent an Indian from learning the use of arms, or remaining in the house of any person from whom they could acquire the least idea of fabricating, repairing, or handling them; they likewise forced them to live united in villages, and never to remove from one place to another, or to change their abode, under pain of receiving twenty strokes with a rod: and the cacique who had permitted it, was fined at the same time forty piastres; the Spaniards and mulattoes are interdicted from taking up their abode in any of the Indian villages, from a dread that they might diffuse among the inhabitants, ideas destructive of public tranquillity.

The first act of generosity of the Spanish government in favour of the Indians, was that of allowing them to choose magistrates from among themselves. All the villages, under the Spanish dominions, are governed by a cacique, descended from a family holding that rank before the conquest, if any such exist, otherwise he is named by the king. But it is indispensable that he be an Indian, without any mixture of European or African blood.

In the provinces dependant on Carraccas, the Indian villages are governed by a cabildo or municipality, composed of two alcaides, and two Indian regidores, if there be more than eighty houses. The principal duty of these magistrates, is to repress drunkenness, libertinism, and impiety; but so infected are they themselves with the same vices, that not unfrequently, their example tends to propagate and extend them. In order, as far as possible, to remedy these and similar abuses, the Spanish government has interposed between the magistrates and the people, a corregidor, as he is termed in Terra-Firma, or a protector of the Indians, as they style him in other parts of America. This functionary is always a Spaniard, and is obliged to reside in the Indian village over which he is appointed; his duty is to prevent the Indian magistrates from abusing their authority, or inflicting excessive and disproportionate chastisements. The fiscals, or *procureurs generaux* of the courts of audience, are appointed to defend the Indians, both in civil and criminal causes.

The caciques, and their descendants, enjoy all the privileges of the Spanish nation. The Indians are exempted from the *alca-*

*vala*, or annual tribute on every male from the age of eighteen to fifty; but the most valuable privilege accorded to them, is that of being considered as minors. They are not obliged to fulfil any contract entered into with a Spaniard, without the intervention of the judges; and such compacts are seldom found valid, when they appear to be evidently detrimental to the Indian.

The Inquisition, which maintains an absolute sway over the consciences of all Spaniards, assumes no right over those of the Indians. When they are charged with the crimes of heresy and apostacy, it is referred to the tribunal of bishops; and for any other crimes, they are amenable to the civil tribunals. The only instruction necessary to fit an adult Indian for baptism, is, that he should be able to indicate, either by signs, or in words, that idolatry, the worship of images, lying, and superstition, are mortal sins; that fornication, adultery, incest, and sodomy, are horrible sins; and that drunkenness, is likewise a sin.

It is a general practice, to cut off the hair of an adult on his receiving baptism; and this custom the early missionaries observed with respect to the converted Indians; but these savages have such a particular affection for their hair, that sooner than part with it, they chose rather that the gates of heaven should for ever remain shut against them. The king being informed of this obstacle to their conversion, ordered that it should be discontinued, in opposition to the precept of Saint Paul on the subject.

Notwithstanding all the pains taken by the missionaries, it has been found impossible to imbue the minds of the Indians with the necessity of confession; if they ever approach the confessional chair, it is neither with a view of acknowledging their sins, nor of correcting them. It is seldom they even assume the posture of a penitent; if they kneel on entering, they very soon seat themselves on the ground, and instead of declaring their sins, they strenuously deny having committed those which the priest urges home to them, from a previous knowledge of their habits. It is only after being clearly convicted of falsehood, that they allow themselves to have been culpable in any respect; and when driven to this extremity, they frequently load with curses those who have informed the priest. A similar confession would not be admitted from a Spaniard, or any other christian; but made by an Indian, it has been declared valid by different learned theologians, provided the confessor can extort from him a token of contrition, a condition that is easily fulfilled by dictating an act of repentance, which the Indian confusedly mutters after his spiritual guide. His ignorance is so great, and his faculties so limited, that nothing more it is believed can be required of him; and in conformity to the theological maxim, *facienti quod est in se,*

*Deus non denegat auxilium*, they conclude that the Indian is also properly and duly confessed.

By a special indulgence from the Pope, they are not obliged to confess during the pascal season; it is sufficient if they confess once a year, even *extra tempora paschæ*.

They are not obliged to attend mass above one half of the number of holydays prescribed to the Spaniards, and even the slightest excuse is deemed sufficient to exempt them from the performance of this duty.

To conclude, so fully are the missionaries persuaded that the only way to bring these savages within the pale of the church, is to give them the tastes and habits of civilized life, that it became a matter of dispute, whether or not they ought to be permitted to eat human flesh; and what adds to the singularity of the question, is, that it was decided in the affirmative. Montenegro, supporting his opinions from the doctrine of Lesio and Diana, seriously asserts in his *Itinerario de Parochos de Indios, lib. 4. trat. 5. sect. 9. num. 8. that in case of necessity they may eat human flesh without any species of sin, because it is not in itself evil*. But how, we are fairly intitled to enquire, can a case of such urgent necessity occur in the most fertile spot of the globe, covered with forests, abounding in game, and watered by rivers full of turtle and various species of fishes?

From what has been said, it must be evident what great efforts have been made by the Spanish missions, gently to lead the Indians of Terra-Firma from a savage to a civilized life. What people so barbarous, that so many cares would not have softened, or that would have remained insensible from generation to generation? The most ferocious animals, in the end, afford demonstrations of gratitude to those who continually caress them. The Indian alone possesses an indifference, an apathy which is found in no other living being. His heart, shut equally to pleasure as to hope, is accessible only to terror. A stranger to courage, cowardice and timidity are his only inheritance: his soul is without resource, his mind destitute of activity. Incapable of conceiving or of reasoning, he passes his days in a kind of stupor, which indicates that he has no idea of his own nature, or of the objects by which he is surrounded. His ambition or his desires never reach beyond the present moment. This character is somewhat less prominent in those Indians who reside in cities, than among those who inhabit the villages under the direction of the curé or Spanish corregidor; although four or five generations have passed away since their quitting the savage state.

Neither the instruction they have received on entering into society, nor the favours with which they have been treated, are found sufficient to inspire them with a disrelish for the savage.

state; although the present generation know it only by tradition. There are, in fact, few Indians who do not sigh after a life in the forests, and who do not retire thither whenever they can escape the vigilance of their governors: and this propensity does not proceed from a love of liberty, but from the opportunity such a life affords them of indulging their melancholy, superstition, and contempt for the most sacred rights of nature.

There are perhaps no other human beings in a state less proper to be converted to christianity than a South American Indian. Too limited in his capacity to seize its truths; too indolent to elevate his views to heaven; too little accustomed to reflect, to conceive even the existence of *one God*, he neither occupies his mind with his present nor his future state of existence. He listens to the doctrines which have been taught him, and even repeats them with an air of docility which has the appearance of submission, but which in fact proceeds from his want of curiosity. If the idea of one God be so far above his capacity, how incomprehensible to him must be the mysteries on which the christian religion is founded? An Indian never refuses to believe any doctrine which is inculcated upon him, nor does he withhold marks of his approbation from the preacher; but his incredulity is manifested by his rooted distaste for the exercises of religion, except so far as they consist in show, the noise of bells, or the sound of musical instruments; but sermons, catechisms, law masses, confession, and fasts, are to him the most insupportable of all burdens. His countenance in the church is a proof of the little interest he takes in what is going forwards. Constantly covered with rags, which ill supply the fig-leaves adopted by our first parents on eating the forbidden fruit, and frequently even entirely naked, he remains lying or squatted down during the whole of divine service. The more faith he professes in the doctrines of christianity, the more does he pass for an idiot among his companions. The only dogma fully received by the Indians, is a belief in the power of the devil. Age, so far from increasing their faith, on the contrary, erases from their minds the slightest impressions they had received in their youth in favour of christianity; it is not a rare occurrence to see Indians ridiculing the sermons at which they have been present, and endeavouring to destroy in their offspring the salutary effects they might have produced. These old men, scattered among the hearers during divine service, criticise with the greatest severity every word uttered by the preacher. When speaking of the power and goodness of God, an Indian will reply in a low voice: *why, if he be so good and so powerful, does he not give us something to eat without our being obliged to labour?* If the pains of hell be the subject, he replies: *has he seen it? who told him so? who has returned from it?* If mortification and absti-

nence constitute the topic of his discourse, the Indian asks: *why does not the priest, who inculcates this doctrine, practise it himself?* If confession be the subject, he attributes it to the curiosity of the father, and affirms that God does not require to be told what is done by the Indians; so that with these and similar commentaries, the sermon is usually more hurtful than beneficial to the progress of faith.

From what has been said, we conceive it must be admitted, that even those Indians who have been under the protection of the Spanish laws for upwards of a hundred and fifty years, approach more nearly to a state of barbarism than civilization. The cause of this might well be looked for in the nature of this species of men, whose excessive stupidity caused, at one time, the question to be agitated, whether they really possessed the faculty of reason; and it was only after a very serious examination, that Paul the third declared in 1537 in favour of the affirmative. *Indos ipsos, says the bull, utpote, veros homines, non solum christianæ fidei capaces existere decernimus et declaramus.* It is, however, highly probable that under a different system of government, their inaptitude in acquiring knowledge, might in a great measure be overcome. It appears to me that this part of the population of Terra-Firma, would have been less immersed in superstition and vice, if they had made a law obliging every Indian to perform a certain degree of labour, and at the same time assured him of receiving the full reward of his exertion. By rendering these men laborious, they would at the same time have rendered them good fathers, good husbands, and good christians; because all the social virtues flow from the love of labour.

The Indian population in the captain-generalship of Carraccas amounts to seventy-two thousand eight hundred individuals of all ages and sexes. By employing them in easy labour, such as in the culture of cotton and coffee, in which the women, the old men, and the children might likewise be useful, there would necessarily result a great augmentation of commodities, and a considerable increase of commerce.

Supposing that these seventy-two thousand Indians only performed one-half of the daily labour of an European, and that in place of a thousand pounds of coffee, for example, he should only raise five hundred pounds, even this would be a means of adding eighteen millions twelve hundred and fifty pounds to that exported at present; the produce of which would serve to purchase many objects of European manufacture. By such means new energy would be given to navigation and commerce, which would be attended with advantages so evident, that I deem it wholly unnecessary to occupy the time of my reader in detailing them.

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 CHAP. IV.
 

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SPANISH GOVERNMENT IN CARRACCAS.—COUNCIL OF THE INDIES.—REPRESENTATIVE OF THE KING.—ROYAL AUDIENCE.—CABILDOS.—THEIR ESTABLISHMENT IN SPAIN, AND IN AMERICA.—LIEUTENANTS OF JUSTICE.—OTHER TRIBUNALS.—MILITARY FUERO.—REFLECTIONS ON THE SPANISH LAWS.—ARMED FORCE.—DEFENCE OF THE SEA-PORTS.—LANDING UPON THE COASTS.—ORGANIZATION OF THE ARMED FORCE.—TROOPS OF THE LINE.—MILITIA.

IT may readily be supposed, that the political and civil constitution of the Spanish possessions in the new world, could only be the work of time; it far exceeded all human power to establish, at the period of their discovery, a complete code of laws for countries till then unknown, and for settlements of a nature so very different from those of ancient and modern times.

The idea of converting countries of such an immense extent into dependencies on the Spanish crown, naturally suggested that of establishing the same constituted authorities in them, as in the mother country. The supreme power was vested in chiefs, under the title of viceroys or captains-general.

The Spanish possessions in South America are divided into four vice-royalties, viz. Mexico, Peru, Buenos-Ayres, and Santa Fé; and six captain-generalships, viz. Porto Rico, Havannah, Carraccas, Guatimala, Chili, and the Philippine islands in Asia.

The police was, as in old Spain, committed to the superintendence of the cabildos. At first they established them in every village as soon as it was founded; even when the population did not exceed thirty individuals, they built a church and established a cabildo; but for the last century they have not appointed alcades and regidores until the inhabitants became more numerous.

For the administration of justice there are at present thirteen courts of audience, which hold their sittings at Mexico, Guadaluara, Guatimala, the isle of Caba, Lima, Charcas, Chili, Santa Fé, Quito, Buenos-Ayres, Carraccas, Cusco, and the Phi-





*Falls of the Rhydol and Monach, at the Devil's Bridge, Cardiganshire.*

ippines. The religious establishment consists of bishoprics, chapters, and convents; besides which there are several archbishoprics, and thirty-seven vicarages.

The power delegated to these different authorities is extended or restrained according to circumstances; but the viceroys enjoy too many opportunities of abusing the prerogative entrusted to them.

The cabildos, who are composed of creoles, or Spaniards destined to pass their lives in America, generally sacrifice the interests of the mother country to those of her colonies; on which account it has been found necessary to restrain their power.

The case is, however, different with respect to the courts of audience, the members of which are all in the immediate pay of the king; it is the royal authority alone which can confer on them promotion, and the law leaves at their disposal no efficient force to undertake any enterprize that can endanger the authority of the mother country. It was not then dangerous, on the contrary, it could not but prove useful, to invest these superior tribunals with great authority, to serve as a check to the ambition of the chiefs, and with a view to prevent any acts of injustice they might be otherwise led to commit.

Religion has also contributed to cement the royal authority in South America; it is an engine which politicians always know how to render available for their own purposes.

All the laws respecting South America, which were found useful on trial, have been collected together, and form a code for the Spanish possessions under the title of the *laws of the Indies*. This respectable tribunal, to which the Spanish throne owes all its lustre, dates its origin from 1511. The great qualities necessary in order to be admitted one of its members, have operated to produce, in the public mind, a degree of respect for this tribunal, so much the more merited, as its decisions have been uniformly marked by impartiality, wisdom, and experience.

Its jurisdiction extends over all the Spanish settlements in South America and the West Indies. It takes cognizance by a kind of appeal, termed by the Spaniards *recurso*, of all causes determined before the courts of audience: all its deliberations are determined by a majority of voices, except in enacting or revoking laws, in which case, according to the constitution, two-thirds are requisite.

Appointments to all civil and ecclesiastical employments, rewards due to meritorious services, superintendence of the tribunals, the military, finances, and commerce, all depend on the council of the Indies. Its power, which has gradually augmented, has never been abused: it is at present so powerful as to be paramount over all Spanish America. Its integrity operates so

much to defeat all intrigue, that every Spaniard whose cause is not founded on principles of justice, employs all his efforts to withdraw it from the council of the Indies.

The immediate representative of the king in the government of Venezuela and its dependencies, is a captain-general, who acts also as governor and president of the royal court of audience, and of all the tribunals, excepting those which regulate taxes, and superintend the interests of commerce. As captain-general, the authority of the governor extends over all the provinces of Venezuela, Maracaybo, Varinas, Guiana, Cumana, and the island of Marguerite. Every thing relative to fortifications, arms, defence, in short, the whole military department is immediately under his controul. In matters of great moment, however, he frequently has recourse to an assembly or commission, composed of the first military officers, which is denominated the *junta de guerra*.

To him also it belongs exclusively, to watch over the political relations between his own department and foreign colonies. As governor, his authority is limited to the province of Venezuela. Guiana, &c. have also their particular governors, to whom the same powers are delegated as to the governor of the Carraccas. They are nominated for the period of five years. In all criminal and civil causes every governor is obliged to employ a lawyer or jurisconsult, who arranges and signs the decisions. He is appointed and paid by the king, exclusively of the fees he receives from the causes which come under his cognizance. These decisions, however, are of no force without the signature of the governor. If they appear to be contrary to justice, he may transmit them to another assessor, named *ad hoc*, who can reverse them. The governor may, if he choose, decide in opposition to the opinion of the jurisconsults; but he seldom employs this power unless when he can justify the part he has taken. Besides these prerogatives, the governor possesses that of presiding over the court of audience. When he arrives, the guard is drawn out, and the cry resounds—“*His excellency, the president!*” All the civilians and scriveners, &c. wait upon him and follow in his train. On entering the court, all the audience rise up and receive him: when the sitting is terminated, he is re-conducted to his palace with similar honours.

It is the undoubted right of the governor, president, and captain-general, in doubtful cases not provided for by the law, to take the measures he may deem best calculated to secure the public tranquillity; but the responsibility to which he is liable renders him cautious in the exercise of this right. The powers with which he is invested are unquestionably great; but they are more so in appearance than in reality. To the vulgar, who are ever ready to confound honours with power, he appears almost

omnipotent, whilst in the eye of the law his power of justice is alone unlimited. His ambition and tyranny are restrained by the strict account he must give of all his official acts at the expiration of his government.

According to the constitution of the Indies, nothing has been overlooked that could render these representatives of majesty *isolated beings*. All their affections are kept enchained. They must not possess throughout the whole extent of their jurisdiction more than four slaves; they are prevented from carrying on any kind of trade, from marrying, themselves or children, from being present at weddings or funerals, or from acting as sponsors at the baptismal font.

The salary of the captain-general of the Carraccas is 9,000 piastres annually; and the perquisites attached to the office nearly double this sum. He can only remain in power for the term of seven years, unless when war, or any other unforeseen circumstance, occurs to prevent the appointment of a successor.

In case of sickness he may delegate his powers to the next in succession; but as soon as he receives the sacrament he possesses no longer any choice. The commander in chief immediately assumes the reins of government, and the governor cannot resume his functions until his complete recovery has been fully ascertained.

All the district which at present forms the audience of Carraccas made a part of that of St. Domingo, from the discovery of Terra-Firma until 1718, at which period it was put under the jurisdiction of the audience of Santa-Fé. The great distance of this city from the Carraccas, the difficulty, and sometimes even the impossibility of travelling, particularly in times of war, joined to other circumstances, induced the Spanish government to establish by a royal order in 1786, the audience comprehending the provinces of Venezuela, Maracaybo, Cumana, Verinas, Guiana, and the island of Marguerite. This court held its first sitting in July, 1787.

It is composed of a president, who is always the captain-general for the time being; a regent, with a salary of 5,300 piastres; three oidors, with salaries of 3,300 piastres; two fiscals, one for the civil and criminal department, and the other for that of the finance, with each a salary of 3,300 piastres; a reporter with 500 piastres, and a right to fees in causes between parties; and an alguazel, without any salary but what he receives voluntarily.

The judges dress in black, and wear a black silk robe made in the form of a mantle. They formerly wore a white wand, suspended from one of their buttons, which in Spain is regarded as an emblem of jurisdiction, before which every one trembles. This court sits every day from eight o'clock in the morning till

noon, but they dispatch very few causes, owing to having but one reporter, and the manner they have adopted in receiving the reports, which is to hear read all the papers connected with any cause, and these pieces are in general very voluminous.

The courts of audience are highly respected by the Spaniards, and when we consider the integrity and intelligence of the members who in general compose them, we cease to be surprised that they should receive testimonies of submission bordering on adoration. The tribunal of audience, beside acting as a court of appeal, possess other prerogatives, which render them in some measure defenders of public liberty and supporters of the royal authority. It will be sufficient to convey some idea of the extent of their powers, to inform the reader that the sentences of the ecclesiastical tribunals are subject to their revisal. They likewise take cognizance of any disputes respecting the limits of the jurisdiction of the secular and spiritual courts; and in one word, they hold a supremacy over that *power* to which every other must bow with reverence.

The king recommends to the viceroys and captains-general to consult the courts of audience respecting any objects of government of an extraordinary nature; and by different schedules it is ordered, that the decisions of the audiences be held in the same respect as if they had emanated from the king himself.

These tribunals have the privilege of corresponding with the king, to the exclusion of the viceroys, presidents, and captains-general; they can propose to his majesty whatever appears proper in affairs of government, or in the administration of justice. It is to the royal audiences that the king and the council of the Indies apply for information in any case wherein the viceroys or governors have abused their powers. It is to them also that the most important commissions are entrusted, except in what regards the military department.

Formerly they were invested with the right of exercising the functions of the viceroys and governors, when absent or deceased, until the appointment of others in their stead; but it has lately been deemed improper to trust the military defence of the country to men whose situations and education render them wholly ignorant of the art of war; any vacancies are therefore at present filled up by the commander in chief of the army, until the instalment of a successor.

The institution of the *cabildos* is merely municipal, and has been established in all the villages of Spanish America. Having however no other tribunal to counteract their influence in the provinces dependant on Carraccas, their power quickly became much more extensive and formidable than it had ever been in the mother country. It is not then to be wondered at, that the Spanish government does not increase their number, and that it daily endeavours

to diminish the influence of those which already exist. They are now placed under the superintendence of the military commander, and are almost wholly dependant on the lieutenants of the governors, or civil officers nominated by the governors, with the title of *Justicia Mayor*.

Whatever alterations time and other circumstances may have made in the prerogatives of the cabildos, their organization and mode of election continues the same as at first.

Each have two alcades, termed ordinaries, who are elected yearly on the first of January by the votes of the regidores. The situation of these last is permanent, and their number is in proportion to the importance of the city where the cabildo is established. That of Carraccas is composed of—

1st. The governor of the province, who is president of all the cabildos in his district.

2d. Two alcades or ordinaries, the first of whom is called *Alcade de primer voto*: it is to him that they present the *la xara* of justice, which was formerly done by the members of the audience.

3d. Twelve regidores, whose appointments are transferable. These regidores have a right to bestow them on any individual possessing the necessary qualifications for holding this office, provided the donor survive the transaction twenty-one days.

4th. Four additional regidores, which the king, on a proposition from the governor, confers gratuitously on citizens born in Spain, and naturalized in the city.

5th. Four officers termed *de officio*, with the titles of *alfe-rez real*, *provincial alcade*, of *alguazil mayor*, and *fiel executor*. These last purchase their employments. The first is attached to the house *Palacios y sode* at Carraccas.

All the members possess a deliberative voice, and this cabildo is likewise provided with a syndic, who has a deliberative voice. The other cabildos established in the different provinces of Carraccas have fewer members, but none of them have less than two alcades and six regidores.

The law expressly prohibits the interference of the viceroys, presidents, and oidors in the election of the alcades. A precedent has, however, crept in, by which a list of the candidates is sent to the governor for his approbation, and in places where no governor resides, it is presented to the *justicia mayor*.

The qualities necessary to render an individual eligible to the office of alcade, are, to be naturalized in the district, to possess a knowledge of reading and writing, joined to the other circumstances requisite in those who occupy distinguished employments in the Spanish empire.

Military officers, excepting those serving in the militia, royal officers, and those who hold their employments immediately from the king, are ineligible to the office of alcade. In case of the death or absence of an ordinary alcade, the senior regidor exercises the functions of his office. The cabildos hold their sittings on fixed days, and have no power to call an extraordinary meeting without informing the governor or his representative what is the subject on which they incline to deliberate.

The deliberations of the cabildos, the schedules of the king, the dispatches of the governors, are all entered in registers kept for this purpose.

In places where no cabildo is established, the police and administration of justice is committed to the care of a *single individual*, dignified by the governor with the title of *lieutenant de justice*. His jurisdiction usually extends over three or four villages. No other person has any right, direct or indirect, to interfere in public affairs. His power is nearly as unlimited as it is undivided. He is accountable to the governor alone for those measures he may deem it proper to adopt for public security.

The lieutenants of justice are nominated for two years, but they are indefinitely re-eligible. Their decisions may be brought by appeal before a court of audience; but the ignorance of the witnesses leave them every possible latitude to give any turn they think proper to the cause, and it seldom happens that the documents presented to the court of appeal contain any but those which appear to justify the sentence.

To be nominated to the office of lieutenant of justice, is considered as the infallible means of accumulating an immense fortune. Hence as soon as a vacancy occurs, it is canvassed for with a violence proportionate to the great advantages to be derived from the appointment; and it too frequently happens that patronage, family influence, and importunity, force the governor to nominate to this important office an individual very ill qualified to fulfil its duties.

At Goayre, Porto-Cabello, and even at Coro, the military commanders exercise all the functions of lieutenants of justice; an abuse which it is to be hoped cannot long escape the vigilant eye of the Spanish minister.

Besides those we have already mentioned, there are several other tribunals, which we shall notice when treating of those matters that fall under their special cognizance. It is sufficient to observe at present, that the Spaniards being divided into privileged classes, are not subjected to a common jurisdiction. The ecclesiastics, the military, the members of the government, have each their peculiar and appropriate tribunals. As these three professions are exercised by a great part of the white population,

it is evident that very few of the distinguished inhabitants are subject to the jurisdiction of the ordinary tribunals. These privileges are termed *fueros*, and to a cursory observer they appear extremely proper, since they provide that the members of each profession shall be judged by their peers. But the exercise of this *fuero* is not however uniform; for a private soldier is condemned upon the sentence of a council of war confirmed by the captain-general, whilst the life and honour of an officer is under the direct and immediate protection of the king.

I was present at a council of war held at Carraccas towards the end of 1802, respecting the delivery by the English sailors at Porto-Bello of the *Hermoine* frigate three years before. The papers contained in this process were composed of seven hundred and ninety leaves, the reading of which occupied the court three whole days.

In general the forms of the Spanish tribunals are complicated, slow, and particularly expensive. In fact, the citizens may be divided into two classes; the one is ruined, and the other enriched by the chicane of the law. What with judges, advocates, notaries, writers, alguazils, and clerks, there are in Carraccas six hundred persons connected with the courts of law, of whom four hundred at least are married and have families; so that it may be justly affirmed that more than two thousand individuals subsist by the toil and labour of the unfortunate clients.

The defence of the provinces of Venezuela, Maracaybo, Varinas, Guiana, Cumana, and the island of Marguerite, is confided to the captain-general resident in Carraccas. The governors of the different provinces have a right, provisionally, to take such measures as circumstances may appear to require; but of which they must render an account to the captain-general, and it is by his orders that they are put in execution. It appears, on a cursory view of the subject, that by this plan a more extensive and effectual defence might be made against an enemy, than if each province acted separately and independent of one another. This would in fact be the case, if the immense distance which separates them did not prevent the prompt union of the common forces; but situated as they are, it would perhaps be better that each governor was left at liberty to pursue the impulse of his honour, and the dictates of his judgment, than to depend on the orders of a captain-general, residing at the distance of a hundred leagues from the nearest of these provinces, and whose disapprobation he may dread to incur, should the account he transmits not appear to justify the provisional measures entered upon for the security of his particular province.

The first attempt made by an enemy upon the Carraccas, will naturally be by sea; and, however small their force, it must be supe-

rior to that by which these coasts are protected; as the Spaniards have never more on this station than a few armed vessels intended to check the contraband trade, and a single frigate. It is therefore evident that the defence by sea is perfectly inadequate. Let us next examine what resistance they can make to an attack upon their forts.

Maracaybo is separated from the province of Venezuela by a lake of the same name, and by deserts of more than sixty leagues in extent, lying between it and Truxillo, which is the first city likely to afford any effectual assistance in case of an attack; and even this cannot be obtained without the consent of the captain-general. Three forts guard the entrance to the port. Its garrison consists of four companies of troops of the line, and nine companies of militia, five of which are whites, and four people of colour. The population of the city is reckoned at twenty-five thousand souls.

Coro, which is situated sixty leagues east of Maracaybo, is better protected by the sterility of its soil, and the poverty of its inhabitants, than by its troops; it is neither well calculated for trade, nor as a point of debarkation for an invading army.

The port, which is best defended of any in the captain-generalship of the Carraccas, is doubtless Porto-Cavello, which is fifty-five leagues to the east of Coro. Its chief defence is a strong fort well mounted with long cannon, erected upon an island to the north-east of the city, and some smaller ones upon the eastern angle of a high mountain. There is no stationary garrison at Porto-Cavello; the regiment of Carraccas furnish in time of peace a company, which is relieved once a year. During war the troops of the line are doubled, and reinforced from the militia of Valence, and the valley of Aragoa; and in case of an attack, they can easily collect at this point, in the course of eight days, an army of three thousand men.

There are, however, still more perhaps to be expected from the courage and activity of the inhabitants of Porto-Cavello, than from the militia, whose motions are always tardy, and their valour equivocal. This port when attacked by the English in 1743, owed its deliverance to the Biscayens established in it; and the present inhabitants of that nation do not yield in zeal or courage to their predecessors.

The city of Cumana, about a hundred leagues east of Goayre, is sufficiently difficult of access from the sea, to preclude any attempts of an enemy to land in that quarter. Situated near the shore, and its port being half a league to leward, it has nothing to dread but an attack from shipping, which, owing to the distance, must ultimately prove abortive. In the event of a landing, which is an occurrence highly improbable, a strong fort erected on an eminence, towards the eastern part of the city,

would oppose a formidable obstacle to the progress of an invading army. Besides which, three companies of troops of the line, that form the garrison; the militia, composed of eleven companies of whites, two of artillery, two of cavalry, eleven of people of colour, three of black infantry, a demi-company of artillery, and the inhabitants of the city and its environs, forming in the whole a corps of five thousand seven, would be found ready to sacrifice their lives in defence of their families and property.

The island of Marguerite, which lies four leagues to the north of Cumana, is strong by nature, and defended by a company of troops of the line, besides the militia, consisting of four companies of infantry, one of artillery, one of cavalry, and four companies of infantry of people of colour. This island is extremely barren, admitting only of the culture of cotton, and even that but partially: as a commercial or military station, however, it is extremely desirable. On proceeding to the east from Cumana, and doubling Cape Paria, towards the south, we discover no other ports but that of Guiana.

Whatever may be the strength of these forts, or their means of defence, it must be evident, that on a coast where they are separated by a distance of sixty or a hundred leagues, and where, in the intervals, there is a vast number of rivers and commodious bays, for the debarkation of troops, they are not only useless but mischievous, from occupying a number of troops that might otherwise be brought to bear on any point where the danger was most threatening.

For more than two hundred and fifty years after Spain was in possession of the province of Venezuela and its dependencies, their defence was solely trusted to a militia, organized by the different governors. It was not until July 1768, that a regiment was established at Carraccas, by an order from the king upon the military establishment. It ought to consist of two battalions of eight companies each, amounting in the whole to thirteen hundred and sixty-three men. From the difficulty, however, of procuring recruits, and the poverty of the treasury, they at first formed only one battalion, to which has since been added four companies; so that at present this corps is composed of twelve companies, making a total of nine hundred and eighteen men. The service assigned to this regiment is to guard the Carraccas, Goayre, and Porto Cavallo; it is chiefly recruited from Old Spain. The colonel of this corps is likewise a lieutenant of the king, and commander of the fortress; and all the officers of his staff likewise have rank in the garrison. This regiment does not include the troops of the line established at Maracaybo, Cumana, Guiana, and Varinas. The artillery corps of these

provinces are composed, in the department of the Carraccas, of a company of a hundred men, two companies of white militia, and four of people of colour; to the first there are attached two companies of blacks. In Cumana, and also at Guiana, of a company of engineers; and in Maracaybo, of a company of engineer militia, indiscriminately made up of blacks and people of colour.

It is a principle generally admitted among all nations, that the inhabitants of colonies ought to concur in their external and internal defence. Exposed by the nature of their population to more or less serious troubles, and by their position and value to the incursions of an enemy, it would in general prove ruinous to both the colony and the mother country, to keep up a sufficient military establishment for all the purposes of defence, without the concurrence of the colonists themselves.

Spain, whose attention and solicitude has, from the first conquest of South America, been solely directed towards the mines of Peru, only lately turned their thoughts to the formation of an effective militia in the provinces dependent on the Carraccas. By the application of the regulations of the 19th February, 1765, and those of January, 1769, transmitted for the organization of the militia in Porto-Rico and Cuba, to this part of Terra Firma, the militia forces are put on such a respectable footing, and so much resemble troops of the line, that the creoles of distinction conceive it the highest honour that can be conferred on them, to be appointed as officers in these different corps. The Marquis del Toro, one of the richest nobles of Carraccas, considers it is the greatest glory to be colonel of a battalion of the militia of the vallies of Aragoa; and Count Saint Xavier, who yields to none in respect to birth or wealth, reckons them as nothing in comparison with the honour conferred on him by the king in 1803, in appointing him to the command of a battalion of the militia of Carraccas. On the slightest rumour of war, these forces are bound to be in readiness to march at a moment's notice; and detachments are drafted from them in order to reinforce the garrisons of the seaport towns, and of the capital. They are trained to the use of arms; once a year the captain-general reviews those corps in his immediate neighbourhood; and each governor performs the same duty to those stationed in his particular district. The people of colour are formed into separate corps, and all the officers, up to the rank of captains, are so likewise; the superior officers must all be whites.

At Carraccas there is a battalion of white militia, and a squadron of whites, both established in 1771, as well as a battalion of people of colour.

At Valence there is also a battalion of white militia, the same

as at Carraccas; and another in the vallies of Aragoa; in both these places they have likewise a battalion of people of colour.

All the free inhabitants, from fifteen to forty-five, are liable to serve in the militia, except judges, advocates, notaries, agents of cities, physicians, apothecaries, surgeons, schoolmasters, &c.; but this exemption does not extend to the children and domestics of these classes of citizens.

When the militia are encamped or in garrison, the officers and soldiers receive the same pay as troops of the line. Desertion to the enemy in time of war is punishable with death; and absence without leave subjects the individual to two years confinement to the galleys.

To conclude, the whole armed force, organized in the different provinces comprehended in the captain-generalship of Carraccas, including the troops of the line, amounts to 13,059; of these 6558 belong to Carraccas and its environs; 2916 to Cumana; 1218 to Maracaybo; 1120 to Guiana; and 1247 to the island of Marguerite. Since 1804, an additional company of troops of the line, amounting to 77 men, have been stationed at Varinas.

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## CHAP. V.

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TRIBUNAL OF THE INQUISITION.—PREROGATIVES OF THE POPE. — BISHOPS. — ECCLESIASTICAL TRIBUNALS. — MISSIONS.—SECULAR PRIESTS.—CONVENTS.—ASYLUMS.

**T**HE Roman Catholic religion in all the Spanish possessions; as in the mother country, is not only dominant but exclusive. Those who are even suspected of being schismatics, lead a very uncomfortable life. Three tribunals of the Inquisition, or holy office, which hold their sittings at Mexico, Lima, and Carthagena, are the inexorable defenders of the faith throughout Spanish America. On their first institution they only took cognizance of matters purely heretical; but their jurisdiction was soon extended to cases of divorce, polygamy, &c. which have since been successively brought before other tribunals.

The Inquisition has the power to condemn to fine, imprisonment, confiscation, banishment, and to the flames, those individuals who may have offended against its laws; and the secular judges, and even the courts of audience, are bound to respect its decisions, and cause them to be executed.

The principal functions of the holy office consist at present in denouncing books containing propositions that contradict its dogmas, wound decency, or tend to bring the laws and government into discredit. In whatever language a book may be

written, it cannot be circulated till it is first declared orthodox by the commissioners of the Inquisition. Every bookseller is obliged to furnish this court, on the commencement of each year, with a catalogue of the books exposed to sale in his shop; and he is bound to expose to public view a list of those works prohibited by the holy office. Every person on entering the Spanish dominions must transmit an attested list of the books in his possession, either to the Inquisition or its commissaries, to whom belongs the right of permitting their introduction. If any omission or imperfection be detected in this list, the works are confiscated, and the owner compelled to pay two hundred ducats to the holy office. The salaries of the members of this tribunal arise from the fines and confiscations awarded by themselves, and from a canon's place left vacant in each cathedral for the express purpose. When these funds are not sufficient, the deficiency is made up from the royal treasury. Notwithstanding the purity of their religious worship in the Spanish colonies, the fervour of the faithful, and the empire of faith, the Pope has long since ceased to possess any direct influence in their government; they admit his infallibility, the efficacy of his indulgencies, and the validity of his dispensations, &c. but affairs are so conducted that the pontifical is now completely subordinate to the royal authority.

The right of patronage belongs exclusively to the king, in virtue of different bulls, particularly that of Julius II. in 1508; since which period no church, cathedral, monastery, nor even hospital, can be founded without express and direct permission from the king.

The archbishops, bishops, and abbots, are nominated by the Pope, from a list transmitted to him by the king. The canons throughout the Spanish possessions are also appointed by royal authority. The same individual cannot hold a plurality of benefices; and the bishops are obliged to render an account to the king of all the vacant livings in their dioceses, with the exact amount of their salaries; and to point out at the same time those of the different orders they may deem best qualified to fill such stations.

The nomination of curates is likewise vested in the crown; but this right is exercised by its immediate representatives in the different districts where they reside.

The creoles are in general preferred to Europeans for curates, especially if they be acquainted with the Indian language; no priest who is not born either in Spain or in Spanish America, can be appointed to a benefice, unless he has obtained letters of naturalization from the king. Any difficulties which occur with respect to the exercise of the royal patronage, are referred to

the Council of the Indies, which regulates all matters respecting religion in such a manner, that no other power is left to the Pope but that of issuing whatever bulls may be required of him, and of deciding in those cases of conscience which are submitted to his judgment.

Three bishoprics are established in the captain-generalship of Carraccas. The first was translated from Coro to Carraccas in 1636. The second was founded in 1777, at Merida, in Maracaybo. The third at St. Thomas, in Guiana, established in 1790, comprehends the immense province of Guiana, the province of Cumana, and the island of Marguerite. The island of Trinidad, ceded to the English by the treaty of Amiens, was likewise included in this bishopric. The revenues of these bishoprics are defrayed from the tythes. The king, to whom they belong, draws only two ninths upon the half, and leaves the remainder to the ministers of religion. Of this remainder the bishop receives a fourth. Some years ago this portion allotted to the bishop of Carraccas amounted to seventy thousand piastres. But this revenue, subject to the vicissitudes of the harvests, and the variation in the price of commodities, was reduced, during the last war, to less than forty thousand piastres; and every thing seems to indicate that several years of peace must elapse before it again attain to its former value. The revenue of the bishopric of Merida scarcely amounts to a fourth of that of Carraccas. With respect to the bishopric of Guiana, since its establishment, the king has received the full amount of the tythes, and defrayed the salary, which is fixed at forty thousand piastres, out of the royal treasury. But if we may be permitted to judge from appearances, this will not be much longer permitted; and then the revenue will be between ten and twelve thousand piastres.

Each bishop holds a tribunal or ecclesiastical court, in which all spiritual causes are tried. It is composed of the bishop himself, the fiscal, and provisor. In ordinary cases, sentence is pronounced by the provisor, the bishop only attending when important causes are to be tried, or those which involve the interest of ecclesiastics, &c. An appeal from these sentences may be brought before the metropolitan: if the appellant be successful, the other party have a right to insist on a revisal of the sentence, by the nearest bishop; but this third hearing is definitive, and the judgment is immediately put in execution.

The jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical tribunals extends to all spiritual causes, as well as to questions in any manner connected with the interests of the church, such as orders, benefices, patronage, tythes, marriage, the legitimacy of children, funerals, &c. &c. According to Acevedo, the secular judges have a

right to take cognizance of the royal patronage, even when a question of this kind arises between ecclesiastics. Civil and temporal causes between priests are also brought before the spiritual courts, as well as those disputes which may arise between them and the laity; but at the request of the priest, such cases may be transferred to the secular tribunals.

In the principal town of each bishopric a chapter is established, the members of which are in proportion to the revenues of the diocese. We are next led to notice the curates or village pastors, a class of men so useful when their manners correspond with the important trust committed to their charge. God forbid that I should deny to the Spanish pastors the praise they so justly merit, for the indefatigable zeal with which, day and night, they distribute spiritual aid to their flocks. I confess that I am not intimately acquainted with the particular functions assigned to them, but they all appeared to me to possess the pastoral qualities in a very eminent degree.

The idea of converting the conquest of America into a kind of crusade, strengthened the right which Spain had received from Rome, of adding to her dominions the New World, in order that she might establish in it the Christian religion. It was on this principle, that the famous bull of concession, in 1493, was founded. Nevertheless, as I have already shown, all the principal cities at present comprehended under the captain-generalship of Carraccas were founded and peopled by force of arms; and if we except the two unfortunate missions sent to Cumana at the commencement of the sixteenth century, the gentle voice of persuasion was never heard by the Indian till towards the middle of the seventeenth century. At present the missionaries are scattered among the different villages inhabited by the conquered Indians, where they exercise their sacerdotal and apostolic functions. There is only one established in each village; and the law, which interdicts the residence of any Spaniard among the Indians, is extremely favourable to the domination of the missionary. When a stranger arrives, he is anxious to prevent any intercourse taking place between him and the inhabitants during his stay, which is never prolonged beyond a few hours, on any pretext whatever; by which means it is impossible to discover the terms on which these missionaries live with the inhabitants. If we may judge, however, by the slowness with which the work of conversion goes forward among new tribes, as well as the want of civilization among those who from father to son have been committed to their care, neither religion nor the state gains any great advantage from their labours.

They are prohibited from exacting any compensation from the Indians on account of administering the sacrament, or perform-

ing other ecclesiastical functions. But although this law be not directly violated, its spirit is nevertheless completely eluded, by the sale of rosaries, scapularies, and small images of the Virgin and of the saints. The poor Indian is always menaced with the anger of God until he has purchased every thing the missionary has to dispose of. This species of traffic is repeated so often as to become an object of importance and of speculation. Many of the missionaries do not, besides, scruple to abuse the power which their sacred profession gives them over the minds of the timid and credulous Indian, in order to induce him to labour above his strength, without reaping any benefit from his exertions. A deputation of Indians frequently arrive at Carraccas to complain to the bishop, and the captain-general, of the oppressions exercised by the missionaries; many of whom, notwithstanding every regulation to the contrary, have amassed considerable fortunes, by carrying on an extensive contraband trade.

Spanish America, like the mother country, abounds with priests, though at present they are less numerous than formerly, in proportion to the population. Many circumstances tended to produce this change; a rage for military distinction, the additional tribunals, and consequent multiplication of lawyers of every description; the creation of a number of lucrative situations, from the increased complication of the financial system, have all tended to call off the attention of many from ecclesiastical preferments; yet in all the villages a great number of priests may be found, who live in expectation of obtaining some vacant benefice; as well as others, who, destitute of ambition, remain contented with their paternal fortunes, and the profits arising from masses.

America, discovered at a period when it was believed in Spain that the prosperity of a country depended on the number of its religious establishments, partook of the effects of this opinion, and was quickly covered with churches and convents. But the same causes to which I have attributed the reduction of the secular priests, have likewise tended to lessen the number of monks. There is not, at present, a convent in any of the provinces of Carraccas, that has above half the number of members they had fifty years ago. Notwithstanding the increased population, and greater riches of the country, there has not been a single new convent founded during the last sixty years.

The places of public worship in these provinces are constructed in a modern style, and appear to be very durable; but the riches they contain are not so great as is commonly believed.

It is an opinion which has been sanctioned by the Popes, in all ages, that respect for the church and its ministers would be augmented by rendering the temples of religion superior to the

laws, and inaccessible to the civil magistrate. Hence, among the various immunities granted to the priesthood, none has been defended by it with more zeal, or maintained with greater obstinacy, than that by which the churches are rendered sanctuaries to individuals who violate the laws of their country. Such a privilege is, however, wholly irreconcilable with the public safety, and still more so with the idea entertained of divine justice; for it is altogether repugnant to reason, to suppose that God should incline to protect, in this world, those delinquents whom he consigns to eternal punishment in the next. The numberless abuses flowing from this source at last induced the king of Spain to apply to his holiness to reduce the number of these sanctuaries; in consequence of which, a bull was issued in 1772, which commanded that in future only one church in each village, and two in every large city, should possess this privilege. In the following year, this bull was ordered to be put in execution by the king.

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## CHAP. VI.

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### COMMERCIAL SYSTEM OF SPAIN WITH HER COLONIES.—

COMMERCE OF THE EASTERN PART OF TERRA FIRMA.

—TRADE FIRST ESTABLISHED BETWEEN VENEZUELA AND THE MOTHER COUNTRY.—CONTRABAND TRADE WITH THE DUTCH.—TRADE WITH FOREIGN COLONIES.

—CONTRABAND TRADE WITH JAMAICA, CURACOA, TRINIDAD, &c. &c.

THE Spaniards continued long after the discovery of America to estimate its value merely by the quantity of the precious metals which might be drawn from it. Hence it was, that Mexico and Peru so much engaged their attention from the first moment of their conquest, that all their other possessions were regarded with perfect indifference; and the mines they contained appeared so valuable, as to absorb every other consideration. The first commercial relations legally established between the province of Venezuela and the mother country, appears to have originated with the colonists themselves. In 1560, a deputy, named Sancho Brizeno, was sent to Spain by this colony, to demand, among other things, permission from the king that *one vessel* should be annually freighted from the mother country, for the port of Borburata, the cargo of which should only be subject to one half of the enormous duties imposed on the commerce with America. This petition was granted in December of the same year; and the vessel con-

tinued to proceed annually to the place of its destination, till that port was abandoned for Goayre.

During the whole of the sixteenth century, the province of Venezuela produced no commodities which were useful in a commercial point of view. The minds of the first settlers, always bent on the discovery of mines, though continually disappointed, despised the pursuits of agriculture, and the cultivation of the useful arts. It was not till after the conclusion of the war of 1634, when the Dutch took possession of the island of Curaçoa, where they established a considerable depôt of merchandise, that the inhabitants of Terra Firma, encouraged by the example of their new and industrious neighbours, thought seriously of drawing from the fertility of the soil, those productions which the Dutch received in exchange for their commodities. They particularly turned their attention to the cultivation of cocoa, which, with leather, formed a long time an object of a successful and increasing commerce.

This connection was scarcely known in Spain, before permission was obtained from the king to freight two ships for Venezuela; but the same commodities were furnished so much lower by the Dutch, that they were obliged to dispose of their cargoes at a loss of sixty per cent. and could with much difficulty obtain others in return. In a short time after this, the Spanish government began to discover the real value of this part of South America, and they beheld with vexation its intimate connection with strangers. No other means of putting a stop to this intercourse occurred to the Spanish ministry, but that of establishing such an active superintendence, as would in future prevent all illegal intercourse with the Dutch. In the prosecution of this design, many families were completely ruined, by fines, penalties, and confiscations, while the evil they were intended to remedy remained the same.

In 1728 some Biscayan merchants proposed to the king to prevent this contraband trade at their own expence, provided they were allowed to carry on an exclusive trade between Venezuela and the mother country. After experiencing some difficulties on the part of government, they were at last permitted to fit out, annually, for that province, two ships of forty or fifty guns each, freighted with Spanish productions, which, after having landed at port Goayre, they were to proceed from the mouth of the Oroonoko as far as Rio-de-la-Hache, in order to take possession of all the vessels engaged in that contraband traffic.

To this effect, his Spanish majesty granted them the necessary patents, constituting them a company, under the title of the Guipuscoa company. In 1734 this company obtained an extension.

sion of the original grant, so far as to enable them to take in cargoes at Saint Sebastian, &c. on paying to the king the same duties as if they had cleared out from Cadiz; but on their return they were obliged to put in at this last port, in order to pay the duties imposed on the colonial productions. From 1730 to 1748 this company exported directly to Spain 858,978 quintals of cocoa, which was a third more than had been sent during the thirty preceding years; besides, the cocoa sent in 1732 was sold at forty-five piastres in place of eighty, which was formerly its price. During the existence of the Guipuscoa company, the province of Venezuela became extremely flourishing, and a vast number of new villages were built. This company freighted annually for Terra-Firma six ships, of at least three hundred tons burden: before its establishment the only article of commerce was cocoa; but in a short time they drew, for the exportation of leather and tobacco, no less a sum than 200,000 piastres.

From 1735 to 1763 the culture of cocoa became prodigiously increased. At the first period they did not raise in the whole province above 65,000 quintals; but in 1763 they exported directly,

To Spain, . . . . .	50,319 quintals.
Vera-Cruz, . . . . .	16,864
The Canaries, . . . . .	11,160
Saint Domingo, Porto-Rico, and the Havannah, . . .	2,316
Local consumption, . . .	30,000

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Total 110,659

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During the same period, the plains south of Carraccas, which are well calculated for the rearing of cattle, were greatly increased in value. The duties drawn from this source, which were formerly inadequate to meet the expences of government, were henceforth fully sufficient for this purpose; by which means the king was relieved from sending from Mexico, as he had done for the two preceding centuries, money to pay the judges and the military established in Venezuela and Cumana. In short, the province of Venezuela became more flourishing, and assumed an air of greater prosperity, than any other of the Spanish possessions in South America. Things continued in this promising condition for some time, when, either by the unwise and monopolizing conduct of the company themselves, or by an unfounded jealousy on the part of the Spanish government, it was virtually dissolved, by a regulation entitled *the act of free commerce*, executed 12th October, 1778; by which the ports of South America were, without distinction, laid open to a free

trade with the mother country. In order to engage in this trade, it was, however, necessary either to be a Spaniard by birth or naturalization. No foreigner was permitted to a share in its benefits, even when married to a native, or acting as the agent of his children or father-in-law. The laws in this respect were particularly strict: nevertheless, from the indolence and pride of the Spanish nation, the commerce with South America is mostly in the hands of foreigners, established at Cadiz, who readily find the means of carrying on their speculations in the name of a Spaniard, who receives a small gratuity on this account. This fraud, if it deserves the name, is extremely advantageous to the Spanish nation, since it imparts to the commerce of the mother country, an activity which it could never have attained had it been exclusively confined to native Spaniards.

In 1796 the exports from the different ports of Spain to Terra-Firma, amounted in value to the sum of 3,118,811½ piastres; but from 1797 to the peace of Amiens their commerce was nearly annihilated, and even at present has not recovered its former prosperity.

In none of the cities of Terra-Firma, not even in Carraccas, have the merchants any point of union, where they can talk over public affairs, or those mercantile transactions in which they are interested. They have no paper money in circulation, and are wholly unacquainted with the utility of banks. All bargains are made directly and privately between the parties: there is no such thing as a current price. These cities are, in fact, rather factories, than places of commerce.

The trade carried on between the provinces of Carraccas and the other Spanish possessions, is extremely trifling. From Barcelona they export to the Havannah, or the island of Cuba, salted and dried provisions, which are termed *tosino*. They are prepared at Barcelona, where they cost little more than twenty-five francs the quintal, and are sold at the Havannah for sixty or seventy francs. They receive in exchange wax, sugar, and silver. From Maracaybo they send cocoa, &c.; from Coro, hides and cheese; from Porto-Cavallo, mules, when they do not expect to receive a greater price for them in Jamaica; from Goayre, cocoa, sarsaparilla, &c. Neither Cumana, Marguerite, nor Guiana, have any commercial relations with the island of Cuba.

At one period a very profitable traffic was carried on from the port of Goayre to Vera-Cruz; but for several years this trade has been relinquished.

It is estimated, that the quantity of money circulated in the provinces of the Carraccas does not exceed 3,000,000 of

piastres; a fourth of which is small money, that is termed *macouquina*.

Although Spain continues inexorable with respect to the admission of foreign flags into the ports of South America, it nevertheless permits the colonists to carry on a very extensive trade in vessels of their own: the only article they are prohibited from sending to the colonies belonging to other powers, is cocoa. At first sight, it should seem that such a latitude of exportation would be favourable to the progress of agriculture in the Spanish possessions; and this must doubtless have been the intention of the legislature: but the event has not fully justified their expectation, since, during 1796, the value of the commodities of this kind exported to foreign colonies did not exceed 150,000 piastres. But mules, black cattle, and leather, produced a considerable sum, as they are articles much wanted in some of the other colonies, while they are produced in great abundance in Terra-Firma.

During the last war, the sea was covered with English cruisers; so that not a single Spanish ship could leave their ports without the certainty of being captured. The provinces of Carraccas were by this means absolutely deprived of an outlet for their commodities; since the same cause which interrupted the communication with the mother country, rendered the intercourse equally dangerous with the few colonies which still continued on either friendly or neutral terms with Spain. Notwithstanding the extreme rigour of the prohibitive laws, the urgency of the case induced the king to yield to the representations made to him on this subject; and for the first time since the conquest of the New World, the South American ports were opened to neutral vessels, by an order dated the 18th November, 1797. The incessant complaints of the Spanish merchants against this wise measure, induced, however, the king, in 1800, to revoke the order of 1797, as well as every other special permission to the same effect, granted either by his majesty himself, or by the viceroys or intendants of America. The courier charged with this unfortunate decree arrived at Goayre, and published it on the following April; but in his passage from Cote-Ferre to the island of Cuba, he was taken prisoner by the English; and by this fortunate accident, the foreign commerce was not interrupted with that island. The prosperity resulting from its continuance frequently made the inhabitants of Terra-Firma regret that he had not been captured immediately on leaving Spain.

The assurance given to the Spanish merchants by the government, that they should be reinstated in their right to an exclusive trade with South America, produced no other effect but

that of inducing them to engage in speculations which ultimately enriched the enemy; as of ten vessels sent from Spain they could not reckon on the return of more than one. Even the packets did not escape the vigilance of the English ships; during the whole of the year 1801, not one of them reached the Havannah, where they ought to arrive regularly every month.

Strange as it may appear, at this period, and indeed in the whole course of the war, the Spanish Americans had not only liberty to frequent the English ports, but were actually furnished with passports by the British admirals. These passports served only for one voyage, but could readily be renewed on the payment of eighteen piastres: their price, however, augmented in proportion to the demand. There were frequently in the road of Kingston, at one time no less than eighty ships, all under Spanish colours; in the harbour of Curacoa, sixty, and in that of Trinidad more than forty. This commerce occupied, altogether, above four hundred vessels, which were fitted out under pretence of being sent to French or neutral colonies; and on their return they presented French papers, evidently fabricated for the purpose, but which were nevertheless allowed to pass without any investigation.

In this trade Porto-Cavallo alone had a hundred vessels engaged, in which, according to the custom-house registers, they exported to the enemy's ports, during 1801, indigo, cotton, cocoa, hides, coffee, copper, horses, mules, and other articles, to the value of 954,645 piastres. This system of indulgence was likewise extended by the custom-house officers to a great part of the cargoes, which were shipped without paying the usual duties.

We must here observe, that these statements are far from conveying an accurate idea of the extent of this clandestine commerce, since they do not include the silver which accompanied these commodities, nor the amount of the credit obtained by the Spanish merchant: the importation of dry merchandise exceeded more than one half the value of the exported commodities.

The merchant, the agriculturist, the public officers, and even the citizens, embarked their capitals in such expeditions, with the same security as if the most profound peace had prevailed between Spain and England; and the former government either felt itself too weak to punish such a criminal abuse, or tolerated it in order to avoid greater evils.

Saint Domingo, during its prosperity, was the entrepôt of the merchandise from the Havannah, Vera-Cruz, Guatimala, Carthagena, and Venezuela; scarce a week elapsed, without four or five small ships arriving at the Cape or Port-au-Prince, with

twenty or twenty-five thousand piastres, for the purpose of purchasing European merchandise. Since the disastrous events at Saint Domingo, however, Jamaica has become the general magazine of the Spaniards from the gulph of Mexico; and it must be admitted, in praise of the English merchants and their government, that they employ measures, in order to encourage this lucrative branch of commerce, which the French never thought of. They trusted to, the good quality and cheapness of their commodities, waited patiently the arrival of the Spaniards, sold only for ready money, and left to them all the risk of introducing the articles so purchased into their country. The English, on the contrary, give them large credit, and either carry the merchandise in ships of their own, or convoy those of the Spaniards. This last manœuvre has been chiefly put in practice since the peace of 1801: corsairs having been stationed on the coast to suppress the smuggling trade, the British fitted out armed vessels, which afforded such effectual protection to this species of commerce, that in 1803 not a single Spanish ship durst venture to interfere, but all remained quietly in port.

Coro, Porto-Cavallo, and Goayre are the ports from whence vessels are freighted for Curaçoa; their cargoes, chiefly composed of hides, indigo, coffee, and sugar, are rarely of sufficient value to purchase the articles wanted in return; hence large sums of money are likewise sent for this purpose. It is seldom that the cargoes of the Spanish ships trading to Curaçoa produce more than 6000 piastres each, or that those in return are of less value than 10,000.

Trinidad, which was ceded to the English at the peace of Amiens, situated at the eastern extremity of Terra-Firma, from which it is only four leagues distant, is extremely convenient for the contraband trade with Cumana, Barcelona, Marguerite, and Guiana. The gulph of Paria, which washes the eastern part of Trinidad, receives the waters of the river Guarapiche, which enters the province of Cumana, and by which animals are transported from Terra-Firma to Trinidad. The articles received in return, arrive by the same channel, or are landed at different points in their course, without the smallest danger. It is there that the cargoes enter which are destined for Barcelona, from which place they are separated, and sent to Carraccas and other cities. The mouths of the Oroonoko, which cross the gulph of Paria from South to North, and which the island of Trinidad forces to discharge themselves into the sea through the mouths of the Dragon, open to this island the commerce of Guiana, from whence the surplus is conveyed, by the river Apure, to Barquisimeto, Truxillo, Varinas, Merida, &c. The Dutch at Surinam, had, during a long period of time, engrossed the contraband

trade with Spanish Guiana; but they have been wholly deprived of this advantage by the British since they obtained possession of Trinidad.

I should ill fulfil this part of my task, did I not give a view of the European merchandise most esteemed in the different provinces which form the subject of the present work. The cargoes which are shipped from the mother country, for Terra Firma, do not contain above one third of national commodities the remaining parts are made up from the manufactures of foreign nations trading with Spain.

Generally speaking, the Spanish Americans have a dislike to cotton cloth; they adopted its use during the last war on account of the low price at which it could be purchased from the British colonies. A piece of wrought muslin, which would before have cost thirty-five or forty piastres, were sold by them for twelve or fourteen; but in proportion as this article became scarce in consequence of the increased demand, it rose somewhat in price; on which the Spaniards reverted to the use of linen. The demand for luxuries of different kinds is not the same in every province: for although a taste for show and expence be equally great in them all, they possess not the same means of gratifying it. Thus, for example, diamonds, jewels, and very fine cloths, sell better, and in greater quantity, at Mexico, Peru, and the Havannah, than elsewhere. In Terra-Firma, on the contrary, the demand for false diamonds is much greater, in proportion, than for true. Lace is very much worn by the Spaniards; that of Flanders is preferred. In a commercial point of view, the demand for it is not however great, since the use of it is confined to the principal inhabitants, and it is never worn but on days of ceremony.

Black stuffs are in great reputation among the Spanish Americans, principally serges, prunellos, satins, and taffeties. The mantles of the priests, and the habits of the nuns, are always made of one or other of these fabrics.

For the last ten years the use of broad cloth has become extremely common in Carraccas and its dependencies. Very few of the white inhabitants but now either dress in blue kerseymere, or in Elbeuf, or Abbeville cloth. The French hats are preferred in Carraccas to those of any other country. The Spanish youths have recently acquired a great taste for boots, with which they are supplied, exclusively, by the English.

The retail trade is mostly in the hands of the Canarians. The average profit on the different commodities is from twenty-five to thirty per cent.; but as a great many individuals, engage in this species of traffic, the profits arising from it become so divided, that each finds it difficult to educate his family with decency.

There is also in Terra-Firma another species of traders, who keep shops known under the name of *bodegas*, and elsewhere by that of *pulperias*. The goods they expose to sale consist chiefly of pottery, small glass ware, dried fruit, cheese, tafia, wines, sugar, hams, &c. &c. They possess the advantage over other shops of not being obliged to shut up during Sundays, and holy-days, and are usually kept open from day-break until nine in the evening. Cent. per cent. is the usual profit in this traffic, but on some articles the gain is double and even triple. It is in this trifling retail trade, which is mostly carried on by unmarried Catalonians, and Canarians, that the foundation of great fortunes are more frequently laid, than in any other line of business whatever.

Until a very recent period, commercial disputes were brought before the ordinary tribunals; and consequently subjected to the same formalities, delays, and expence as other causes. The governor of Carraccas, D. Estevan de Leon suggested to the inhabitants the propriety of applying to the king for the establishment of a consulate; and he supported the application with all the weight of his influence and talents. In consequence of this representation, founded upon public interest and the prosperity of commerce, a royal schedule was obtained in June 1793; which established at Carraccas a commercial tribunal, composed of the governor, who is always president, a prior and two consuls, nine assistants and a syndic, with their deputies; besides an assessor, secretary, and register-keeper: two porters are attached to the establishment, who must be whites.

All the members, except the five last, only remain in office two years. Half of this number is removed every year, and their successors are chosen by a very extended mode of election. The nobles, chevaliers of military orders, merchants, agriculturists, and, in one word, all the white population, except ecclesiastics, are eligible to these offices.

The funds appropriated to defray the salaries of the members, and the other expences of this establishment, are raised partly from fines imposed by the judges or their deputies, and partly from an average duty of one per cent. on every article of exportation and importation to and from Europe, and other parts of Spanish America, and three per cent. on those exported or imported to and from foreign colonies, except mules and horses, that pay a piastre per head; black cattle pay one per cent.; while negroes, and gold and silver coin, are wholly exempted from this duty. The island of Marguerite enjoys an exemption from this contribution.

The principal object of the institution in question, is, the ad-

ministration of justice in commercial affairs, and the adoption of those measures best calculated to promote the improvement of agriculture, and the extension of commerce. The form of procedure in this tribunal, is simple, expeditious, and free from expence. They hold their sittings on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday of each week. They attend to the complaint, and cite the defender to appear. After listening to the allegations on both sides, examining witnesses, and written documents, they endeavour to bring about an amicable adjustment: if they fail in this, the parties are ordered to leave the court, after which sentence is pronounced, and being signed by the judges and register-keeper, is immediately notified to the parties. If the case, however, be too complicated to admit of verbal explanation, permission is granted, at the request of one of the parties, to state the circumstances in writing; but in this case the party making the demand is obliged to swear that he has not been assisted by an advocate.

When the sum in dispute exceeds 800 piastres, an appeal lies to a tribunal termed *alzadas*, composed of the governor and two judges nominated by him.

The jurisdiction of the consulate is co-extensive with the limits of the captain-generalship of Carraccas; but for the greater convenience of the citizens, deputies are established in the ports of Maracaybo, Coro, Porto-Cavallo, Cumana, Guiana, and the island of Marguerite. The judgments of these deputies may, like those of the consulate, be brought by appeal before the tribunal of *alzadas*; with this difference, that the sum of 800 piastres; respecting which the decision of the consulate is definitive, is reduced to 200 piastres before the deputies in Cumana, Porto-Cavallo, and Maracaybo; 100 in Guiana, Varinas, and Coro; and 50 in the island of Marguerite and other places. By the schedule of 1795, an appeal is permitted from the deputies and ordinary judges to the consulate. In case the sentence be confirmed, it then becomes definitive; but when it is reversed or modified, a final right of appeal lies before the tribunal of *alzadas*.

Besides acting as a court of justice, the consulate holds an assembly twice every month, at which the governor presides; and which is composed of the prior, the two consuls, the assistants, and the syndic; with their respective deputies, the secretary, paymaster, and treasurer. All that relates, says the schedule of creation, to the progress of agriculture, and prosperity of commerce, ought to be discussed in the assembly of the consulate, to which the deputies and every description of citizens should contribute their observations. The king expressly enjoins this assembly to render an account to the government of every thing which shall appear to be worthy of royal attention; and at the same time to propose those measures which may, in their opinion, seem proper for the encour-

ragement of the agriculture, the industry, and the commerce of the country.

After considerable difficulty, I was at length permitted to examine the labours of this assembly in favour of agriculture. I found the only step they had taken towards the fulfilment of this important duty, was having, in 1797, invited some enlightened cultivators to furnish memoirs respecting the mode of culture employed by each of them; which had for four years remained in the hands of the commissioners appointed to examine them and give in a general report, which has never yet been done, or any means taken to enforce compliance with the order of the assembly to that effect. Desirous to see these memoirs, I found them covered with dust in the house of Count de la Grange, one of the commissioners, who readily permitted me to peruse them; after which I returned them to their former situation, and may venture to affirm that ages will elapse before they are again disturbed.

The only useful work that has engaged the attention of the consular assembly since its creation, is the formation of a road, which is not yet quite finished, between Porto-Cavallo and Valence, by a shorter and less mountainous tract than the former. Another road has also been opened, under their auspices, from Goayre to Carraccas, by the foot of the mountain which separates these two cities; it is longer than the one now in use, but much more commodious. The roads from Caricagoa, and the communication of Carraccas with the vallies of Aragoá, have also attracted the notice of the assembly, and much money has been expended upon them without any proportional advantages.

Fully aware of the drawbacks occasioned to trade by the last unexampled war, I do not accuse the consular assembly of Carraccas with having directly occasioned that lamentable decay in the commerce of these provinces, which has been experienced for some time past; but neither can I praise it for the wisdom of its measures, or for activity and zeal in carrying into effect the ends of its institution.

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 CHAP. VII.
 

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GOVERNMENT OF VENEZUELA.—DESCRIPTION OF CARRACCAS.—GOAYRE.—PORTO-CAVALLO.—VALENCE.—MARACAY.—TULMERO.—VICTORIA.—CORO.—BARQUISIMETO.—TOCUYO.—GOANARE, &c. &c.—GOVERNMENT OF CUMANA.—DESCRIPTION OF CUMANA.—CARIACO.—BARCELONA.—ISLAND OF MARGUERITE, &c.—GOVERNMENT OF MARACAYBO.—DESCRIPTION OF MARACAYBO, MERIDA, &c.—GOVERNMENT OF VARINAS.—DESCRIPTION OF VARINAS.—SAINT JAMES, &c. &c.

IT appears to me that I should fail in satisfying the curiosity of the reader respecting provinces which are equally unknown to the polite world as the most distant parts of China, if I did not add to the general descriptions given in the preceding chapters, some details respecting the political institutions and manners of the inhabitants of this interesting country.

The city of Carraccas, situated in  $10^{\circ} 31'$  north latitude, and  $69^{\circ} 3'$  east longitude, reckoning from the meridian of Paris, was founded in 1567 by Diego Losada. It is not only the capital of the province of Venezuela, but of the vast extent of country occupied by the governments of Maracaybo, Varinas, Guiana, Cumana, and the island of Marguerite. Its temperature does not correspond with its latitude; for in place of the insupportable heats which might be expected to prevail in the proximity of the equator, it enjoys, on the contrary, a mild and almost uninterrupted spring, which it owes to its elevation, being four hundred and sixty toises above the level of the sea.

In this city Farenheit's thermometer in winter marks usually,

At six in the morning, . . . . .	58
At two in the afternoon, . . . . .	73
At ten at night, . . . . .	68
Maximum, . . . . .	76
Minimum, . . . . .	52

In Summer,

At six in the morning, . . . . .	72
At two in the afternoon, . . . . .	79
At ten at night, . . . . .	75

Maximum, . . . . .	85
Minimum, . . . . .	69
Humidity, according to the hygrometer of Deluc, usually, . . . . .	47
Maximum, . . . . .	58
Minimum, . . . . .	37

The mercury, which rises in the southern parts of Europe, and during the variations of the atmosphere, even to eleven lines of a Paris inch, never ascends in the eastern parts of Terra-Firma above two lines.

There are observed at Carraccas, in every season of the year, four atmospheric tides in the twenty-four hours; two during the day, and two in the night.

Blue portion of the sky, according to the cyanometer of Saussure, usually, 18.

In a hundred parts of the atmosphere are contained twenty-eight of oxygen, and seventy-two of nitrogen.

The maximum of the first is, . . . . . 29

The minimum, . . . . .  $27\frac{1}{2}$

Magnetic declination 27th of September, 1799,  $4^{\circ} 38' 45''$ .

Inclination of the pole, usually, . . . -  $43\frac{1}{3}$ .

Oscillations of the pendulum in fifteen minutes, 1270.

The city of Carraccas, which covers a space of two square miles, is built in a valley four leagues in extent, running in a direction from east to west, between the great chain of mountains which skirt the sea from Coro to Cumana: it is also bounded on the north and south by mountains of an equal height. The ground on which it stands is broken and irregular, so that in walking the streets it is necessary continually to ascend and descend; but the greatest declivity is from north to south. From the port of Pastora towards the north, to the river Goayre, which limits this city to the south, the distance is seventy-five toises. Carraccas is watered by four rivers; the first, Goayre, flows along its southern extremity without entering it.

The second, Anaucó, bathes the eastern part of the city. Candelaria is the point where it most nearly approaches it, and at this spot a bridge has been erected, which greatly facilitates the communication with the valley of Chacao.

The third, Caroata, flows over the rocks in a bed formed by high and steep banks. In its course, which is from north to south, it separates from the other, that quarter of the city named St. John: they are, however, united by means of a bridge very well constructed, but not so regular as that of Candelaria.

The fourth, Catucho, supplies with water the public and private cisterns erected in different parts of the city.

These four rivers unite in a single bed, cross the valley of

Chacao, covered with fruits, live stock, and articles of commerce; and at last mingle their waters with the Tuy, which flows into the sea twelve leagues east of cape Codera.

The streets of Carraccas run at right angles with each other; they are about twenty feet wide, paved, open to the four cardinal points, and at the distance of nearly three hundred feet from one another. There are only three public squares which deserve that name, though even they are not free from faults. The largest, called *plaza mayor*, is disfigured by small shops built in it from east to west, which are let out to the merchants of the city; and for the miserable pittance received on this account, the eye is deprived of a view for which nothing can compensate. This square occupies three hundred square feet. It is well paved, and is employed as a market for all kinds of provisions; vegetables, fruits, butchers' meat, fish, poultry, game, bread, parrots, apes, and birds of every species are here exposed to sale in the greatest abundance. The cathedral church in the east side of the square, is disproportioned to the rest of the buildings. This square has two entrances on each side. The second square, Candelaria, is surrounded by an iron railing upon masonry of unequal height. Being built on an argillaceous soil mixed with sand, it is much better than the best pavement, and all together presents an agreeable appearance. The only edifice worth notice is the church of Candelaria, which, though not constructed with geometrical accuracy, is ornamented by a façade of sufficient beauty to divert the eye from dwelling on the defective parts of the square.

The third is that of Saint Paul, which is a regular square, ornamented by a fountain in the middle. The church of Saint Paul is situated at the south-east angle of the square, with the other buildings in which it has not the smallest agreement. This square is neither levelled nor paved.

The other squares, five in number, do not deserve particular notice. In that of Saint John, which is pretty extensive, the horse militia are exercised.

Many houses belonging to individuals are handsome and well built; some of them are of brick, but the greatest part are built of stone, nearly in the manner of the Romans; those of the principal inhabitants are elegantly furnished. There is generally in each house one principal apartment, which is ornamented in the richest and most expensive manner, and which is never employed by the family, but only opened for the reception of company on days of ceremony.

In the city of Carraccas there are no public edifices but those dedicated to religious purposes. The captain-general, the royal audience, the intendant, and all the other tribunals, hold their sittings in houses hired for the purpose. Even the military hos-

pital is in a private house. The *contadorie*, or treasury, is the only royal building; and its appearance does no honour to the taste or munificence of the king.

On an eminence above the city stand the barracks, which consist of nine edifices of equal height, and a double court. They might conveniently lodge two thousand men, but are only occupied by a single troop of the line. The barrack for the militia, that is, the house employed as such, stands in the opposite quarter of the city.

It is to be regretted, that the ground had not been levelled for the extent of three or four hundred feet round these barracks, and surrounded by a wall two feet in height, surmounted by an iron railing, which would have afforded an agreeable walk to the inhabitants, a convenient place for the troops to exercise in, and could not have been attended with much additional expence.

Carraccas is the seat of the archbishop of Venezuela, whose diocese is bounded by the sea to the north, from the river Unare to the jurisdiction of Coro; to the east by the province of Cumana, to the south by the Orinoco, and to the west by the bishopric of Merida. The cathedral church only merits notice from the rank it holds in the *hierarchy of temples*. It is truly astonishing that in a city so well peopled as Carraccas, and where Christianity is so much respected, there should not be erected a church more consonant to the importance of the archbishopric and the grandeur of the city. It is not sufficient that the interior be adorned with golden tapestry, that the sacerdotal habits and sacred vessels announce the supremacy of the temple to which they belong; while its construction, its architecture, its dimensions, and distribution, have nothing grand, striking, or regular.

It is about two hundred and fifty feet in length, and seventy-five in width. It is low, and supported within by twenty-four pillars, distributed in four ranges lengthwise. The two center ranges form the nave, twenty feet wide, and the two others divide the under sides at the distance of twelve feet and a half each; so that the nave alone is of greater width than the two lower sides, which lie to the right and left. The grand altar, instead of being in the center, is fixed against the wall. The choir occupies one half of the nave; and the arrangement of this temple is such, that not above four hundred persons can obtain a view of the priest officiating at the altar. The exterior of this building owes nothing either to the taste or execution of the workmen. The steeple without having received any embellishment from art, possesses at least the merit of solidity. The only clock in Carraccas is fixed in this steeple; it strikes the quarters, and is on the whole extremely accurate.

Besides the cathedral, there are four parishes in Carraccas,

Saint Rosalie, Saint Paul, Candelaria or Chandelour; and Alta-Gracia; three monasteries, the Franciscans or Cordeliers, the Dominicans, and the Mercenaires; a chapel; an hospital of Capuchins; two convents of nuns, one of the order of Carmelites, and the other of the Conception; a house of *Educandas*, or of female education; three churches, Saint Maurice, Trinity, Divina Pastora, termed by the Spaniards *Ermites*, because they belong not to any parish, convent, or hospital. These churches are always erected at the expence of the faithful; each of them has a priest, who regulates and dispenses the ceremonies; and collects the alms.

In general the churches in Carraccas are well built; but the one which surpasses all the rest, is the parish church of Alta-Gracia, the architecture of which would do honour to the first cities in Europe. It was erected by the free men of colour inhabiting that quarter of the city where it stands, and ornamented at their expence, and by some contributions from the whites. That of Candelaria owes its existence in like manner to the Canarians.

All the churches are gilded from the base of the altars to the ceilings. The authors, who, like Robertson, have boasted so much of their riches, have not surely taken up this idea from those of Carraccas, unless they have mistaken these gildings for pure gold. The churches possess every thing necessary for the decent celebration of religious worship, but they are neither sumptuous nor in great profusion. The linen, beads, tapestry, the habits of the Virgin and of the saints, when they are carried in procession, or exposed during their particular feasts, are certainly objects of considerable expence, but cannot be considered as a source of riches. It is gold, silver, and diamonds alone which possess any intrinsic value; and these are not found in great profusion in the churches of Carraccas. We may judge of this by the priests of other churches being obliged to borrow the large silver chandeliers and other ornaments from the cathedral, when they celebrate any of their grand festivals.

The Spaniards are very assiduous in their attendance on divine ordinances; that is, on mass, sermons, and processions; for they do not reckon vespers among the exercises of religion, as is done both in France and Spain.

The men usually attend church in their common dress: it is, however, necessary that they either wear a proper habit, or be covered with a cloak or great-coat; neither rank nor colour exempts the individual from this regulation.

Females, when attending church, especially the whites, are rigorously restricted to wear black. Their dress consists of a black petticoat and veil. The slaves only are permitted to appear in

white veils. The gauze veils worn by females of the higher ranks are so thin as to afford a perfect view of their features. The rest of their dress is usually made either of silk, or velvet trimmed with beautiful blond lace, and costs from 400 to 800 piastres. Those who blush to appear poor by wearing less expensive clothes, subject themselves to every kind of privation, in order to rival their more opulent neighbours; while others, despising such rigid economy, sacrifice their honour to their vanity, and obtain rich apparel as the price of their charms.

Several females, who in order to avert a threatened evil, or obtain an anxiously desired good, make vows to assist for a determined length of time at certain religious ceremonies, and appear in a habit emblematical of the power they have invoked to their aid. Thus, when their prayers are addressed to our lady of Monut-Carmel, they adopt a violet-coloured habit, with an medallion on the left side; if to Saint Francis, they wear the habit of his order, which in Spanish America is blue, &c. &c.

Those who cannot afford to procure such characteristic garments, are obliged, under similar vows, to attend the celebration of mass before daybreak, which they term *missas de madrugada*. The reason assigned for this practice is, that without an appropriate dress it would be indecent to enter the churches during daylight.

The festivals kept by the Spaniards, are those found in the Roman calendar. They are so numerous at Carraccas, that scarcely a single day elapses without the occurrence of some saint's day in one or other of the churches. What infinitely multiplies these ceremonies, is, that each festival is preceded by nine days consecrated to prayer, and followed by eight; during which the faithful, not only of the parish where such festival is kept, but from every part of the city, join to their prayers public amusements, as fire-works, music, balls, &c.

The procession of the saint forms the most brilliant part of these festivals. The image of the saint, which is always as large as life and richly dressed, is carried about at noon upon a small table highly decorated, and followed or preceded by some other saint belonging to the same church, but less sumptuously habited. Many banners and crosses are carried before the procession; the men walk two abreast, and the principal part of them carry a taper in their hand; then follow the musicians, the clergy, the civil authorities, and lastly the women, surrounded by a guard with fixed bayonets. The retinue is always very numerous. All the windows in the streets through which the procession passes, are ornamented with flags, which give an air of gaiety and festivity to that quarter of the city; they are also

crowded with females, who repair hither to witness this amusing and agreeable exhibition.

The devotion of the Spaniards is almost exclusively paid to the Blessed Virgin. They have an image of her in all their churches, under different denominations, and each of them has been brought into notice in a manner more or less miraculous, particularly two, the history of whose inauguration is so remarkable as to deserve being recorded.

The first is our Lady of Copa Cobana. An Indian, says the tradition, walking along the streets of Carraccas, pulled off his hat, on which he observed a demi-real; much astonished, he ran with it to the first cabaret, and purchased some ardent spirits. Afterwards going to seat himself at the corner of the street, he had occasion to again pull off his hat, when another piece of the same value fell at his feet; more astonished than before, he also bartered it for his favourite potion. A moment afterwards, pulling off his hat for the third time, another demi-real tumbled on the ground. On picking it up, and examining it with care, he observed the figure of a virgin impressed on it. He instantly consigned this precious relic to the scapulary he wore around his neck, underneath his shirt. A short time afterwards, having assassinated a man, he was taken, imprisoned, and condemned to be executed. On the executioner putting the cord round his neck, it instantly broke; a stronger cord was substituted in its stead, which shared the fate of the former; on which the Indian declared, that this miracle was produced by our Lady of Copa Cobana. He requested they would examine his scapulary, when, in fact, they actually discovered the demi-real, which had become as large as a piastre; and the figure of the virgin was sad and covered with perspiration.

The Indian requested that it might be deposited in the church of St. Paul, and that prayers might be put up to the virgin, in order to obtain the favour of Heaven. This request was granted, and the Indian suffered the execution of his sentence. The cabildo or municipality of Carraccas decreed, that all prayers for rain should be offered up to this virgin. In fact, whenever they suffer from long continued drought, they proceed in procession to St. Paul's, in order to seek our Lady of Copa Cobana, and carry her to the cathedral, where she remains two days, which are kept as festivals. They afterwards return to St. Paul's with the same solemnity. The archbishops, the chapter, the priests, curés, and monks of all the different convents, the captain-general, the royal audience, and the cabildo assist at these two processions.

The second virgin established at Carraccas by a miracle, is our Lady of the Soledad. A rich female of Carraccas, possessing goods

upon the coast between Porto-Cavello and Goayre, had ordered from Spain an image of our Lady of Soledad, which they adored at Madrid, in a chapel dedicated to her service. Walking one day on the shore, she beheld upon the sand a large case directed to herself. Astonished at this circumstance, she caused it to be carried to her dwelling. On opening the case, a fine statue of our Lady of Soledad struck the eyes of the assistants. They prostrated themselves, exclaiming, "a miracle!" and henceforward their vows and prayers were all addressed to this virgin. A short time after, the vessel arrived in the port of Goayre, on board of which the statue of the virgin from Madrid had been shipped. The captain waited on the lady, delivered her a letter, and bathed in tears, acknowledged, that having experienced a terrible storm at sea, he was obliged to throw every thing overboard, in order to lighten the vessel; and that the case containing the virgin had shared a similar fate. On comparing dates, it was discovered, that the virgin had been found on the shore on the very day the storm occurred at sea. The cry of a miracle was set up anew. The news of this event was quickly diffused abroad, and the reputation of our Lady of Soledad established on an unmovable foundation. It was left by the lady at her death to the convent of Franciscans, where it is invoked by a numerous tribe of votaries.

The only public amusements at Carraccas, is the exhibition of comedies during the festivals. Admittance to them costs only a single real; which affords a sufficient indication of the ability of the actors, and the elegance of the theatre. The pieces are ill written, and still worse performed. The declamation of this stage resembles the tone in which a child six years old recites a lesson he does not perfectly remember. They possess neither grace, action, inflexion of voice, easy gesture, nor, in one word, any quality which constitutes an actor in an ordinary theatre. The comedians of Carraccas may be compared to those itinerant players who frequent fairs, living rather on what is produced by the pity, than the approbation of their audience.

From the above picture, every person must be inclined to suppose that similar exhibitions would be wholly deserted, or at most only attended by those possessing neither taste nor education. This, however, is far from being the case; the rich and the poor, the old and the young, nobles and plebeians, governors and governed, all assiduously frequent this species of amusement. The only problem I have not been able to resolve among all my observations on Carraccas, is the indifference of the inhabitants of this city, who are in other respects not destitute of taste, and have received much instruction, respecting a point so essential to public amusement.

When speaking of the public amusements at Carraccas, I am naturally led to notice the game of tennis-ball, which is played either with the hand or with a battledoré.

The Biscayans first introduced this diversion among the natives, who, although far from being adepts, yet play with sufficient address to afford amusement to the by-standers, who are fond of such sports. When the whites play at tennis-ball, which is very seldom, they generally make use of a battledoré.

Besides tennis-courts, there are also a few billiard-rooms kept in this city, but they are very little frequented.

These constitute nearly the sum total of the amusements in Carraccas. It must not, however, be inferred from this circumstance, that the Spaniards are not given to gambling; on the contrary, they are more blindly devoted to it than even the French. On such occasions, neither loss nor gain is marked by any visible change in the features. The sensations either of good or bad fortune they confine wholly within themselves: in short, it is only during play, that they seem to attach no value to money. The police exerted all its power to counteract this destructive propensity to gaming, but in vain; for in order to elude its vigilance, they occasionally shifted the place of their meetings, and admitted none into the secret but those who were of the party.

If there were at Carraccas either public walks, lycea, literary societies, or coffee-rooms, this would doubtless be the proper place to notice them. But to the disgrace of this great city, I am forced to say, nothing of the kind is to be found. Every Spaniard resides in his own house as in a prison. He never leaves it but to go to church, or to transact professional business.

The city of Carraccas, according to a census taken by the clergy in 1802, contains thirty-one thousand two hundred and thirty-four souls; but from all the information I could collect on this subject, it appears to me that the population is much more considerable, and may amount to upwards of forty thousand.

All the whites boast of being noble: to speak correctly, a Spaniard is never considered a commoner unless he be poor. They are either farmers or merchants, or enter into the army, or become priests, or monks, or procure some situation in the financial or judiciary departments. None of them exercise any trade, or mechanical employment. A Spaniard, and still more particularly a creole, however poor he may be, would think himself disgraced if he earned his subsistence by the labour of his hands, or the sweat of his brow. He suffers hunger, thirst, and every species of hardship with admirable stoicism, since he considers nothing degrades man so much as labour. According to him, he can only preserve his own dignity, and that of his fa-

mily, by entering into the civil or military service, or by becoming a member of the church.

The Europeans who reside in this city, form two very distinct classes. The first comprehend those who receive appointments previous to their leaving Spain. The abuses which they commit in their official capacities, tend greatly to irritate the creoles, who consider it as an act of injustice, that such appointments should be conferred on others, rather than on themselves. The attempts of the creoles to rival them in profusion and magnificence, very forcibly brought to our recollection the fable of the ox and the frog. If the contest was for superiority of understanding, the prize would unquestionably be adjudged to the creoles; for in general, the emigrants from Europe are much less intelligent than themselves.

The creoles, as I have before observed, possess great natural parts. To an ardent desire for knowledge, they add the capability of application: both in the pulpit and at the bar, many of them have displayed great talents. If we do not likewise find among them profound economists, it must be owing to their studies being restricted to the canon or civil law alone.

The second class of Europeans who migrate to Carraccas, is composed of those who are attracted to it by a love of gain. Of all the provinces of old Spain, Catalonia and Biscay send out the greatest number of emigrants. The natives of these provinces evince an equal degree of industry; but the Biscayan, with apparently less effort, directs his exertions to a much better purpose. He is bolder in his commercial speculations, and more persevering in agriculture, than the Catalanian, who, though perhaps surpassing him in attention, displays not equal powers of mind, nor such comprehensive views. The former is never appalled by the magnitude or hazard of any speculation; he trusts much to chance and to good fortune. The second acts with greater circumspection. He never undertakes any enterprise but such as he judges easy of execution, and adapted to his powers. Their minds are so completely engrossed by the idea of amassing wealth, that they wholly neglect all intellectual improvement. Both are distinguished among their fellow citizens, by integrity in their transactions, and punctuality in their payments.

The Spaniards of the Canary islands, who are stimulated rather by want than ambition, to leave their native country, with the view of settling at Carraccas, possess not less industry than the Catalanians or Biscayans. In disposition, they resemble, however, more the latter than the former. All of them have proved themselves useful citizens, which in fact must ever be

the case with those who endeavour to gain a livelihood by the exertion of honest industry.

Beauty, sensibility, mild and engaging manners, characterize the female sex in the city of Carraccas. Their long black hair, their large and expressive eyes, the carnation colour of their lips, contrasted with the whiteness of their skin, all concur to render them extremely beautiful. Perhaps, it may be regretted, that their stature seldom corresponds with the exact symmetry of their figure. In general, they are rather beneath than above the middle size; their feet are, however, large in proportion to the other parts of the body. As they spend much of their time seated at windows, it should seem that nature had taken a delight in rendering that part of the body most captivating, which they expose most to public view. Their dress is very elegant, and well calculated to set off their charms to the greatest advantage. The education of boys attracts little attention in the city of Carraccas, but that of girls is wholly neglected. There is no seminary whatever appropriated for their instruction. They learn nothing except what their parents teach them. The whole of their education consists in being taught to say prayers, to read ill, and to write a wretched hand. They never receive any instruction from masters in dancing, drawing, or music. All that they acquire of the latter, scarcely enables them to execute a few airs on the guitar and the piano-forte. It is even rare to find any of them acquainted with the rudiments of music. This picture must only, however, be considered as applying to those whose husbands or relatives possess any fortune, or lucrative employment for the females at Carraccas, whom fate has condemned to earn a livelihood, are scarcely acquainted with any other means of dragging out a wretched existence, than that of prostituting themselves for hire. More than two hundred unfortunate females spend their lives, covered with rags, in paltry habitations, which they never quit unless during the night, in order to procure by the practice of vice a pitiful subsistence for the ensuing day. Their dress consists of a white veil and petticoat, with a paste-board hat covered with taffety, to which is attached a sprig of artificial flowers and false jewels. Very frequently, the same dress serves alternately, even during the same night, two or three of the unfortunate beings who abandon themselves to such a course of life. What they fail to procure in this way, they endeavour to supply by soliciting charity. This, indeed, becomes their only resource, as soon as age and infirmities render them incapable of pursuing the same career of libertinism.

Domestic slaves are very numerous at Carraccas. An individual is judged rich in proportion to the number of slaves whom he supports. Unless he maintains in his house four times more

domestics than is necessary, it is considered as an indication of poverty, which every one is anxious to conceal. A poor white woman is frequently attended when she goes to mass with two negresses, or mulatto slaves, who constitute the whole of her property. Those who are well known to be rich, have frequently four or five servants in their train, whilst every white of the same family, who attends at another church, is allowed the same number. There are houses at Carraccas, containing from twelve to fifteen female servants, exclusive of valets and other domestics. The only infallible means of diminishing the absurd prejudice in favour of retaining so many domestics, would be to impose a heavy tax on each useless servant. If from false vanity, the rich should continue to support their usual establishment of domestic slaves, the product of the tax might be employed in the support of some public undertaking, which would compensate society for the privation of their labour.

There is not perhaps throughout the West Indies, a city wherein reside so many enfranchised slaves, or their descendants, in proportion to the other classes, as in Carraccas. They exercise all those trades which the whites consider as degrading, such as carpentry, masonry, &c. In none of these trades do they, however, excel; because learning them mechanically, they are wholly ignorant of their principles. The indolence of temper, which is besides natural to them, extinguishes that spirit of emulation to which the arts are chiefly indebted for their advancement. In general, these workmen being burthened with families, live cooped up in wretched hovels, with no other bed than a bullock's hide, and no provisions but those which are raised in the country. Exceptions to this rule are extremely rare. In this state of poverty they can undertake no work that is not paid for by advance, never having in their possession a sufficient stock of materials; the consequence of which is, that they are always tardy in fulfilling their engagements. In fact, the majority of this class of men never labour but when stimulated by the calls of hunger; their predominant passion is to pass their lives in the exercise of religion. They form religious brotherhoods, which are connected with particular churches. Each of these fraternities adopts a habit differing only from one another in colour. It is a species of close robe, resembling that worn by monks. They assist at processions and at funerals. All the members walk in regular order, being preceded by the banners of the society to which they belong. It is worthy of observation, that there is not a single instance of any of these men having ever directed his attention to agricultural pursuits.

The youths at Carraccas, and throughout the archbishopric, receive their education in an united college and university. The

establishment of the college preceded that of the university by more than sixty years. It was formed by the worthy bishop Antoine Gonzales d'Acunna, who died in 1682. The Latin language was only taught in it, and there were no professorships, except those of philosophy and theology, until the augmentation of the city of Carraccas suggested the idea of enlarging the field of instruction by founding an university. For this purpose his holiness the pope granted a bull on the 19th August, 1722, which was afterwards confirmed by Philip II. The installation took place on the 11th August, 1725.

In this enlarged institution, besides a school for reading and writing, and three for the Latin language, there are established two professorships of philosophy, one of which is held by a secular priest and the other by a Dominican; two for scholastic divinity; one for ethics; and one for positive divinity\*. This last ought always to be bestowed on a Dominican.

There are also a professor of civil law, one of canon law, and another of medicine.

The university and college of Carraccas possess only a capital of 47,748 piastres  $6\frac{1}{2}$  reals, yielding an annual interest of 2,387 piastres  $3\frac{1}{2}$  reals. From this sum are defrayed the salaries annexed to the twelve professorships.

The different degrees of bachelor, licentiate, and doctor, may be obtained at this university; the first is conferred by the rector, and the two others by the chancellor, who hold at the same time a canon-ship with the rank of schoolmaster.

Every graduate takes an oath to maintain the truth of the immaculate conception, neither to teach nor practice regicide or tyrannicide, and to defend the doctrine of Saint Thomas.

In 1802 there were sixty-four boarders in this university, and four hundred and two day-scholars, distributed as follows: in the lower classes, including rhetoric, - - - 202 .

Philosophy	-	-	-	-	-	140
Theology	-	-	-	-	-	36
Canon and civil law	-	-	-	-	-	55
Medicine	-	-	-	-	-	11
Music	-	-	-	-	-	22

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466

It is to this seminary that the church is indebted for its ministers, the law for its magistrates, and the country for its defenders.

\* Or that which is agreeable to the positions and tenets of the fathers of the church. T

The Spaniards are perhaps of all people the most inattentive to regulations of police. Their natural sobriety, and especially their phlegmatic character, render quarrels and tumults extremely rare. Hence there is seldom heard any noise in the streets of Carraccas. The most melancholy silence reigns every where. Three or four thousand individuals, when leaving church, make scarcely any noise; while so many Frenchmen, in the same situation, would produce such a bustle, as to be heard at a considerable distance.

But though the magistrate has nothing to apprehend from tumults, he would be very much to blame, if he slackened his vigilance on that account. Assassinations, robberies, frauds, and intrigues render both zeal and sagacity needful, in order that he may take such steps, and enter into such investigations, as to bring the delinquents to justice.

The Spaniard is no more exempt than another from a vindictive spirit, which is so much the more dangerous in him as he never aims his blows but in secret, and covers himself with the mask of friendship, in order more certainly to accomplish his nefarious purpose. He who by his rank in society can only avenge himself by his own hands, scarcely evinces any resentment when an offence is committed against him; but from that moment he watches the first opportunity, which seldom escapes him, of plunging his poniard into the heart of his new enemy; which being accomplished, he seeks his own safety by flying to some sanctuary or sacred asylum, in order that the ecclesiastical tribunal may interfere, to represent as an unfortunate accident his premeditated murder, and as a slight crime an act deserving the punishment of death.

The Spaniards of Andalusia are in particular reproached as guilty of this criminal habit. I was assured at Carraccas, that such unfortunate events have only occurred since the year 1778, at which period the liberty of trading with the provinces of Venezuela, formerly confined to the company of Guipuscoa, was extended to almost every port in Spain, and attracted to Carraccas many Spaniards from all the provinces, but especially from Andalusia.

Almost all the assassinations which occur at Carraccas, are perpetrated by Europeans. Those of which the creoles stand accused, are as rare as the robberies charged upon the former. The whites, or pretended whites of the country, who through idleness, and the vices which it engenders, plunge into drunkenness and every species of dissipation, and the emancipated slaves, who consider it as an unsufferable hardship to support themselves by their own labour, are those alone on whom the reproach is cast of committing all the robberies at Carraccas.

The adoption of false weights and measures, and the adulteration of provisions of every kind, are likewise very prevalent at Carraccas; for such practices are considered less as acts of knavery than of dexterity, of which the individuals make a boast. Here then is sufficient business to occupy all the vigilance of the police magistrates. Many other matters equally require their attention, such as supplying the inhabitants with provisions, who in general seem to think that they are extremely remiss in the performance of this part of their duty. However incredible it may appear, it is certain that Carraccas, the capital of provinces which might supply cattle to all the foreign possessions of America, is frequently destitute, for several days during the year, of butcher's meat.

If filth does not accumulate in the streets, it is owing more to the abundant rains than to the attention of the police; for they are seldom swept, except in contemplation of some approaching procession. Those through which such processions do not pass, are covered with the *panicum dactylum*, Lin. creeping panic-grass.

Mendicity in all countries claims the attention of the police; but no cognizance is taken of it in Carraccas. The streets are crowded with beggars of both sexes, who chuse rather to owe their subsistence to the bounty of passengers than to the exertion of their own industry. Religion, which in this respect is so very ill understood, interdicts, according to the Spaniards, all investigation into the capability of mendicants procuring themselves a livelihood by any other means than soliciting charity. They believe, or act as if they believed, that the recommendation in the gospel to give alms, is an invitation to demand them. As soon as an individual embraces this condition of life, instead of being annoyed, he is protected by the police. The decrepid and robust, the old and the young, the blind and those who enjoy their sight, are all considered as having an equal right to charity. Every one withholds or gives according to his abilities, without reflecting on the real necessity of the mendicant. A stranger is at first at a loss how to reconcile this indiscriminate charity of the Spaniards, with the revolting picture which beggars exhibit every night, sleeping in the open streets, or by the side of church-walls, &c. without any covering to protect them against inclement weather, or against the noxious dews of the torrid zone. On a cursory view, we are induced to believe ourselves in a country inhabited by cruel savages; but on a nearer inspection, we readily discover that such wretchedness proceeds from mistaken piety. Those whom we conceive to be unfortunate beings are merely mendicants, who are prevented by intoxication from seeking a more convenient asylum, and who shun sleeping in

the hospitals, because, in that case, they would not be permitted to dissipate their gains in procuring *tafia*, or other strong liquor. The police is well acquainted with these abuses, but cannot repress them, without incurring the charge of impiety. The religious garb of the mendicant frees him from all restraint, exempts him from censure of every kind, and renders his person inviolable.

In order to form some idea of the number of mendicants in Carraccas, it is only necessary to mention, that at a general almsgiving, held every Saturday by the archbishop, each of them receives half an escalin, or the sixteenth part of a piastre, and that on such occasions a less sum than 75 or 76 piastres, is never distributed. Hence there cannot be fewer than twelve hundred mendicants, exclusively of the industrious poor, who exceed that number, and on whom the worthy prelate D. Francois d'Ibarra, a creole of Carraccas, bestows a great portion of his revenue in private donations. Ought not a well-regulated police to separate from the profligate the helpless indigent, and provide for them in houses appropriated for that purpose? Ought it not to coerce the others to labour in proportion to their capability, which would more than compensate for their maintenance? Can it be seriously believed that to constrain men to labour is a work less acceptable to the Deity, than that of supporting them in a state of idleness and vicious habits, which are equally offensive to religion, morality, and public order? These abuses will doubtless be eventually remedied by some alterations in the existing municipal laws. God grant that the prejudices of habit may yield to reason, and that the city of Carraccas may enjoy the advantages of a wise administration, on which depend the peace, the union, and the happiness of any people!

Though Carraccas is naturally the centre of all communication with the interior, yet the roads, as may readily be conceived, from the vast extent of the country, and its scanty population, are in a very wretched state. Sloughs and the inundations of rivers, equally destitute of bridges and ferry-boats, render the roads impassable during the rainy season, but at no period of the year are they convenient. Distances are computed not by leagues, but by days' journies; each of which, according to my own experience, may be equal to ten geometrical leagues.

Government dispatches are transmitted by express, as well as all the accounts and complaints laid before it. Couriers only proceed at regular intervals from the capital to Maracaybo, Porto-Cavello, Santa-Fé, Cumana, and Guiana.

Official dispatches from the mother country arrive every month at Carraccas. A king's packet sails on the first, second, or third

day of every month from Corunna, touches at the Canaries, and after landing its letters for these islands, proceeds to the Havannah, and delivers, in passing Porto-Rico, the dispatches for that island, as well as those for the Carraccas, which last are immediately forwarded in small vessels built for the express purpose.

During war, the Spanish packets, instead of touching at Porto-Rico, land at Cumana the letters destined for Carraccas, and its dependencies, after which they proceed to Carthagena with those for the kingdom of Santa-Fè, &c. and always put in at the Havannah, whence they set sail for Europe at stated periods. All the letters from Carraccas, whether official or not, are transmitted to Spain in merchant vessels, which take their departure from Goayre for Cadiz.

The reader has already been made acquainted with the trade carried on in Carraccas, and the European articles which are most valued in the different provinces. If the port of Caravalleda had not been abandoned by its inhabitants, as already related, Goayre would most probably have continued to be only the resort of fishiers, as it is in every respect greatly inferior to the former.

The city, or, according to the Spaniards, who never bestow this appellation on any place where a cabildo is not established, the village of Goayre is so buried in the midst of very high mountains, that the fragments of rock which are frequently loosened from them, do considerable mischief. There is no visible horizon, except toward the sea, on the north, from which may be readily explained the cause of the great heats that prevail during nine months of the year. Here Reaumur's thermometer usually indicates from  $25^{\circ}$  to  $28^{\circ}$ . Every year in the months of July, August, and September, the inhabitants are very generally attacked by putrid and malignant fevers, which prove extremely fatal, particularly to those who have newly arrived from Europe.

Goayre is an irregular city. The streets are narrow, ill-paved, not lighted, and the appearance of the houses extremely wretched.

The batteries by which it is defended, are regularly built, and are the only thing worthy the attention of a traveller. The government wished to render it simply a military post, while the merchants, on the contrary, were anxious to preserve it as a commercial port.

Very few merchants reside at Goayre. All commercial affairs are transacted at Carraccas, and they only proceed to that place in order to receive the cargoes assigned to them from Europe, or those which they may purchase on their arrival in port. In both cases they are sent to Carraccas to be sold; no part of the lading is left, except what is sufficient to supply the wants of the

inhabitants. The commodities stored up at Carraccas, are in return sent to Goayre, in order to be shipped.

The road between these two cities, though steep, is extremely good, except during the rainy season. The distance is computed to be about five leagues, and the journey usually performed by mules moderately laden, in five hours. The saddle mules, proceeding at a slow pace, accomplish it in three hours and a half. Immediately on leaving Goayre, the road ascends, according to the measurement of Humboldt, nearly six hundred and eighty four toises, and again descends two hundred and thirty four, before reaching Carraccas. At the height of five hundred and seventy-six toises, stands an inn, where the traveller usually reposes himself and his cattle.

The city of Goayre is supplied with water from a rivulet, which takes its rise in a small mountain about two leagues distant from the sea. It is disagreeable to drink this water, from its being always tepid; it is reported to possess an anti-syphilitic quality, contracted by flowing over soil abounding with the roots of sarsaparilla.

This city is governed by a commander, who likewise holds the office of lieutenant of justice. He is invested with the right, in the first instance, of determining all civil causes, but his decision is subject to an appeal before the royal audience. His principal duty consists in daily rendering an account to the captain-general of the arrival and departure of vessels in and from the road. He dare not suffer any foreigner to proceed to Carraccas, without having previously obtained the captain-general's permission to that purpose, which is easily obtained, if the motives alledged for the request be satisfactory.

The ordinary garrison at this place is composed of a company taken from the regiment of Carraceas. In time of war it is reinforced from other regiments of the line, and from the militia of Carraceas.

The population of Goayre is estimated at six thousand individuals, of whom a hundred and thirty are employed in armed vessels; seven hundred and eleven constitute the garrison, or are employed in guarda-costas, or in galleys: their chaplain performs the functions of curé. There is but one parish church in the place, the duty of which is performed by a curé.

The port of Borburata, situated a league to the east of Porto-Cavello, or Porto-Cavallo, as it is sometimes termed, was long in the exclusive possession of the trade of that part of the province of Venezuela, which at present centres in this last port. From the first conquest of America by the Spaniards, until the establishment of the company of Guipuscoa, Porto-Cavello was occupied by fishermen, and those concerned in carrying on the

contraband trade with the Dutch. This company immediately took advantage of the excellence of the harbour, in order to establish one of their principal magazines in this place. Their naval superiority afforded a ready means of accomplishing so desirable an object. From this period the lawless and motley inhabitants of Porto-Cavello found themselves compelled to submit to certain municipal restrictions; but though this circumstance, and the progressive influx of European settlers, have in a great measure destroyed their original character, Porto-Cavello still continues, after the lapse of a century, to afford an asylum to individuals of both sexes, whose crimes or misconduct have forced them to fly from the interior of the provinces.

A magnificent pier was constructed by the orders of the company, ninety-two feet long by twelve broad, for the accommodation of the shipping, and forts erected for their defence. An extensive building served for a store-house, &c. and still remains, though the company have been deprived of its privileges. The system it adopted of employing only Biscayans on board its vessels and in its warehouses, attracted a great number of individuals of this province from those places where they had been formerly settled. It cannot then be a matter of surprise to find, in Porto-Cavello, a class of Europeans composed only of Biscayans, who are no less remarkable for their morality and industry, than for the singularity of their language.

The city, properly so called, is built so near the sea, that part of it stands on ground, which is daily washed by the tide. It is evident from the walls of this city, that its founders did not expect it would increase so rapidly as it has done, and which has rendered it necessary to extend the buildings over twice the space originally marked out as its limits. The old city is surrounded by the sea, except for about a hundred toises to the west, where a canal has been cut to join the two arms of the sea; so that it is impossible to leave the city, except by a bridge, on which is stationed the principal guard, and where a gate is erected, which is shut every evening.

The houses beyond the city are chiefly erected on a tongue of land to the west, which is never covered by the waters; they are built at random without any fixed plan, and are not subject to the same regulations as those within the walls; but the commandant has it in his power to cause them to be erased, if he deem it necessary to the furtherance of the public service. Hence when the first street was formed, called *Calle, or Rue de la Heringo*, it was neither built in a line, nor had the houses any regular dimensions. This attempt, however, was sufficient to give disgust to the commander of the place, who represented to his

superiors, that the suburbs, which would soon rival in importance Porto-Cavello itself, would tend by their proximity to obstruct the defence of the city; since it would be impossible to fire the guns of the fort at the mouth of the harbour, without entirely demolishing them; and for this damage, which the presence of an enemy would render inevitable, the proprietors would doubtless demand compensation from the king. In consequence of this representation, an order was sent to the inhabitants to abandon this position; but on their offering to run every risk in the event of an attack, without requiring any indemnity, they obtained, not only permission to retain the houses already built, but to construct others. From this period, the buildings were carried on with greater confidence, and constructed with more regularity. New streets were projected, and particular portions of ground marked out for squares, public markets, &c. and this part, which is now considered as a continuation of the city, is become the residence of the principal merchants.

The population of Porto-Cavello is computed to be seven thousand five hundred individuals, none of whom pride themselves upon being noble, except the military officers and the members of the administration.

The white inhabitants are mostly either engaged in commerce or in navigation. Their principal commercial connections, however, are with the ports of the same continent, and those of the neighbouring islands; for though this port has, since 1796, been allowed the privilege of carrying on a free trade with the mother country, they have hitherto scarcely availed themselves of this permission. Never more than four or five ships arrive annually from Spain, while above sixty vessels of different burdens are employed in the coasting trade; the greatest share of which is monopolized by Curacoa and Jamaica. If we were to form our opinions by the custom-house reports, such commercial relations are of very little consequence, since the value of the cargoes are trifling, and the ostensible returns still more insignificant. But large sums of money are secretly sent by these ships, in order to purchase at Curacoa and Jamaica, dry commodities, which they either land on some part of the coast before reaching the destined port, or clandestinely send ashore on their return, according to the intelligence they have received and other circumstances.

Porto-Cavello is the entrepôt of all the eastern part of the province of Venezuela. Its magazines furnish the different articles consumed in the districts of Valence, Saint Carlos, Barquisimeto, Saint Philippe, and part of the valley of Aragoa; and it is to Porto-Cavello that the greatest part of the commodities raised in these different places are sent. The trade of this

port is chiefly in the hands of about twenty European merchants; it is more commodious than any other harbour of Terra-Firma, either for the construction of new vessels, or for repairing those which may have received any damage.

Porto-Cavello could not fail to become the first port in America, were the town not so unhealthy. This does not, however, proceed from the air being less pure than elsewhere, or from the excessive heat not being moderated by a regular sea and land breeze; since the ships' crews, who have no communication with the shore, are never affected with those malignant diseases to which the inhabitants are so subject. A stranger is apt to conceive, from a cursory view of the country, that the insalubrity of this place is owing to the exhalations from a kind of marsh formed by the sea, towards the east of the city; but this cannot be the case, as the houses in its immediate vicinity are more healthy than those situated at a greater distance.

The same, however, cannot be affirmed respecting the southern part of the city, where an argillaceous plain, of considerable extent, retains the rain water, which becoming rapidly putrid, exhales, on the first rain after an interval of dry weather, pestilential miasmata, capable of destroying the most vigorous health, and contaminating the purest atmosphere. Those who inhabit this quarter of the city, are observed more particularly to fall victims to malignant diseases, as likewise the settlers lately arrived from Europe.

In 1793, a Spanish squadron, commanded by lieutenant-general Ariztizabal, anchored in Porto-Cavello, where it remained from July to the month of December; during which period, a third of the crews of the different vessels fell a victim to disease. It is even probable that a still greater number would have perished, but for the attention and skill of Don Gaspar de Juliac, physician to the king at Porto-Cavello. This gentleman possesses, in fact, such distinguished talents, that he is not only consulted by the inhabitants of Terra-Firma, but by those of the neighbouring islands, in all important cases.

In 1802, the French vessels *le Tourville* and *le Zele*, with the corvette *l'Utile* and the galliot *Adelaide*, were sent on a mission from St. Domingo to Porto-Cavello, which port they entered on the 5th of July. The crews had scarcely set foot on the shore before they were attacked with the malignant fever of the country, which in the space of twenty days, cut off a hundred and sixty men including officers. As it appeared evident that a longer stay would have so much thinned the different crews as to render it unsafe to put to sea, the squadron was obliged to depart without fulfilling the object of their mission. It is worthy of remark, that the ship *Zelee*, the captain of which did not at first

permit his sailors to frequent the city, was the last to experience the effects of the contagion, and that his crew remained uninfected until a communication was opened with the shore. We cannot, however, dissemble that the opportunities for intemperance afforded in the city, add greatly to the malignancy of the disease. The endemic malady of Porto-Cavello, like that of all other tropical countries on a level with the sea and near the coasts, is known under the name of the yellow fever, against which the art of medicine has hitherto vainly essayed its strength.

Reason and humanity, however, equally prescribe to the Spanish government the propriety of draining the marsh, which contains the germs of this plague, and which, from the situation of the ground, might readily be accomplished by making cuts of a sufficient descent, to give a free exit to the water, both towards the sea and an adjacent river. I have heard it affirmed, by persons intimately acquainted with the subject, that twenty thousand piastres would render Porto-Cavello equally healthy as any other place in Terra-Firma. The water with which Porto-Cavello is supplied for domestic purposes, is brought from a stream about a quarter of a league west from the city. It flows through pipes constructed with more care than success, and is distributed to the inhabitants in fountains erected at convenient distances. In dry weather, this water is extremely good; but during the rainy season, it is mixed with so many extraneous particles, as to render its use neither pleasant nor wholesome. This inconvenience may, however, be readily obviated by the employment of filtering-stones. Unfortunately, this luxury is attainable only by the rich, while the poor remain exposed to all the disagreeable consequences resulting from its use.

The city being viewed in the light of a garrison, is placed under the superintendence of a military commander, whose powers are almost unlimited. The municipal, and even the judiciary departments, are under his immediate controul; but his decisions are subject to an appeal to the royal audience. The inhabitants some time ago solicited the establishment of a cabildo; they have yet, however, obtained only one alcade, who is elected annually. Since his appointment in 1800, it must be admitted, that more inconvenience than advantage has arisen to the citizens; as the frequent collision between the civil and military authority has given rise to processes, which have proved destructive to the general harmony.

It is not by magnificent temples that religion is honoured in Porto-Cavello. There is only one parish church, situated near the port, and not a single convent. Some time ago the foundation of a new church was laid at the southern extremity of the city, but the donations and alms collected for this purpose, have

not yet enabled the projectors to raise it above breast high. Scarcely was it perceived that the want of money would condemn this infant edifice to remain for ever a monument of the lukewarmness of the faithful of Porto-Cavello, than the priests had recourse to a means of forwarding their design; which has not, however, answered their expectation. They agreed that henceforth the only penance imposed upon the sinner, should be to carry stones to the work in question, the number and weight of which should be regulated by the magnitude of the offences he had committed. But crimes are either very rare in Porto-Cavello, or else the penitent trusted to the simple avowal of his fault to ensure pardon, or he was willing to conceal altogether faults that would lead to such a public punishment; but certain it is, that they did not obtain by this measure above a few dozen of stones, brought by infirm Negroes and old women, who became very soon fatigued by this exercise.

I have likewise seen young females carrying stones to this edifice; some in the hopes of fixing inconstant husbands, others to procure the blessing of a progeny, and many with the view of discovering stolen or lost goods. Unfortunately, none of these supplicants received an answer to their prayers; nothing more was deemed necessary to prove that God, in refusing to perform miracles in this spot, declared it unworthy to possess one of his temples. On this consideration, the work was instantly abandoned.

There are two hospitals in Porto-Cavello, the one is appropriated for the reception of soldiers, and the other for the accommodation of the citizens. The first is known under the name of the *Military Hospital*, the second is termed *La Charité*.

The garrison consists of a company from the regiment of Carraccas in time of peace, but is reinforced during war by detachments from the troops of the line and the militia. They have, besides, always three or four hundred galley-slaves employed on the public works.

The administration is composed of a treasurer, a *contador*, and several writers; a store-keeper, a visitor, and thirty men under the orders of a garde-major, whose duty consists in preventing the contraband trade.

Porto-Cavello is thirty leagues distant from Carraccas by sea, and forty-eight by the way of Valence, Maracay, Tulmero, Victoria, and San-Pedro.

Reaumur's thermometer in the month of January, indicates from 18° to 19°, and in August it usually rises to 26°.

The latitude of Porto-Cavello is 10° 20' north, and its longitude 70° 30' west from the meridian of Paris.

The city of Valence was founded in 1555, under the government of DEPONS.]

ment of Villacinda. In conformity to his order, it ought to have been built upon the bank of lake Tacarigoa, now called Valence; but Alonso Dias Moreno, who was entrusted with its execution, being a man of good sense, judged it proper, from the insalubrity of the immediate vicinity of the lake, to fix upon a spot at a short distance. He therefore selected a piece of ground about half a league west of the lake, in a beautiful plain, of which the fertility and the purity of the air, seemed, as it were, to invite man to fix upon it his habitation. Here then was the city founded under the name of *Valence du roi*. It is  $10^{\circ} 9'$  north latitude, and  $70^{\circ} 45'$  west longitude from the meridian of Paris.

Its population, according to a census taken by the clergy in 1801, amounts to six thousand five hundred and forty-eight souls; but from another and more accurate computation, it contains above eight thousand persons. The inhabitants are all creoles, of distinguished and very ancient families, except some Canarians, and a few Biscayans. The streets are broad, and mostly paved. The houses are built in the same style as those at Carraccas, but lower.

The duty is performed in the only parish church belonging to this city, by two curés and a sacristan. It is a handsome edifice, situated on the east side of a fine square, which altogether forms the principal ornament of the city.

At the extremity of the town stands a church, built in 1804, dedicated to our Lady of Chaudeleur. This structure was raised by the Canarians resident in Valence, assisted by donations from the faithful of every description.

There is also a convent of Franciscans, which existed for two centuries in a state of the most abject poverty. The church attached to this institution is neatly constructed, and from the convent itself having lately been repaired, we may conclude that the days of their wretchedness have passed by.

About fifty years ago, the inhabitants of Valence were considered to be the most indolent of any throughout the extent of the province. They feared that labour, which according to them was only the portion of a commoner, would contaminate the noble blood they inherited from their ancestors. They never entertained the most remote idea, that man could attain to a distinguished rank in society except by entering into the navy or army. All other professions they regarded as ignoble, debasing, and contemptible. Poverty and privations of every kind, conspired to arouse them from this state of degrading indolence; but every stimulus proved ineffectual for they continued to lament their fate in groans, and to send up useless prayers to Providence for assistance. Their inactivity at last became so great, that the commandant found it necessary, in order to secure a supply of pro-

visions, to order each inhabitant to cultivate a certain portion of ground under a very severe penalty. Every infraction of this order was rigorously punished; and becoming gradually accustomed to the idea, that labour exalted, instead of degrading man, they seriously began to devote their attention to agriculture and commerce.

Since this fortunate revolution, Valence has lost much of its former wretched aspect, and assumed the appearance of greater affluence. Its situation gives to it many striking advantages over the other cities of Venezuela. Situated at only ten leagues distance from Porto-Cavello, to which there is an excellent road, commodities can be transported thither at a very trifling expence; and after the opening of a new road, which is already begun to be formed, the distance will be reduced to six leagues. But it is not to the agriculturist alone that Valence possesses so many advantages, it is equally convenient to the merchant,

Every article sent from the interior of the country in order to be embarked at Porto-Cavello, passes through Valence, in like manner, as those destined for the port of Goayre proceed by the way of Carraccas. All commodities from the valley of Aragoa, the district of Saint-Philippe, Saint-Charles, Saint-Jean-Baptiste del Pao, Tocuyo, Barquisimeto, and all the plain, must of necessity be sent by that route. Why then do not the inhabitants of Valence conceive the idea of forming a magazine of commodities, intended for Porto-Cavello, as well as a store for the merchandize sent from hence to the interior?

The city is exceedingly well supplied with all kinds of provisions, and a profusion of the most exquisite fruits, as well as with an abundance of animal food, which is sold at a very cheap rate.

On the eastern side of the lake of Valence, in the celebrated vale of Aragoa, which I have oftener than once had occasion to mention, stands the town of Maracay. It is within such a distance of the lake as to reap all its advantages, without experiencing any bad effects from its vicinity. The sandy nature of the soil, however it may augment the heat, contributes greatly to its salubrity. This village, which, about thirty years ago, scarcely exceeded the size of a hamlet, now presents a prospect that cannot fail to excite the admiration of every beholder. Three fourths of the houses are built of stone, and display considerable elegance. One circumstance which in particular struck me, was, that they all appeared of the same date, and to have been built very recently. The streets are not paved, but this defect is not perceived, unless when the sand is raised up by the wind, and blown into the eyes. A new parish church has lately been reared, which possesses considerable elegance, and is of large di-

mensions. At Maracay there is no clergyman, but one curé; and the exercise of the civil power is entrusted to a single officer or magistrate.

This village contains a population of more than eight thousand inhabitants, who by their industry attract the notice of every observer. The vanity of birth and the pride of rank are equally disregarded by them. Industry and activity form the only bond of their union. Their ruling passion is the love of agriculture, in which they display the most happy emulation. The numerous plantations of cotton, indigo, coffee, &c. in the management of which skill and care are equally conspicuous, unequivocally shew their uniform industry, and explain the reason of their affluent circumstances. It seems highly probable that the most of them are Biscayans; for of all the European Spaniards who inhabit Terra-Firma, they are the most industrious, and the most devoted to agricultural pursuits. The natives of the Canaries, although extremely indefatigable, cannot be compared with them.

The fine plantations which are beheld with rapture in the environs of Maracay, are not, however, confined to it, but extend through all the vale of Aragoa. Whether we proceed by the way of Valence, or over the mountains of Saint Pedro, by which it is divided from Carraccas, we conceive ourselves transported among another people, and into a new region, inhabited by a nation, of all others the most industrious and agricultural. Throughout this vale, which stretches fifteen leagues from east to west, artificial irrigation is adopted, and every where are to be seen water-mills, and magnificent edifices for assisting in the manufacture and preparation of colonial productions. What seems singular, is that such extraordinary industry appeared to be confined to this spot alone. The culture in the vale of Aragoa is mostly performed by free men, in consideration of reasonable wages, so that the proprietor is never under the necessity of keeping many slaves.

Tulmero, situated also in the vale of Aragoa, at the distance of two leagues from Maracay, is likewise a very modern and regular village. In it reside many husbandmen, as well as all the officers, factors, and others, who superintend the tobacco which is raised in the environs for the behoof of the king. Its population amounts to eight thousand persons.

At six leagues eastward from Tulmero, and near the highway leading to Carraccas, stands the village of Victoria, which was founded by the missionaries, and continued to be solely inhabited by Indians, until that a few industrious whites, settled in the vale of Aragoa, fixed on Victoria as the place of their residence. It then quickly assumed a very different appearance: the lands were cleared, and decent houses soon occupied the place where for-

merly stood the paltry huts of the Indians. The ground on which it stands is full of the same irregularities which it originally had, and which there is every reason to suppose will long remain; for the inhabitants pay less attention to its embellishment, than to the construction of a church, which shall vie in point of beauty and grandeur, with the finest cathedrals in America. But the exertions which were prompted by the zeal and activity of Don Miguel de Adarraga have been suspended since the appointment of the present administration.

Victoria, according to a recent computation, contains seven thousand eight hundred inhabitants. The whites, who constitute a part of this population, solicited the king to bestow upon their village the more pompous appellation of city; the consequence of which would have been the establishment of a cabildo, which was the true object of their request. But as it appears to be the opinion of his Catholic majesty's ministers, that such municipal institutions are more injurious than favourable to the regal prerogative, their request has hitherto been evaded; so that Victoria still remains a village, governed by a lieutenant of justice and a regidor.

Although the inhabitants are comparatively industrious, yet they are less so than in some other parts of the vale of Aragoa. What palpably proves this is, that they are excessively given to gaming, and we know that this baneful passion operates to destroy all industry.

Victoria is the residence of the field-officers of the militia of Aragoa. In the same vale are also situated the villages of Cagoa, San-matteo, Mamon, formerly El-Consejo, Escobar, and Magdalena. The first contains five thousand five hundred inhabitants; the second two thousand eight hundred; the third three thousand; the fourth five thousand four hundred; and the fifth two thousand seven hundred.

In 1786, there were in the valley of Aragoa, one hundred and eighty six plantations, and one thousand six hundred and thirty houses; which were reckoned to contain,

10,929	Whites.
447	free Indians.
3,378	tributary Indians.
12,159	People of colour.
3,882	Slaves.

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30,795

At the present period, 1804, this population amounts nearly to fifty thousand persons of all descriptions.

After Cumana, Coro formed the second settlement of the

Europeans in the eastern part of Terra Firma. The city of Coro is situated in a dry and sandy plain. Though the soil be in general very steril and unproductive, yet there are a few spots less ungrateful, and which yield, when subjected to careful culture, but not in great abundance, the common provisions of the country.

The inhabitants of Coro, like most Spaniards, are devoted to a sedentary and indolent life. Many of them boast of being descended from the first conquerors of the country; from which we may infer, that it contains more of nobility than riches, and more idle than industrious inhabitants.

The little commerce which it carries on, consists of mules, goats, hides, sheep-skins, cheeses, &c. which are, in general, brought from the interior of the country. The village of Carora supplies the greatest part of these articles to the inhabitants of Coro, who afterwards export them to the adjacent islands. The most intimate connection subsists between it and Curacao, from which they import dry goods, either clandestinely, or by bribing the custom-house officers.

Ten thousand persons of all descriptions compose the population of the city of Coro. It contains very few slaves, because the Indians, who every where else are partial to the blacks, here display the most rooted antipathy to them.

This antipathy proved very conducive to the maintenance of public tranquillity in 1797, when the field negroes, operated on by the example of the blacks in Saint Domingo, revolted, and committed several outrages. On that occasion, the Indians joining with the whites, marched against the insurgents, and displayed a courage of which they were not supposed capable. The revolt was quickly suppressed, and order re-established. The rebels at no time exceeded four hundred.

Labour of every kind is performed at Coro by the Indians, who, in consideration of their extreme poverty, are forced to hire themselves for wages altogether inadequate to their toil.

The water with which the inhabitants are supplied, is brought in barrels by asses into the city from half a league's distance. Two of these barrels compose a load, and are sold at one real.

Formerly the houses appear to have been substantial and well-built, but at present we cannot view them without sorrow. They all display a picture of poverty and extreme wretchedness; those inhabited by the Indians are still in a worse state. The streets, although regular, are not paved. The public edifices consecrated to religion, consist of a parish church, formerly a cathedral, to which the inhabitants still apply this appellation, though neither bishop nor chapter has belonged to it for more than a hundred and sixty

years, the duty being performed by two curés, a convent of Franciscans, and a parish church with three chapels of ease.

The civil power is exercised by a cabildo. Since 1799 a military commander has been appointed, who shares the exercise of the judicial and municipal authority; he receives an annual salary of 2000 piastres.

This city is situated at the distance of a league from the sea, eighty leagues west from Carraccas, thirty-three north from Barquisimeto, and fifty-five from Maracaybo.

Two leagues north from Coro, is an isthmus about a league in breadth, which unites the peninsula of Paragoana to the continent. It stretches from south-west to the north-west, for nearly twenty leagues; it is inhabited by Indians and a few whites, who, led by a taste for pastoral life, have fixed upon this spot as their place of residence. The animals reared on it are extremely numerous, and are for the most part clandestinely transported to Curaçao, in consequence of which, its shambles are always better supplied with butcher's meat, than those of the principal cities of Terra-Firma.

The city of Carora is situated thirty leagues south from Coro. Its situation is remarkably healthy, but in dry seasons its inhabitants suffer much from a want of water. Its soil, which is extremely arid and covered with thorny plants, yields only such productions as require a great degree of heat to bring them to maturity.

Here is found a species of cochineal, but no care is taken to preserve it. Here also are found balsams equally fragrant and odoriferous as those of Arabia, as well as various aromatic resins, which are extolled on account of their vulnerary qualities, and as preservatives against spasmodic or tetanic affections. But the inhabitants of Carora do not turn their attention to such objects; they appear to be altogether engrossed with the rearing of cattle, mules, horses, sheep, goats, &c. The application and activity they exert in this way, is deserving of the highest praise, and induces us to believe that there are few cities in the West Indies wherein so much industry is displayed as at Carora.

The principal inhabitants subsist on the produce of their flocks and herds; all the others earn a livelihood by manufacturing the raw materials which these produce. The skins and hides are tanned in a manner suitable to their several qualities. It must, however, be allowed, that their manipulations are not conducted with much skill; for though self-love induces them to throw the blame on the bad quality of the tan, and of the water which they are constrained to employ, yet it is certain, that the inferiority of these articles is owing to their ignorance of the process proper to be employed. Be this, however, as it may, the purchasers

have not much reason to complain, since it is almost impossible to conceive, how they can afford such articles, whatever be their quality, for the low price at which they are sold.

The leather prepared at Caracooa, is mostly employed in the city itself, for the purpose of making boots, shoes, saddles, bridles, and harness of different kinds. What exceeds the local consumption is sold in the province, or is sent to Maracaybo, Carthagena, or the island of Cuba. They likewise fabricate at Carora, from a species of aloë, very excellent hainuocs, for which they find a ready market.

These and similar manufactures furnish constant employment for a population of six thousand two hundred individuals, who must otherwise, from the sterility of the soil, be condemned to live in poverty.

The streets of Carora are broad and run at right angles with each other; the parish church is a handsome edifice, and kept in good repair. Annexed to it is a chapel of ease, dedicated to Saint Denis the Areopagite. There is likewise a convent of Franciscans.

The administration of justice and police is entrusted to a lieutenant appointed by the governor and a cabildo. No authority whatever is exercised by the military.

Carora lies fifteen leagues eastward from the lake of Maracaybo, twelve leagues to the north of Tocuyo, eighteen leagues north-west from Barquisimeto, and ninety leagues to the west of Carraccas.

Barquisimeto, a city more ancient than Carraccas, is situated in  $9^{\circ} 45'$  N. lat. upon a plain, which from its elevation is so exposed to every breeze, that the heat becomes very supportable. Reaumur's thermometer rises from  $28^{\circ}$  to  $29^{\circ}$  whenever the rays of the sun meet with nothing in the atmosphere to moderate their scorching heat. The wind which prevails most at Barquisimeto, is the north-east.

The excellent pasturage of the plains renders the rearing of all kinds of cattle extremely easy. Hence many of the inhabitants embark their capitals in this speculation, and find it extremely profitable. They make a considerable quantity of cheese, and have of late turned their attention to the cultivation of the sugar-cane.

The vallies, whose freshness and verdure are preserved by means of irrigation, yield cocoa in great profusion, and of an excellent quality; the coffee-tree is now also cultivated on the adjoining hills, and nothing seems requisite to render the fruit of a very superior quality, but a little more attention in the preparation.

If we only consider the fertile and improvable land which still remains uncultivated, we should certainly be inclined to ac-

cuse the inhabitants of great indolence; but when we cast our eyes over the different plantations, and on the vast herds of cattle feeding in the plains; and when we reflect on the difficulty attendant on the carriage of commodities to the seaports, the nearest of which and the most frequented lies at fifty leagues distance, it would be unjust to withhold our praises from the inhabitants of Barquisimeto. The appearance of the city sufficiently indicates the affluence of the inhabitants, who amount to eleven thousand three hundred; the houses are well built; the streets run at right angles with each other, and are sufficiently broad to admit of a free circulation of air. The parish church is a handsome structure, in which the duty is performed by two curés. There is in this church the representation of a Christ, which is the object of public veneration and devotion to all the inhabitants for twenty leagues round. Here is also a convent of Franciscans, as well as an hospital, but it is very ill endowed. The judicial and municipal functions are exercised by a cabildo and lieutenant nominated by the governor. Barquisimeto is situated eighty leagues west-south-west from Carraccas, one hundred and fifty leagues north-north-east from Santa Fé, and fifteen leagues north-east from Tocuyo.

The city of Tocuyo stands in a valley formed by two mountains; its streets are spacious, and run at right angles with one another: a very well constructed edifice serves as a parish church, with which is connected a chapel of ease; there is also a convent of Franciscans, and another of Dominicans. Tocuyo is governed by a cabildo. The atmosphere is here often cloudy, and the air rather cold than warm: on the whole, however, it is extremely salubrious.

The soil is of such a nature as to furnish almost every kind of production, and the inhabitants avail themselves of this advantage. They are husbandmen, agriculturists, artizans, and merchants. The cheese made in Tocuyo is reckoned the best in the whole province, and several cities in the interior are supplied with it. They also export annually from eight to ten quintals of flour to Barquisimeto, Guanare, Saint Philippe, and Carraccas.

They manufacture from the wool of their sheep bed-coverlets, which they send to Maracaybo and Carthagená. They have also tanneries and manufactures of white leather, and like the inhabitants of Carora, they work up as many of their raw materials as possible, and dispose of the remainder. Another profitable branch of commerce carried on by the inhabitants of Tocuyo, is that of salt, which they bring from the salt-pits of Coro. Such is their activity, that they contrive to engross the exclusive sale of this article of the first necessity.

Tocuyo is computed to contain ten thousand two hundred inhabitants.]

dividuals: the practice of suicide is extremely common amongst them. A creole of this city thinks nothing of cutting his throat or hanging himself. Once having imbibed a distaste for life, it becomes insupportable, and they throw it off with the same serenity that a man disencumbers himself of a heavy burden. This system of cowardice rather than courage, extravagance rather than philosophy, has, nevertheless, many advocates in this city.

Tocuyo is ninety leagues south-west of Carraccas, and twenty north of Truxillo.

In Guanare, which was founded in 1593, there are the same civil and religious institutions as in all the other cities of Terra Firma. Its situation is highly honourable to the taste of its founder. It stands on the bank of a river which affords excellent water for every domestic purpose, as well as for the irrigation of the adjoining fields, and drink for their flocks and herds; a pure air circulates in the city, so as greatly to moderate the heat of the atmosphere. To the west of this place, the soil is extremely fertile, and well adapted for every species of culture; and towards the south and east are immense plains, suited to the support of cattle of every description. It is to the rearing of animals that the inhabitants chiefly devote themselves. They supply the whole province with bullocks and mules, and transport the surplus to Coro, Porto-Cavello, or Guiana. Formerly they cultivated very excellent tobacco in the vallies of Tucupio, Sipororo, and upon the banks of the river Portugaise; but since the establishment of the exclusive trade in this article, these plantations have experienced the fate of all those found beyond the territory selected by the administration for the culture of this plant on account of the king.

The population of Guanare is estimated at twelve thousand three hundred souls. The streets are wide, and the houses, without being entitled to the appellation of elegant, are extremely neat. There is one hospital, the revenues of which are moderate; but the parish church is a large handsome structure. It owes a part of its splendour to the possession of our Lady of Comoroto, the fame of whose miracles attracts great multitudes of devotees from all the neighbouring provinces. This city is situated ninety-three leagues south-south-west from Carraccas, and twenty-four south-east from Truxillo.

The city of Araure was founded by the first Capuchin mission sent from Andalusia. Its situation is commanding, agreeable, and convenient. Three rivers water the surrounding territory, and contribute to enrich the soil; though it must be confessed the inhabitants do not always fully avail themselves of the advantages of their situation, their chief and almost sole occupation being the breeding of cattle. They cultivate only cotton, and a

very little coffee. They are, however, extremely industrious. The city is regular, and its appearance on the whole agreeable. The houses are well built, but the streets are rather narrow; the church is an extremely handsome edifice.

Our Lady of the Corteza, or of the Ecorce, occupies the first place in this church. She not only enjoys the public veneration of all the faithful in Araure, but in the whole of the surrounding villages. Her miraculous appearance took place, according to tradition, in 1702, in the neighbourhood of the city. A mulatto woman, named Marguerite, going to perform her devotions at the shrine of our Lady of Cormoroto, fastened her beast to a tree. On unloosing it, she perceived upon the bark an image of the virgin, which she carefully cut out with her knife. On arriving at the village of Acasigua, she placed the image in the corner of her apartment, set before it a lighted candle, and began to address to it her prayers. A missionary Capuchin, named Michel Placentia, came into the house in order to learn the history of the image, which she immediately related to him; on which he earnestly requested that it might be put into his possession. This she refused to do, until he offered her in exchange a shrine, two prints of the Virgin, one of Rosaire, and another of the Conception. On this condition he was suffered to depart with our Lady of Ecorce, which he placed in the parish church of Araure, where she performed many wonderful miracles. She has never, however, attained to the same celebrity as our lady of Comoroto.

Calaboso is another city of a recent date: it was at first an Indian village, and afterwards enlarged by the Spaniards, from its being a convenient station for superintending their herds and flocks. The air is in this place excessively hot, although regularly moderated by a land breeze from the north-east. The lands in the vicinity of the town afford excellent pasturage for cattle, which are extremely numerous. For some time, however, either owing to an increased corruption of manners, or relaxation of vigilance on the part of the magistrate, this kind of property has become very insecure. Bands of robbers continually prowl about the plains situated between Calaboso and the river Guarapiche; they carry off great numbers of the cattle and mules, which they drive secretly to Guiana, or transport to the island of Trinidad. They frequently kill even the cattle on the spot for the sake of their skins.

The city of Calaboso stands between two rivers, the one named Guarico, to the west, and the other, termed Orituco, to the east; but it is much nearer the former than the latter. These two rivers run from north to south, and join each other at about five leagues below Calaboso; twenty leagues further on, they flow

into the river of Apure, which empties itself into the Oroonoko. During the rainy season, the two first rivers overflow their banks, which greatly incommodes the inhabitants of Calaboso. Every kind of labour is then necessarily suspended; their herds and flocks seek refuge in the heights, where they remain until the waters have subsided.

The streets and houses of Calaboso form on the whole a very pleasant prospect; the church is a plain and simple edifice. In 1786, Calaboso and its five subordinate villages were reckoned to contain five hundred and forty-nine houses, and eighty whites, eleven hundred and eighty-six free Indians, three thousand three hundred persons of colour, nine hundred and forty-three slaves, a hundred and sixteen plantations of different kinds, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-two mules, twenty-six thousand five hundred and fifty-two horses, and sixty-seven thousand four hundred and fifty-seven oxen and cows. At present, 1804, the population of Calaboso amounts to four thousand eight hundred persons. It is situated fifty-two leagues south from Carraccas, and nearly at an equal distance north from the river Oroonoko.

The city of San-Juan-Baustista-Del-Pao is regularly laid out, and contains about five thousand five hundred individuals. The parish church is more striking for its neatness and simplicity, than for the elegance of its architecture. The heat would be almost insupportable at San-Juan were it not frequently moderated by brisk north-east winds: it is, however, remarkably healthy. Wholly exempted from all pestilential maladies, the inhabitants are unacquainted with any diseases, except those to which man is subject in whatever quarter of the globe he may reside.

The river passes on the east of the city, and runs in a direction from north to south. It discharged its waters formerly into the lake of Valence; but in consequence of one of those revolutions which frequently occur in the progress of time, it has now taken its present direction. During its course it becomes greatly augmented by a succession of tributary streams, with which it swells the river Apure in its turn, and at last empties itself into the Oroonoko.

The new direction which the river Pao has taken, might easily be rendered available to the opening of a direct communication between Valence and the Oroonoko, across a space of one hundred leagues. Nothing seems wanting to establish this inland navigation, but to hollow out and deepen the bed of the river Pao for ten or twelve leagues near its source. The advantages which commerce would derive from such a communication are incalculable; since by this means, during war in particular, the necessary relations might be maintained between the province of Venezuela and Guiana, in spite of all the efforts of the enemy's

cruisers to counteract them. It requires no great stretch of ability to perceive that by this passage, which no enemy could shut, ready succours could be at all times afforded to Guiana in case of its being threatened with an attack.

The distance of this city from Carraccas, to the south-west side of which it lies, is fifty leagues.

The city of Saint Louis de Cura is situated in a valley formed by rocky mountains of a very grotesque appearance. This valley is extremely fertile, and yields abundant crops, but by far the greatest part of it is appropriated to grazing. The temperature is here hot, and the atmosphere dry. The soil, which is of a reddish argill, becomes extremely heavy and tenacious during the rainy weather. The water used for domestic purposes, although wholesome, is not very limpid. The inhabitants of this city amount to four thousand, and are governed by a cabildo. The parish church, hitherto little famed, has now acquired a degree of celebrity, which future ages will find it difficult to destroy. It arose from miracles said to have been performed by our Lady of Valencianos.

This virgin was found in a ravine of the same name, by an aged Indian, who immediately carried her to his hut, and exhibited her to the veneration of the faithful. This image, with no other light than that of a wretched candle, and without any other shelter than a straw roof, performed as many miracles as if she had occupied a magnificent palace. No sooner was the curé informed of this circumstance, than he repaired to the house of the old Indian, and peremptorily insisted that the virgin should be delivered up to him, in order that he might place her in the church. The Indian at first refused to resign so inestimable a treasure; but at last the influence of the curé prevailed, and the virgin was carried in procession to the church, and placed in a situation worthy of her dignity.

The report was soon spread throughout the province; the people flocked from all quarters; donations were liberally poured in, and the virgin every day received fresh jewels in return for the favours conferred by her. Such presents greatly augmented the casual perquisites of the curé. In short, every thing appeared in a prosperous train, when the jealousy or piety of the curé of Saint Sebastian delos Reyes dissipated this flattering prospect. He insisted that the virgin ought in justice to be given up to him, in as much as the ravine of los Valencianos, in which she had been found, being within the boundaries of his parish, it was indisputable that she appertained to his church. The curé of Saint-Louis de Cura urged still more weighty arguments in support of his right than those adduced by his opponent. A law-suit immediately commenced, the litigants were animated

with equal fury against each other, and equally eager to prove the superiority of their claim to the possession of the virgin.

The bishop of Carraccas, who was greatly perplexed how to decide this singular question, commanded that the virgin, the source of the litigation, should be transferred to Carraccas, and lodged in the episcopal palace, where she was allowed quietly to remain until his death. At last, in 1802, the bishop of Francisco Ibarra, a prelate possessed of every moral and religious virtue, proposed to the new curé of Saint Sebastian de los Reyes to desist from the pretensions of his predecessor, and suffer the virgin to be returned to the curé of Saint-Louis de Cura. The affair terminated according to the pacific wishes of the venerable bishop. The process was extinguished, discord ceased, and our Lady of los Valencianos returned in triumph to Saint-Louis de Cura, after an absence of thirty years.

The city of Saint-Louis de Cura is twenty-two leagues south-west from Carraccas, and eight leagues south-east from the lake of Valence.

The city of Saint-Sebastien de los Reyes was founded in the sixteenth century, and consequently had from its origin a cabildo and a curé. Though the soil in this district be fitted to receive any species of crop, the inhabitants have hitherto confined themselves to the culture of maize, placing their chief dependance on the possession of numerous flocks and herds of cattle.

The city upon the whole is not handsome, and evidently bears the marks of its early origin. Its situation is agreeable, though a residence in it be far from desirable, on account of the intense heat which prevails, and which is very little moderated by a constant breeze from the north-east. The water is here muddy, but in great abundance. Besides the parish church, there is only one hospital, which is of little importance. The inhabitants amount to three thousand five hundred.

This city is eighteen leagues south-west from Carraccas.

The city of Saint Philippe, which is at present so remarkable for the activity and industry of its inhabitants, was formerly a wretched village, known under the name of Cocorote. Its population, which amounts to six thousand eight hundred persons, is chiefly composed of individuals from Barquisimeto, and Spaniards from the Canaries. The soil around this place is remarkable for its fertility: to the east flows the river Yarani, and to the west that of Arva; the ground is intersected in every direction by small streams and ravines, and being alternatively exposed to abundant rains and extreme heat, is covered with perpetual verdure. The inhabitants cultivate cocoa, indigo, coffee, a little cotton, and a very few sugar-canes. The uncommon richness of the soil greatly contributed to draw the city of Saint-Phi-

liffe from its original obscurity ; and the company of Guipuscoa completed the work, by making choice of this place to establish magazines of goods, for which there was any demand in the interior, as well as for those they received in return. Saint Philippe is regularly built; the streets are wide, and run at right angles with each other; and the parish church is a neat handsome edifice. A cabildo is entrusted with the execution of the municipal laws, and the administration of justice. The atmosphere is here extremely warm and humid, which consequently renders this city unhealthy. It is affirmed, however, that syphilitic maladies are more common than any other.

Saint-Philippe stands fifty leagues west from Carraccas, fifteen leagues north-west from Valence, and seven leagues north-west from Nirgua. This last city, one of the first that was founded in the province of Venezuela, was built on account of the mines discovered in the vicinity of its site, but which were, as has been already related, never rendered productive. The surrounding lands are fertile, but the air is extremely unwholesome. Even the natives themselves are frequently attacked by acute diseases, which for the most part terminate fatally. Many of the whites who formerly inhabited this city, have abandoned it, as they conceived they could no longer enjoy tranquillity ; after that the Sambos, in return for services rendered to the king, obtained from him the *appellation of his faithful and loyal subjects*.

All the places in the cabildo, or municipality, are filled by Sambos. The lieutenant of justice, who is nominated by the governor, is the only white holding any office in this city.

Nirgua exhibits all the symptoms of decline. The houses are rapidly falling into a state of dilapidation, without any effort to counteract it. Its population is calculated at three thousand two hundred persons.

A Sambo is the offspring of a negress with an Indian, or of a negro with an Indian woman. In colour he nearly resembles the child of a mulatto by a negress. The Sambo is well formed, muscular, and capable of supporting great fatigue ; but unfortunately his mind has a strong bias to vice of every kind. The word Sambo signifies in the language of the country every thing despicable and worthless, a knave, a drone, a drunkard, a cheat, a robber, and even an assassin. Of ten crimes committed in this district, eight are chargeable on this villanous and accursed race. Their immorality is peculiar to themselves ; for it is never perceived to prevail to the same degree either among negroes, mulattoes, or any other race pure or mixed. A phenomenon which frequently struck me is that the children of a white with an Indian, whose colour is of a pale white, are all delicate, agreeable, good, docile, and that increasing years, far from de-

stroying these qualities, tend, on the contrary, to render them more obvious.

The city of Nirgua is situated forty-eight leagues from Carracas.

The city of San-Carlos owes its foundation to the first missionaries of Venezuela, and its increasing size and beauty, to the industry and activity of the inhabitants. The chief part of the white population of this place is composed of Spaniards from the Canaries; and as they left their native country expressly with the design of meliorating their fortune, they brought along with them that spirit of perseverance and enterprise which is necessary to attain the object they had in view. Their example communicated, even to the creoles, a spirit of emulation, which tended still farther to increase the public prosperity. Oxen, horses, and mules, which they possess in abundance, constitute the principal part of their wealth. Agriculture is not, however, wholly neglected by them; they raise indigo and coffee in considerable quantities; the quality of the soil gives an exquisite flavour to their fruits, especially to the oranges, which are much famed for excellence throughout the province.

The city is large, handsome and well laid out; the inhabitants amount to nine thousand five hundred. The parish church, by its construction, and the liberal manner in which it is endowed, reflects honour on the industrious activity and piety of the parishioners.

The heat experienced at San-Carlos is intense, and would be nearly insupportable, were it not partly moderated by the violence of the north-east wind.

San Carlos stands sixty leagues south-west from Carracas, twenty-four south-south-west from Valence, and twenty from Saint Philippe.

The government of Cumana comprehends two provinces, the one termed Cumana, and the other Barcelona. It is not well known how Barcelona obtained the title of a province, since it never had any appropriate governor, and from the time of its conquest by the Spaniards, has constantly made a part of the government of Cumana.

The government of Cumana is bounded towards the north and east by the sea, to the west by the river Unare, and to the south by the Oroonoko, except in those parts where the left bank of this river is inhabited. The jurisdiction of the governor of Guiana extends to within a cannon-shot of the establishments situated to the north of Oroonoko.

From the river Unare, to the city of Cumana, the land is sufficiently fertile; but from the promontory of Araya, for the distance of twenty to twenty-five leagues more towards the east,



*Llanuchlyn Mill near Bala.*



the coast is arid, sandy, and steril. That part of the province which borders the Oroonoko is only fit for pasturing cattle, and is appropriated by the inhabitants to this purpose alone.

The rest of the ground is extremely fertile; the plains, the vallies, and the hillocks, are covered with the most luxuriant verdure, and the most abundant crops: but what must appear truly surprising in this delightful region, neither the tygers, caymens, nor even the apes, betray the smallest terror on the approach of man. The most valuable trees, such as the guaiacuin, brasil, and logwood, &c. are found even on the coast of Paria itself; and the woods abound with rare and beautiful birds.

In the interior of the province are several lofty mountains, the highest of which, Tumeriquiri, is nine hundred and thirty-five toises above the level of the sea.

In this mountain is situated the cavern of Guacharo, which is so celebrated among the Indians. It is very extensive, and serves as a habitation to an immense number of nocturnal birds, especially a new species of the *caprimulgus*, *Linn.* from the fat of which is procured the oil of Guacharo. Its situation is commanding, and ornamented by the most luxuriant vegetation. From this cavern issues a river of considerable size, and in the interior is heard the doleful cry of the birds, which the Indians attribute to the souls of the deceased, which, according to them, must of necessity pass through this place in order to enter the other world. This privilege they immediately obtain when their conduct has been irreproachable throughout life. In the contrary case, they are confined for a longer or shorter time in the cavern, according to the magnitude of their offences. It is this dark and dreary abode that forces from them those groans and lamentations which are heard without.

The Indians are so fully persuaded of the truth of this tradition, which has been handed down to them from time immemorial, that immediately on the death of any of their relations or friends, they repair to the mouth of the cavern, in order to ascertain whether their souls have encountered any obstacles, or been allowed to pass. When they cannot distinguish their voices, they retire overwhelmed with joy, and celebrate the event by ebriety and dances characteristic of their happiness; but when, on the contrary, they conceive the voice of the defunct is heard, they hurry away to drown their sorrow in intoxicating draughts, accompanied by dances calculated to mark their despair. Thus whatever be the fate of the defunct's soul, they give themselves up to the same excesses, making no difference but in the nature of the dance.

All the Indian tribes of Cumana, as well as those inhabiting the banks of the Oroonoko, who are not converted to christ-

anity, and even many others who pretend to be so, are as fully convinced as their forefathers, of the truth of this tradition. It appears even that this fable, is not, like many others of a similar kind, the offspring of fraud or fanaticism; for it is not accompanied by any religious ceremony which could prove productive of emolument to the inventor. Neither does the cavern itself display any monument of that sway which imposture exercises over the minds of the credulous. This tradition seems therefore to have originated merely from the influence of fear on the mind, which is ever fertile in creating phantoms, and in devising expedients to sooth its imaginary terrors. Among the Indians who live even at the distance of two hundred leagues from this cavern, to *descend to Guacharo* is synonymous with *to die*.

The principal establishment dependent on Cumana, such as Barcelona, Piritu, Clarinas, &c. Twelve leagues to the south-east of Cumana lies the valley of Cumanacoa, wherein much tobacco is cultivated for the behoof of the king. Its soil appears to be well calculated for this species of production, as the tobacco raised thereon is considered in the country as much superior to that produced in any other part of Terra-Firma. In the environs of Cumanacoa are situated the Indian villages, San-Fernando, Arenas, Aricagua. The land adjoining to them is extremely fertile, but uncultivated. Farther in the interior lie the vallies of Carépe, Guanaguana, Cocoyar, &c. which, though equally fertile, as the land above mentioned, also remain in a state of nature.

All the settlements on the banks of the gulph of Paria, from the mouth of the river Guarapiche, to the most northern mouth of the Oroonoko, are in a prosperous state. Since the English took possession of Trinidad in 1797, the villages of Guiria and Guimima have been formed by French and Spanish refugees from that island. The rapid progress of agriculture, during this short interval, renders it presumable that this district will in a few years become the most productive part of the province. It must be admitted that the vicinity of Trinidad since it has been in possession of the English, holds out greater inducements to the cultivator to proceed in his improvements on the coast of Paria, than any where else. Besides obtaining at a reasonable rate, and often on credit, all the implements and apparatus necessary to the success of his establishment, he disposes of his commodities on the spot free of duty, and with little expence for freight, at prices greatly exceeding those which he could procure for them in the Spanish ports. Whether government ought to tolerate this clandestine trade, which, in fact, is only a slight evil when compared with the advantages of which it is

productive to the province, or to adopt measures suited to counteract it, is a question which, it must be confessed, it is not very easy to resolve. But it appears to me that it would be bad policy to interfere with it, until that these settlements be so far advanced in improvement, as to attract to themselves the commerce of the mother country.

Cumana is intersected in all directions by ravines, brooks, and rivers, equally applicable to irrigation, to the erection of water-mills, and to navigation. It has been already mentioned that the rivers Neveri and Mansanares, which discharge their waters into the sea towards the north; run but a very short way, and are of inconsiderable magnitude; while those which flow towards the east, and into the gulph of Paria, traverse a much greater extent of country. Some of these rivers, such as Colorado, Guatatar, Caripe, Punceres, Tigre, Guayuta, &c. empty themselves into the Guarapiche, which is navigable for twenty-five leagues from the sea; others pursue a southerly direction, and after watering the province, discharge their waters into the Oroonoko.

According to convenience, goods may be sent either by the way of Barcelona and Cumana, by the gulph of Paria, or by the Oroonoko.

What rapid improvement might not be made in a country so favoured by nature, and which contains a population of eighty thousand persons, exclusive of the Indian tribes not yet finally subjected, and who still continue to exercise the zeal and patience of the missionaries!

Spain ought to derive greater commercial advantages from the province of Cumana alone than from all its other possessions, because there are few countries that unite to an uncommon richness of soil, such a facility, from local situation, for inland and foreign navigation. The city of Cumana, is situated within a quarter of a league of the sea, upon a dry and sandy soil. It lies  $10^{\circ} 37' 37''$  N. lat.; and  $66^{\circ} 30'$  W. long. calculating from the meridian of Paris. Reaumur's thermometer usually indicates in July during the day  $23^{\circ}$ , and  $19^{\circ}$  in the night.

Maximum . . . .	27
Minimum . . . .	17

The elevation of the city is fifty-three feet above the level of the sea. In July the hygrometer of Deluc usually marks from  $50$  to  $53^{\circ}$  of humidity.

Maximum . . . .	66
Minimum . . . .	46

According to the cyanometre of Saussure, there are here  $24\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  of blue in the sky, while at Carraccas there is but  $18^{\circ}$ , and in Europe generally only  $14^{\circ}$ .

The seat of the government of the two provinces is in the city of Cumana. The governor, who is nominated for five years, is at the same time vice-patron; in which capacity he appoints to the vacant cures, and indeed to all places connected with public worship, of which the patronage is vested in the crown of Spain. As sub-delegate of the intendant, he is entrusted with the administration of the finances of his district; he superintends the receipt of the taxes, obviates any doubts which may occur, regulates the payment of the ordinary expences, and receives the accounts of the officers of the administration: but his power is subordinate to the captain-general of Carraccas, in whatever respects the political relations with foreign colonies, as well as the military department; he is also accountable to the intendant in the financial and commercial departments. The governor of Cumana, D. Vicente Emparan, a native of Biscay, took upon himself, however, during the continuance of the war of 1793 and 1801, to permit the entrance of neutral ships into the ports of his government, notwithstanding an express order to the contrary. By this prudent conduct, his department experienced no scarcity, while all the rest of Terra-Firma laboured under a want of every thing, except dry goods, with which the English supplied them. Hence this war, which would have otherwise proved ruinous to the provinces of Cumana and Barcelona, operated, on the contrary, rather as a benefit, which must for ever endear to the inhabitants, the name of a governor who had the courage to hazard the reproaches of his majesty, for the good of the country committed to his charge. His catholic majesty, so far, however, from blaming the conduct of the governor, bestowed on him the highest praise, and allowed him to retire in 1804, with the whole of the salary as governor of Cumana.

Towards the north of the city of Cumana lies the gulf of Cariaco, which has been already mentioned. The river Mansanares, which separates the city on the south, from the suburbs inhabited by the Guayqueris Indians, bounds it on the south and west. The water of this river is that alone which is drank by the inhabitants. Though often not limpid, it is yet reckoned very wholesome.

Cumana is extremely healthy, notwithstanding the great heat of the atmosphere. The sea breeze, however, which blows very regularly during a great part of the day, contributes much to moderate the intense heat of the sun. But in order to enjoy this breeze, it is frequently necessary to ascend a morne rising behind the city and stretching towards the east. A single fort, erected upon this eminence, constitutes the sole defence of Cu-

mana; the garrison of which consists of two hundred and thirty troops of the line, and a company of artillery. During war, this force is augmented by calling out the militia.

At Cumana, there is only a single parish church, which stands on the south-east side of the city, near to a dilapidated fort.

There are also two convents, one of which belongs to the order of Saint Dominic, and the other to that of Saint Francis.

The inhabitants are reckoned at twenty-four thousand. Its augmentation has been so rapid, that they have of late been forced to build on the left bank of the river Mansanares, to the west of the village Guayqueris. These new buildings already constitute a populous village, which communicates with the city by means of a bridge. To the first street the inhabitants gave the name of Emparan, in honour of the governor who contributed so much to promote their interest.

All the houses in Cumana are low and superficially built. The frequent earthquakes which it has experienced for ten years, have constrained the inhabitants to attend more to their personal safety, than to elegance and beauty in the construction of their houses. The violent shocks which occurred during the month of December, 1797, overturned nearly all the houses built with stone, and rendered uninhabitable those which remained. The earthquake which was felt in the month of November, 1799, occasioned a variation of the needle of 45'.

According to the opinion of Humboldt, Cumana must be exposed to frequent earthquakes by the proximity of the gulph of Cariaco, which appears to have some communication with the volcanoes of Cumucuta, from which are rejected hydrogen gas, and hot and sulphureous waters. It is worthy of being remarked, that earthquakes occur most frequently after rains, and that then the caverns of Cuchivao emit an inflammable gas, which, during the night, may be seen burning at the height of one hundred toises.

The population of Cumana mostly consists of white creoles, who generally evince much goodness of disposition. They uniformly display a warm attachment to their natal soil, and for the most part pursue the same occupation as their fathers. Some engage in agriculture; while many others procure a competency by entering into trade, or by adopting a sea-faring life, &c. A great proportion of the fish caught on the shores of Cumana, is salted and sent to Carraccas, and the other cities of these provinces, as well as to the islands situated to leeward; from which they import in return, implements of agriculture, provisions of different kinds, and contraband goods. The cargoes are generally of trifling value, and they content themselves with very moderate profits, but which they endeavour to enhance by making

frequent voyages. A capital of from 4000 to 5000 piastres, which in any other place would be wholly insufficient to undertake any commercial speculation, here serves to maintain five or six families.

The creoles of Cumana, who devote themselves to literary pursuits, are characterized by their penetration, judgment, and application. We do not, indeed, see among them, that quickness of perception which marks the creoles of Maracaybo; but they on the other hand more than compensate for this deficiency, by a greater portion of solidity and good sense.

Trade, whether in retail, or on a large scale, is carried on at Cumana by Catalonians, and natives of the Canary islands.

Among the different productions exported by the merchants of Cumana, cocoa, and the oil expressed from it, deserves particularly to be mentioned. Various medicinal plants, which grow in the country, might also find a ready market, if the inhabitants possessed any knowledge of their virtues, and knew how to prepare them.

Cumanacoa is situated fourteen leagues south-east from Cumana, in the middle of a valley of the same name. It is reckoned to contain four thousand two hundred individuals. Nothing appears wanting to render this city flourishing, but a sufficient degree of energy in the inhabitants to avail themselves of the uncommon fertility of the soil by which it is surrounded. The fruits possess a flavour, taste, and mellowness, which they are rarely found to have in other places.

The government gave to this city the name of San-Baltasar de Los-Arias, but it is much better known under that of Cumanacoa.

The city Cariaco, which is situated upon a river bearing the same name, is designated in the archives of government, under the name of San-Philippo de Austria. It contains only about six or seven thousand inhabitants, but is in a very flourishing condition. The staple production is cotton, which far surpasses in beauty that raised in any other part of Terra-Firma. Its territory alone furnishes annually more than 3000 quintals. Its inhabitants also cultivate cocoa and the sugar cane.

New Barcelona, which was founded in 1634, by D. Juan Urpin, is situated in a plain upon the left bank of the river Neveri, at a league from its mouth. Its population amounts to fourteen thousand inhabitants; besides one parish church, there is also a convent of Franciscans, the structure of which is neither elegant nor handsome. Its streets which remain unpaved, are remarkably dirty during the rainy season; and in dry weather are so covered with dust, as to prove extremely inconvenient. From the prodigious number of hogs which are

reared by the inhabitants such a quantity of filth is accumulated, as to vitiate the air, and frequently engender pestilential maladies. The *cabildo* or municipality, whose principal function it is to watch over the health of the city, views with perfect indifference, and takes no measures to correct this evil; though he himself be equally exposed as the rest of the inhabitants to suffer from the noxious miasmata which exhale from such nuisances. I have, however, been since informed, that M. Cagigal, the commandant of the place, towards the end of 1803, adopted such measures as were calculated to obviate this evil.

The city of Barcelona was first peopled by emigrants from Christophe and Cumanagoto. Agriculture is very much neglected, not only in the immediate vicinity of the city, but in the surrounding country. Among the best cultivated vallies, those of Capirimal and Brigantín are the most conspicuous. There are many others not less fertile, but which from want of culture, do not produce, taken altogether, more than three thousand quintals of cocoa, and a very inconsiderable quantity of cotton. The slaves in this district are far from being numerous. It is estimated that there is not above two thousand upon an extent of territory, the cultivation of which might fully occupy six hundred thousand; besides, the one half of those two thousand are employed as domestics.

The rich pastures, with which the immense plains dependant on Barcelona are covered, have induced the inhabitants to direct their attention principally to the rearing of cattle. Besides the live cattle which they dispose of in the country, or for exportation, prodigious numbers are slaughtered, the flesh of which, when cured, they regularly export to the adjacent isles, as well as to the Havannah, and sell it at a hundred per cent profit. The tallow and hides form another of their staple articles of commerce. At present, this source of profit is considerably diminished by the frequent depredations committed among the cattle, by people who make a trade of carrying them off in such great numbers, as scarcely to leave sufficient to supply the home consumption.

The population is composed of nearly an equal proportion of whites and people of colour; these latter here, as every where else, are far from being industrious agriculturists. Among the whites, there are some Catalonians, who devote themselves exclusively to commerce; but their speculations are chiefly confined to prohibited articles. Their frequent expeditions to Trinidad are seldom undertaken with any other view than that of bringing back contraband goods, which are deposited at Barcelona, and afterwards sent into the provinces either by land or water. The

money annually sent from Barcelona to carry on this clandestine traffic, is computed to amount to 400,000 piastres.

Barcelona is two leagues distant from Cumana by water; but the roads are in such a wretched state, that they reckon the distance by land equivalent to twenty.

Conception del Pao must not be confounded with Saint-Jean-Baptiste del Pao, which is situated in the province of Venezuela. Its inhabitants, who amount to between two and three thousand, are enabled from the extreme fertility of the soil, to live in very easy circumstances. The air is good, and there is abundance of excellent water; the only inconvenience to which the inhabitants are subjected, proceeds from the great heats, and the inundations produced by the long and heavy rains. It is distant about forty-five leagues from Barcelona, fifty-five from Cumana, and nearly eighty south-east from Carraccas.

The island of Marguerite, which is situated in  $10^{\circ} 56'$  lat. and between the 66th and the 67th degree of lon. west from the meridian of Paris, has been long celebrated for its pearl fishery, from which it obtained its present appellation. It lies to the north of Terra-Firma, from which it is only separated by an arm of the sea, about eight leagues in breadth. The productions of this island are of very little importance; it is chiefly valuable as a commercial and military station: since being divided from the continent only by a narrow strait, and lying to windward of Terra-Firma, it might be rendered, under a judicious system, a convenient store-house for Cumana, Barcelona, Carraccas, Goayre, and all the cities of the interior. The island of Trinidad, though less favourably situated for this purpose, yet carries on a contraband traffic to a prodigious extent; which would necessarily be confined to Guiana, if the inhabitants of the eastern part of Terra-Firma could procure at Marguerite, at a cheaper rate, those articles which they are at present obliged to purchase at a greater distance.

Besides these advantages, there are others arising from the possession of Marguerite, which are not less important. We have already mentioned the channel which separates this island from the main land; this channel is not, however, navigable through its whole extent. The Isle de Coche, which lies in the middle, leaves for ships only a very narrow passage, about two leagues in breadth, through which they must necessarily pass. All ships coming from Europe to Cumana, Barcelona, and even to Goayre, must leave Marguerite on the south. If this island should ever come into the possession of the enemies of Spain, all intercourse, not only with Europe, but with the adjacent islands, would be interrupted; because those vessels, which should avoid the channel, would be inevitably taken by the privateers,

to which Marguerite would afford an asylum. The possession of Marguerite would at all times enable an enterprising enemy to fit out expeditions against any part of Terra-Firma which it might wish to invade.

For these and various other reasons, it is the interest of Spain to retain possession of this island; not because she can derive any direct advantages from it, but because she would suffer great injury from its falling under the dominion of any other power.

Throughout the coast of Marguerite, there are only three ports or harbours. Of these the first and the principal is Pampatar, which lies east-south-east; the second, called Pueblo de la Mar, is about a league to leeward of the former; and the third, known under the name of Pueblo del Norte, is situated on the northern side of the island. Near to Pampatar are erected all the fortifications, supposed to be necessary for the defence of the island.

The city of Assumption, which is the capital of Marguerite, stands nearly in the centre of the island. Its population consists of five thousand five hundred whites, two thousand Indians, and six thousand five hundred slaves and free men of colour, making in all fourteen thousand persons. Its principal riches are derived from the fisheries established at the isle of Coche. They are carried on by the Indians of Marguerite, who engage in this employment during three months of the year, for the small pittance of a single real a day each, and a loaf of bread made of maize or Indian corn, which constitute their whole subsistence. In 1803, five individuals belonging to Marguerite, farmed these fisheries, which proved extremely productive, yielding much turtle, and an immense quantity of fish, which after being cured, they sold on the continent, and in the neighbouring islands.

They fabricate at Marguerite, hammocks of cotton, the texture of which is far superior to that of any other made in South America. Cotton stockings of an extreme fineness are likewise manufactured in this island; but they are excessively dear, and rather regarded as articles of luxury than of real utility.

Parrots and other curious birds are so abundant in the island, that every ship which touches at it carries off great numbers of them. Many of the poor inhabitants besides find a considerable resource from the turkeys and other poultry which they rear, and dispose of in the neighbouring islands.

As less vigilance is employed at Marguerite than in many other of the Spanish settlements, to prevent contraband traffic, the inhabitants avail themselves of this circumstance to import mules from Terra-Firma as if on their own account, but which they afterwards furtively export to foreign colonies.

Maracaybo is the capital of an extensive district of the same

name. This district is of very little extent from east to west; but it extends for more than one hundred leagues towards the south, on which side it is bounded by the kingdom of Santa Fè. The territory of Rio-de-la-Hache, which is dependent on the kingdom of New Grenada, bounds it on the west; the sea on the north; and the province of Venezuela, according to the new division, on the east.

The territory of Maracaybo is steril and unproductive even to a considerable distance from the capital: the whole east side of the lake is uninhabited, being arid and insalubrious, and covered with Indian fig-trees and thorny shrubs of different kinds; while on the west side, the land is fertile for more than twenty-five leagues to the south of the city. The country which lies on the south side of the lake, may vie, in point of fertility, with the richest spots in all South America. Nothing is wanting but exertion and industry, to render this a flourishing province, and to enable it to export annually commodities sufficient to load two thousand vessels, each of three hundred tons burden.

The city of Maracaybo is situated upon the left bank of a lake of the same name, and at about sixty leagues distant from the sea. The soil, in its immediate vicinity, is sandy, and wholly destitute of vegetable mould. Its temperature is so much hotter as the land breezes are faint, and far from being regular, as the ground is not watered by any running stream, and as rains fall very seldom. From the month of March to that of October, the heat is excessive; but during July and August, it is so insupportable, that the air seems as if it issued from an oven or furnace. The only effectual means to obviate the effects of this extreme heat, is to bathe frequently in the lake; a practice very common among the inhabitants. Maracaybo is, however, very healthy, and endemic maladies are unknown. Individuals, when once accustomed to the climate, enjoy, to the full, as good health as in many other countries where the heat is much less excessive.

The trade winds usually blow from March to the latter end of June, or the beginning of July. During the months of August and September, calms generally prevail, unless when interrupted by a south wind, which, in the vernacular language of the country, is called *virason*, on account of its insalubrity. It is remarked, that when the land breezes are moderate, the year is rainy; and that when they are violent, drought invariably follows. At Maracaybo, storms and tempests frequently occur. There thunderstorms are dreadful; and not unfrequently are ships, houses, &c. set on fire and consumed by the lightning on such occasions. They never, however, experience any of those tremendous hurricanes which are so frequent in the Antilles. Dreadful and de-

structive as the tempests are, to which Maracaybo is subject, the inhabitants think their occurrence fortunate, as they tend, in their opinion, to prevent earthquakes. The rains which fall during these storms, are so copious that they produce torrents, which, running through Maracaybo with irresistible fury, carry along with them every thing that impedes their passage. Fortunately, these storms are seldom of long duration. The principal part of the city is situated on the borders of a small gulf or bay, nearly a league in extent, which forms the lake towards the west. The other part of the city lies to the north, on a neck or opening of the lake, which, at this place, is only three leagues in extent, but which afterwards swells out towards the south. The point where the city begins, is called the promontory of Maracaybo; and that where the gulf originates, is termed the promontory of Arrieta, situated nearly opposite that of St. Lucia.

Many of the houses at Maracaybo, are built with lime and sand, and with much taste; but, notwithstanding the abundance of wood and the cheapness of tiles—notwithstanding the frequency of fires, by which often entire streets are consumed, many of the inhabitants still continue to cover the roofs of their houses with reeds instead of tiles; which, in their opinion, render them more susceptible of taking fire. The species of reed which they employ for this purpose, is called, by the Spaniards, *enéa*, and grows in great abundance on the borders of the lake. This intermixture of houses covered with reeds, gives to the city the appearance of a mean village; and tends greatly, when fires occur, to increase their activity. Some of the inhabitants are so much under the influence of this prejudice, that, although in affluent circumstances, they construct their houses entirely of reeds, and similar materials.

As there is no other water except that of the lake, the inhabitants are forced to use it, although somewhat disagreeable to the taste; its quality, however, is not bad, excepting only during the fresh gales which blow in spring, when it becomes brackish. In that case, the poor supply themselves with this necessary article, by digging pits in the ground; but the water thus obtained, is neither pleasant nor very wholesome. The rich obviate this inconvenience by having cisterns constructed in their houses for the purpose of collecting rain-water.

The inhabitants of Maracaybo, according to a census taken in 1801, amounted to twenty-two thousand souls: since that period, the population has been greatly augmented by Spanish refugees from the island of St. Domingo. The habit, which the citizens acquire at an early age, of sailing on the lake, whether for pleasure, fishing, or other business, gives them a predi-

lection for the sea, and induces them to repair in great numbers to Porto-Cavello, Goayre, &c. in order to procure employment, and gratify their ambition. They perform coasting, or long voyages, with equal facility; and when all trade is suspended by the operation of war, they enter privateers. Bred up in the neighbourhood of the lake, they are mostly all expert swimmers and excellent divers. Their reputation stands equally high as soldiers. Those who do not enter into the sea service, form plantations, or assist in cultivating those which belong to their fathers. Nothing proves better their aptitude for this kind of occupation, than the immense flocks of cattle with which the savannas of Maracaybo are covered.

But what confers the greatest honour on the inhabitants of Maracaybo, is their application to literature; in which, notwithstanding the wretched state of public education, they make considerable progress. While the business of instruction was committed to the Jesuits, many of their pupils acquired such a degree of proficiency in the Latin language, as to be able to speak it with equal elegance and simplicity. They likewise acquired the art of elocution, and of writing their mother tongue with the greatest purity; in a word, they possessed all the qualities which characterise men of letters. But from the period of the expulsion of those learned men, education has declined at Maracaybo. Lawyers are a great pest at Maracaybo, for they tend to foment discord, and frequently contrive to render causes, which might be easily settled, endless and ruinous to both parties. The penal laws which the legislature has enacted in order to diminish the number of petty-fogging attornies, termed, by the inhabitants *pendolistas*, sufficiently prove the magnitude of the evil.

After allowing that the inhabitants of this city possess activity, genius, and courage, we have nothing farther to say in their praise. They are accused of violating their promises, and even of attempting to break through written engagements. Their character, in this respect, is so notorious, that every stranger whom business induces to visit Maracaybo, affirms, that it would be much better to enter into commercial speculations with the women, because they appear alone to possess that sincerity and good sense which are every where else considered as belonging particularly to man.

While speaking of women, it would be unpardonable not to mention that the females of Maracaybo, whether in the single or married state, conduct themselves with decorum and propriety. After marriage, all their attention and care are exclusively devoted to their husbands, the management of his household, and the education of their children. What constitutes the chief of

their amusements, is music; in particular, so much are they attached to the harp, that there is scarcely a house in which the harmonious sounds of that instrument may not be heard every evening, and especially on holidays. There is only a single parish church in this city, to which is attached a chapel of ease, called San-Juan de Dois.

Maracaybo is the residence of a governor, who is invested with the same powers, and receives the same salary, as the governor of Cumana. It is situated in  $10^{\circ} 30'$  lat. and  $74^{\circ} 6'$  lon. west from the meridian of Paris: it is distant from Carraccas about a hundred and forty leagues. The city of Merida, which was founded in 1558, by Rodriguez Snarez, under the name of Santiago de Los Caballeros, is situated in a valley, three leagues in length, and about three quarters of a league in its greatest breadth. It is encompassed by three rivers; the first of which is called Mucujan, and derives its origin from a district termed in the country, *los Paramos de los Conejos*. It flows from north to south, and enters the city by its eastern extremity: the second of these rivers, known by the name of Albarregas, pursues a north-westerly course, and passes to the west of the city: the third, which is termed Chama, and whose source lies eastward, leaving Merida to the south, runs in a northerly direction till it empties itself into the lake of Maracaybo. The two former of these rivers flow into the Chama near Merida, by the influx of which, as well as many other tributary streams, it is successively augmented, and at last acquires the magnitude of a large river. Over each of these three rivers, a strong wooden bridge has been thrown; so that they may be passed, at all seasons, either on foot or horseback. None of these rivers are navigable, by reason of the rapidity of their currents, and various obstacles, such as immense masses of rocks and mountains, which frequently so nearly approach each other as to contract the bed of the river, and form cascades, precluding the passage even of the smallest vessels, without incurring the danger of being dashed to pieces. These difficulties might perhaps have been surmounted, had not the extreme unhealthiness of the country, lying near that part of the lake into which the river Chama empties itself, hitherto prevented it. So unhealthy, indeed, is this spot, that if any person remains on it for only two hours, he seldom escapes a fever of the most malignant kind, which quickly terminates in death.

The rivers which water the environs of Merida, tend greatly to promote the success of agricultural operations; and it must be acknowledged, to the praise of the inhabitants, that they avail themselves of this advantage. At some distance from the city, they cultivate the sugar-cane, cocoa, and coffee; the quality of which is greatly superior to the same commodities produced in

other parts of the province. Besides a profusion of different fruits, there are also raised, in the vicinity of Merida, maize, beans, and peas, of various species; potatoes, cassada, wheat, barley, &c. All these articles are consumed on the spot, and are in such abundance, that even the most indigent are always enabled to procure for themselves more than enough for their subsistence. Varinas and Pedraza are supplied with butcher's meat from Merida, at a low price, and of an excellent quality.

The temperature of Merida is so extremely variable, that all the changes of the four seasons are frequently experienced in the course of a single day. Nevertheless, the inhabitants affirm, that neither the cold nor heat is ever so intense as to prove inconvenient; and that silken or woollen stuffs may be worn indifferently all the year round: but they cannot deny that the variations of temperature are sometimes so very sudden, as to give rise to discases. The west wind is particularly dreaded by the inhabitants; as it never blows without leaving traces of its noxious influence. Rains fall during every season of the year; but they are more especially abundant from March to November.

The city of Merida is the see of a bishop and chapter. It possesses a college and seminary, in which are educated priests of the Romish church; and where boys are taught those branches of knowledge suited to their rank and condition in life. A rector and sub-rector preside over all the schools in this seminary, under the immediate controul of the bishop.

The inhabitants lately petitioned his Catholic Majesty to allow them to establish an university; but though hitherto the prayer of their petition has not been granted, it is highly probable that their efforts will eventually be crowned with success.

Exclusive of the cathedral, there are various churches and chapels of ease, the number of which is proportioned to that of the inhabitants. The orders of St. Dominic, St. Augustine, and St. Claire, have each their respective convents. The number of the inhabitants of Merida, is estimated at eleven thousand, including slaves and persons of all descriptions. The whites of this city are characterised by great frankness of disposition, solid sense, and a taste for literature. Labour is not considered, by any class, as a degradation. The whites devote themselves to agriculture, the rearing of cattle, or enter into the church. Persons of colour engage in useful occupations, which evince equally their intelligence and application. They manufacture stuffs of cotton and wool, which are in great request, being generally preferred to European linens. With the wool of the country, they work carpets of an ell in length, and more than half an ell in width. These are ornamented with flowers, and

died with indiginous plants of various colours, equally beautiful and durable as those of our most celebrated fabrics. After having mentioned the industry of the inhabitants, it is scarcely necessary to add, that they are generally in affluent circumstances. The latitude of Merida is  $8^{\circ} 10'$ ; its longitude  $73^{\circ} 45'$ .—Its distance from Maracaybo is eighty leagues south; from Carraccas one hundred and forty leagues south-west, and from Varinas twenty-five leagues also to the south-west.

The city of Truxillo is situated between two mountains. The air is here very salubrious, but the water employed for domestic purposes, though light and clear, is impregnated with metallic particles, which occasion those swellings in the throat usually termed goitres, without, however, producing any bad effect upon the general health. The soil is extremely fertile, and yields, with little cultivation, sugar, cocoa, indigo, coffee, and in general all the productions of the torrid zone, as well as some of those of our own temperate climates. The wheat, which is raised in this district in great abundance, is of a superior quality, and the flour differs little from that of Europe; it affords to the cultivator a profitable article of commerce.

Agriculture is not their only occupation. Several of them earn a subsistence by rearing sheep and goats, which are of a larger species, and their flesh more delicate, than in any other part of the province. Their cheeses are also preferred to those made at other dairies. The extreme attention they pay to washing and preparing the wool, enables them to manufacture several fabrics, for which they always find a ready market and receive a good price.

The women, who are more industrious at Truxillo than elsewhere, apply themselves to making different kinds of sweatmeats, a great many of which are sold throughout the province. This species of traffic, though apparently trifling, nevertheless preserves many of the lower classes of society in Truxillo, from that extreme wretchedness, which is but too observable among the same orders in all the other cities.

There is some commercial intercourse kept up between Truxillo and Maracaybo, by means of the lake which is twenty-five leagues to the west of that city; but their greatest trade is with Carora, to which place they send the hides of their goats and sheep, in order to be prepared. The communication, however, with this last place, is attended with great inconvenience, because, being obliged to cross the plains of Llonay, which are extremely unhealthy, unless the journey be performed with uncommon speed, the traveller is almost certain of being attacked with a malignant fever of the most dangerous nature.

There is nothing remarkable in the public buildings of this

city; the parish church is constructed with little taste, but is a solid and decent edifice. A chapel of ease is attached to it, called *Calvaire*. There is also a monastery of Dominicans, another of Franciscans, and a society of female Dominicans, who have devoted themselves to a life of celibacy. Each of the sisters labours in solitude at various kinds of fancy works, which are much admired and eagerly purchased, on account of the extreme delicacy and beauty of the execution.

At Truxillo, there is likewise an hospital, dedicated to our lady of Chiquinquirá; and a cabildo, for the administration of justice and police.

The distance of this city from Carraccas is a hundred and five leagues to the north; from Merida twenty leagues to the south; and from Guanare thirty leagues to the south-east.

The district of Varinas, which was only detached from Maracaybo, and erected into a separate government, in 1787, has been long famous in Europe on account of the fancied superiority of its tobacco. This opinion, however, seems to have originated altogether from prejudice, as it is inferior in every respect to that which is raised in many other places, particularly in Cumanaoa, in the province of Cumana. Nevertheless, the opinion of its superiority is so prevalent, that every cargo of tobacco imported into Amsterdam, or Hamburg, under any other name than that of Varinas, is sold at twenty-five per cent. less, whatever may be its quality.

The Spaniards, availing themselves of this prejudice, ship for the European market most of their tobacco, in whatever province it may have been raised, under this denomination.

Favoured with a fertile soil, and happily situated, the province of Varinas carries on a considerable traffic. Sugar, cotton, coffee, indigo, and in general all the fruits of the torrid zone, thrive exceedingly, and are of an excellent quality. The inhabitants, who for a long time considered the soil of this province as only suited to the raising of tobacco, confined themselves to its culture; but this prejudice is now happily done away, and has given place to a more enlarged system. They send their commodities, for the most part, by water to Guiana. These are shipped on the river Portuguese, five leagues above the city, at a place termed Torunos. In Varinas, they also rear black cattle and mules, which are either exported by the Oronoko, or consumed in the country.

The flourishing state of this province, which it would be easy to invade by means of the navigable rivers emptying themselves into the Oronoko, induced the government in 1803, to establish a militia, and to appoint a garrison for the city of Varinas.

This city is very healthy, though Reaumur's thermometer seldom stands below twenty-four degrees. The inhabitants are

reckoned to amount to ten thousand. Its only public edifices are a parish church and an hospital. The governor enjoys the same salary as those of the other provinces.

San-Jayme is a very insignificant city, whether we consider its population or the trade which it carries on. Its situation is more singular than agreeable. It stands near the confluence of several rivers, which, after uniting for about twelve leagues, flow into the river Apure. Thus surrounded by rivers on all sides, it has nothing to protect it against their annual inundations, but a mount of sand on which it is situated. Hence the inhabitants cannot frequently, during these inundations, either leave or enter their houses without the assistance of canoes. This city is in  $7^{\circ} 50'$  N. lat. and lies seventy-five leagues south from Carraccas.

The city of San-Fernando d'Apure, owes its existence to the inhabitants of Guanare, having extended their flocks over a vast extent of country. In proportion as its population increased, those who found the land preoccupied, turned their views towards the south, and fixed upon the right bank of the celebrated river Apure, where the richness of the pasture completely answered their expectation.

When their numbers became augmented, they requested to be formed into an independent parish, and shortly after, that their village might be honoured with the privileges and the title of a city. This request, however singular, was acceded to. The property of the inhabitants, consists chiefly of flocks of black cattle and mules; they raise very few provisions of any kind. The temperature is here very hot, but the situation is healthy, and the water extremely good. The houses, without being elegant, are well built, and the church, without having any pretensions to grandeur of design, is a decent and convenient edifice. The population of this city is reckoned at six thousand.

## CHAP. VIII.

DIVISION OF GUIANA.—THE RIVER OROONOKO.—IMPORTANCE OF GUIANA; ITS EXTENT AND POPULATION.—LOWER GUIANA.—UPPER GUIANA.—ST. THOMAS, &c.

ALL the space included between the river Oroonoko to the north, that of the Amazons to the south, the sea to the west, and the  $70^{\circ}$  of longitude from the meridian of Paris, is strictly that which is designated under the name of Guiana. The coast from the mouth of the Amazons to that of the Oroonoko, occupies an extent of a hundred and twenty leagues, and is possessed by four different powers. The Portuguese occupy the southern

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part, which, previous to the treaty of peace concluded with France in 1801, extended from the mouth of the Amazons to cape North, to the east of the island of Carpori.

According to this treaty, the limits of Portugueze and French Guiana are marked by the river Carapana, which discharges itself into the Amazons, in 20' north latitude, above fort Macafa. These boundaries are marked out by the course of the river to its source, whence they take a direction towards the great chain of mountains, the sinuosities of which they follow to the nearest point of Rio-Blanco, between the 2 and 3° of north latitude.

Portugueze Guiana, therefore, lies altogether on the left bank of the Amazons, and is bounded on the north by the French possessions as far as the 55° of longitude. On the west, the Portugueze territory borders upon that belonging to Spain. The equinoctial line, according to stipulations, ought to mark the limits of the respective possessions of these two crowns; but the Portugueze have so encroached upon the Spanish territory, that their establishments extend thirty-two leagues north beyond the line; since Isle Saint-Joseph, and the mountain of Gloria del Cocui, are considered as constituting the present boundaries.

French Guiana is bounded on the south by the river Carapana, which mingles its waters with those of the Amazons; on the north by the river Maroni; on the east by the sea; and on the west by the Spanish possessions.

Surinam, Essequibo, and Demerara, belong to the Dutch, and are bounded on the east by the sea; on the south by the river Maroni; on the west by Spanish Guiana; and on the north by the river Essequibo: but on this side they have extended their settlements as far as cape Nassau.

Spanish Guiana is bounded on the east by the sea, from cape Nassau to the mouth of the Oroonoko, the distance between which is about thirty leagues. The river Oroonoko bounds it on the north for the extent of a hundred and fifty leagues from the sea, at which point it becomes its western boundary, as it turns back towards the south for the space of a hundred leagues, where it receives the waters of Guaviari: from thence, the Oroonoko pursuing an easterly course, serves no longer as a boundary to Spanish Guiana, which in this part has for its confines the Portugueze possessions.

Before entering, however, upon a description of Spanish Guiana, which seems destined from the fertility of its soil, and its advantageous situation, to become a flourishing state, it is proper that I should here give some account of the celebrated river Oroonoko. The sources of the Oroonoko are as little known to the Spaniards, as those of the Nile were to Europeans, and even to the Africans themselves, before the publication of

Bruce's travels. Some geographers, among whom is M. Bonne, deduces its origin from lake Parima, situated to the south of the capital of Guiana, while others derive its source from the mountains lying to the north-west of the lake already mentioned. This is the opinion most generally entertained, and apparently deserving of most credit; nevertheless, it is very difficult to arrive at complete certainty on this head, since the native Indians render it very difficult to explore the country. M. Humboldt had a proof of this in his journey in 1800, to Rio-Negro. When he had arrived at the place where the Casiquiari emerges from the Oroonoko, he was anxious to explore the true sources of this celebrated river, but he found that impracticable, and was obliged to rest satisfied with the information he received from some Indians. The mountains termed by the natives Ibvirinoco, give rise to several rivulets, which, uniting at eight or ten leagues from their source, form a river, which, in the course of five hundred leagues that it traverses, before reaching the sea, receives the waters of an infinite number of tributary streams, to which it owes the honourable denomination of a river, which, geographers, as well as the natives, call Oroonoko.

It is conjectured, that the Oroonoko proceeds, for the first hundred leagues, from north to south, leaving lake Parima at the distance of sixty leagues from its left bank. From the number of streams which flow into it during this part of its course, it acquires the magnitude and rapidity of a very large river. From the Esmeraldes to San Fernando of Atahapa, the Oroonoko runs from east to north-west. Here the river Casiquiari forms a communication between the Oroonoko and the Amazons, by means of the Rio-Negro.

The Oroonoko, from its source to the Atures, traverses a country wholly inhabited by Indian tribes, who will probably remain long unsubdued, from their remote situation. Before reaching the Atures, the Oroonoko runs to the north nearly as far as the mouth of the river Meta, from whence it bends to the north-east, and at last taking an easterly direction, pursues an undeviating course towards the sea.

The *Los Saltos de Atures*, are immense cataracts formed by rocks in the bed of the Oroonoko, over which its waters, augmented by the rivers Guaviari and Vichada, dash with inconceivable fury, making a tremendous noise, and throwing up immense columns of white spray or foam. No vessel, however small, can pass these cataracts. The mariners have therefore no other resource, either in ascending or descending this river, but to run their vessel on shore, and drag it to a point beyond the reach of danger.

Beneath these cataracts, the Oroonoko receives on the east

side, the river Abacuna, and on the west the river Bichao; the Meta, which is a very considerable river, flows into the Oroonoko thirty leagues below the cataracts of Atures, and a hundred and twenty-five leagues from St. Thomas, the capital of Guiana.

The navigation of the superior part of the Oroonoko, is far from being so safe and easy, as the immense magnitude of the river might induce us to suppose; for not only do numerous islands obstruct its channel, frequently causing it to shift its bed, but it is full of numerous rocks of different sizes, some of which are on a level with the water, while others remain at a greater or less depth, according to the state of the season; it is, besides, subject to sudden and violent gusts of wind: all these circumstances render it evident, that to navigate the Oroonoko with safety, skilful pilots are not only necessary, but that the vessels ought to be of a certain construction and capacity. What is here said, must, however, be considered as applying to the navigation from the port of Guiana on ascending the Oroonoko, or from the mouth of the Meta in descending towards the capital. As the Oroonoko, for the distance of forty leagues from the shore, is every where interspersed with numerous small islands, it discharges its waters into the sea by means of fifty mouths, seven of which are only navigable; of these last, that which is generally preferred, is termed *la Bouche des Vaisseaux*, because it is through it that vessels usually pass and repass, which carry on a trade with Guiana.

Nothing can be better suited to captivate the admiration of the traveller, than the scenery presented to his view, when sailing on the Oroonoko. At one time he beholds immense and lofty forests, stored with various species of birds, not less striking by the splendour of their plumage, than by the melody of their notes. Asses and monkeys of different kinds, greatly contribute also to enliven the enchanting prospect by their cries, their tricks, and their gambols. Here savage man lives in perfect harmony with the birds of the air, and the beasts of the field, and enjoys in common with them the productions of the earth. At other times are seen extensive plains covered with the richest pasture, which relieves the eye fatigued by contemplating such magnificent forests. In short, every thing concurs to excite in the mind of man, the highest admiration of the order and harmony of nature, and to elevate him in imagination, as it were above himself. The pleasure experienced in viewing a succession of such prospects, is, however, allayed by the necessity of constantly sleeping on the hard ground, by exposure to insects, rocks, and storms, to rains and noxious dews, by the danger of encountering wild beasts, and of perishing for want.

Hitherto, the Oroonoko has been so little known, that it is

generally ranked as the last in the scale of rivers, though it appears to be very problematical, whether any other be entitled to dispute with it the superiority. This opinion receives additional support from M. Humboldt.

It is true, that most geographical writers consider the Amazons, in point of magnitude, as superior to every river on the surface of the globe; but M. Humboldt informs us, in a letter written by him, in 1800, to the captain-general of Carraccas, on returning from his excursion to the Rio-Negro, that though upon comparing his estimate of the Oroonoko, with the one made by the celebrated M. Condamine on that of the Amazons, it results that the latter is by far more extensive than the former at its mouth, yet that the Oroonoko merits the same consideration as to the volume of water it contains in the interior of the country; for at the distance of two hundred leagues from the sea, its channel, without any intervening island, measures from two thousand five-hundred to three thousand toises.

The breadth of the Oroonoko at the capital of Guiana, is 3,500 toises. Its depth, when measured at the same place, by an order from his Catholic majesty in 1734, was found to be sixty-five fathoms, during the month of March, when the waters were at the lowest. With so much velocity and force does it discharge its waters into the sea, that they are perfectly fresh at more than thirty leagues from its mouth, and at more than forty leagues their colour is distinguishable from that of the sea.

The Oroonoko, like the Nile, and many other rivers, experiences an annual and periodical inundation. This inundation uniformly begins in April, and terminates in August. During the whole of September, it remains altogether stationary, and presents a spectacle highly sublime, and worthy of admiration.

The usual increase of the Oroonoko is thirteen fathoms near St. Thomas. It is even evident at the distance of three hundred and fifty leagues from its mouth, and gradually increases in proportion as it approaches the sea. This increase is not uniformly the same every year, but the difference seldom exceeds more than one fathom. In the country they affirm, that there is an extraordinary increase of one fathom every twenty-five years.

Early in October the inundation of the Oroonoko begins to decrease, and its waters gradually return to their former channel. Towards the end of February it falls to its minimum, and remains stationary till the beginning of April. During this interval the turtles leave the river in order to deposit their eggs on the shores; the humidity of which, aided by the heat of the sun, contributes greatly to develop the principles of fecundation.

The waters of the Oroonoko are potable; the inhabitants

attribute to them many medical virtues, and affirm that they possess the power of dispelling wens, and such like tumours.

The tide, which runs very strong at the mouths of the Oroonoko, is so much diminished in force by the numerous channels through which it enters, that it becomes scarcely perceptible before it reaches St. Thomas, excepting only during summer, and when a strong wind blows from the sea.

The Oroonoko abounds with a great variety of different species of fish, so as amply to repay those who pursue fishing as their principal occupation.

Many of these fishes are of a different species from those in the European waters which bear the same names, though they somewhat resemble them in external appearance.

I shall not here enter into a minute enumeration of all the different varieties of fishes found in the Oroonoko, as such details more properly belong to a work on natural history, but content myself with describing those to which the Spaniards give the name of *curbinata* and *caraïbe*.

The first, which never exceeds two pounds in weight, is of an excellent flavour, and abounds in the Oroonoko. But it is not so much as an article of subsistence that it is valued, as on account of two stones situated in its head, exactly in the place which is usually occupied by the brain. These stones, which are regarded as a specific in cases of retention of urine, sell for their weight in gold. The dose is three grains of this stone, well pulverized, mingled in a cup-full of water or wine: this is said to produce an instantaneous effect; it is even affirmed, that any excess in this dose will occasion incontinence of urine. These stones are of the shape of an almond, and resemble in colour, mother of pearl.

The second, which is smaller than the *curbinata*, attacks with great ferocity every animal, whether dead or alive, which falls within its reach. It even wounds the legs of any one who may happen to proceed a short way into the river, and these injuries are supposed to be attended with very serious consequences. The name *caraïbe* has been given to this fish, on account of its ferocious habits.

I cannot, however, so slightly pass over the amphibious animals which frequent the Oroonoko, since they are distinguished by many peculiarities from those of the same class in Europe.

The *cayman*, which many naturalists confound with the alligator and the crocodile, is very different from these two species, as has been fully demonstrated by the Abbé Bonaterre, in the *Cyclopedie Methodique*. Of a much larger size than the crocodile and even than the alligator, it is also more sluggish and stupid. It would likewise be more dangerous than the crocodile, if it made the most of its strength. Like all the animals of this

species, it is of the lizard form, and from fifteen to eighteen feet in length. Its mouth, which is extremely large, is furnished with a double range of sharp teeth, a little separated from each other. Its eyes are prominent, and the animal usually keeps on a level with the surface of the water; it is thus enabled to view every object, without being observed in its turn. Its skin is covered with strong sharp scales, impenetrable by a musket-ball. It devours vast numbers of fishes, and is regarded with great terror by the inhabitants. The Indians eat its flesh, which is white, but of an insipid taste; it is caught by means of large iron hooks. Its teeth are employed by the Indians as an ornament for the neck and arms; they are also regarded as an antidote to certain poisons, and as an alexipharmic in general. The teeth, and other parts of its body are exhibited in a pulverized state, in the dose of twelve grains of either the one or the other, or six grains of each, as an antispasmodic, and repeated according to the necessity of the case. A drop of the gall insinuated into the inner angle of the eye, is regarded as a powerful remedy in cases of cataract and dimness of sight. It produces at first a sensation of heat, which soon, however, abates.

The fat of the cayman when melted, is employed to cleanse the ears. It is supposed to produce the same effect on the mesenteric veins, and on that account is prescribed to those who eat earth, in the dose of a cup-full in a quantity of mucilage.

The guana is very common in the Oroonoko. It is of the lizard tribe, about two feet and a half long, and of a green colour; it is furnished with a row of sharp points along its back, like the cayman, which gives it a horrible aspect. It frequently remains on trees ashore, but retreats into the water on the slightest appearance of danger. The Indians, as well as the Spaniards, regard them as a luxury, equal to that of the finest chicken. The female lays from twenty-five to thirty eggs, about the size of a nut, which are of a yellow colour, and covered with a pellicle or membrane, instead of a shell; they are usually eaten roasted, in the same manner as the eggs of domestic fowls.

Another animal which abounds in the Oroonoko, and the neighbouring rivers, is termed by the Caribs *capigua*, by the Indians *chiquire*, and by the Spaniards *guardatinajas*. Its muzzle resembles that of a sheep, its skin is red, and the tail so short, as scarcely to be perceptible. These animals are eaten by the inhabitants on fast days, from the idea that they partake more of the nature of fish, than of that of land animals. They always swim in shoals, and occasionally raise their heads above water in order to respire. They feed upon the herbs which grow on the banks of the lakes and rivers, and are regarded by

the Indians as a delicious morsel; they consequently kill them in considerable numbers by means of their arrows.

The lapa, which is another amphibious animal, common to Guiana and most parts of Terra-Firma, is called by the Indians *tamenu*. It is about the size of a terrier dog. Its hair is red, and variegated with whitish spots. Its flesh is extremely tender, and resembles that of a sucking pig. It feeds upon the herbage and fruits growing on the banks of the rivers which it inhabits, but on the least noise, retires to the waters. It is esteemed a great delicacy by the South Americans. An animal to which the Spaniards have given the appellation of *water-dog*, is also found in the Oroonoko; it belongs to the genus *Phoca*, and much resembles the beaver. Its head is about the size of that of a middle-sized dog, and its ears exactly similar to those of the beaver; its tail is long, and the fore feet of the same shape, but somewhat larger than those of a fox; its hind feet are flat and membranous, and the skin soft and of a whitish colour. It inhabits holes, which it scoops out on the banks of rivers, from which, however, it frequently proceeds a considerable distance into the country. This animal does not live solely upon herbs and fruits, but devours a considerable number of fishes, which it catches with inconceivable dexterity.

A small amphibious animal known by the name of liron, is also frequently met with in the rivers and marshes of South America. It is covered with thick soft white hair, with black bands so disposed, as greatly to add to the beauty of its appearance. Its head is small, like that of the dormouse, and is furnished with whiskers like a cat. Its feet are membranous, and its tail prehensile, and destitute of hair from the middle to the extremity. This animal is provided with a sack or pouch under its belly, in which it carries its young.

The last of the amphibia, which we shall here notice, is the *manati*, or sea-cow. It is ill proportioned and of a hideous appearance. It nearly equals an ox in magnitude, and like it, ruminates its food. The eyes of this animal are extremely small, and its organs of hearing almost imperceptible; it is not provided with fins, which forces it frequently to leave the water, in order to respire. Its hide is much thicker than that of an ox, and is employed for the purpose of making thongs for oxen, horse, whips, &c. To its breast are attached two small arms or paws without hoofs, which assist its loco-motive powers when on shore. The female carries under these arms her young, which usually consist of a male and female. She presses them against her breast, and nourishes them with milk until they attain sufficient strength to follow her on foot.

The flesh of the *manati* is extremely fat and tender; the

greatest part of it is convertible into good lamp oil; the Indians take them in the same manner as the whales are caught at Spitsbergen.

Whether we consider the extent of Guiana, or the fertility of its soil, it is questioned, if Spain, among all her foreign dominions, has a settlement superior to it in importance. Spanish Guiana, from the mouths of the Oroonoko to its junction with the Portuguese territory, extends over a space of more than four hundred leagues. Its breadth for eighty leagues eastward, does not exceed thirty leagues, in which direction it is bounded by the Dutch possessions, but it afterwards widens to more than one hundred and fifty leagues.

The population of this immense territory, including persons of all descriptions, is only estimated at thirty-four thousand, of which nineteen thousand four hundred and twenty-five Indians, are under the jurisdiction of the missionaries, six thousand five hundred and seventy-five reside in the capital, and the remaining eight thousand are scattered through the different villages.

This territory is divided into Upper and Lower Guiana; and the capital has been adopted as the point of division, though the river Caroni seems better calculated for this purpose, as it forms the western boundary of a portion of Guiana, that is insulated by having the Oroonoko to the north, the sea to the east, and the river Essequibo, to the south. This district intersected in all directions by numerous rivers, which have for time immemorial contributed to increase the quantity of vegetable mould on its surface, is surpassed, in point of fertility, by no other portion of territory throughout America.

The missionaries who were first deputed to civilize the Indians by the introduction of Christianity, began their operations in this part of Guiana. But though the erection of twenty-seven villages to the east of the river Caroni, attests the success of these early missionaries, they have never ventured to approach nearer to the coast than thirty leagues, from its being inhabited by Caribs, the most ferocious of all the Indian tribes, who have never failed to massacre the preachers of Christianity sent to convert them. There can be no doubt that the ferocity of the Caribs would have in time yielded to the efforts of the missionaries, had they been left to the impulse of their own feelings; but the Dutch of Surinam, who are interested in extending their commerce into Spanish Guiana, have uniformly endeavoured to foment the hatred of the Caribs against the Spaniards, with a view to prevent the approach of the latter towards the coast. It is, in fact, certain, that Spanish Guiana, which in the best charts is made to occupy thirty leagues from the mouth of the Oroonoko to cape Nassau, never extended so far in that direc-

natives, who have uniformly asserted their independence, and, never having been either converted, reduced, or subjugated, continue still as free as they were before the discovery of the New World.

The Dutch have always strenuously endeavoured to maintain a strict alliance and friendship with the Caribs. In this they succeeded more readily, as they never inculcated on them the rigid and troublesome morality of the Spaniards, but, on the contrary, made every allowance for the difference of their manners and habits. It is even affirmed, that on all occasions they never failed to foment their hatred against the Spaniards, and to attach them to their own interest: what appears to prove the truth of these assertions, is the liberty that the Caribs have granted them of keeping a military guard in their territory, with a view to protect the contraband traffic which they carry on.

The Spaniards of Guiana, and the Dutch of Surinam, are therefore far from living on terms of amity with each other. The Spaniards affirm that the Dutch do not respect the boundaries between the possessions of the two countries, but are continually encroaching on their territory; that they injure the Spanish commerce in Guiana, by the constant traffic which they carry on; that they continually excite the Caribs to revolt; and that they prevent their subjugation by the arms with which they supply them.

The Dutch in their turn ascribe the desertion of their slaves in Surinam to the Spaniards, who, they assert, never fail to afford them an asylum in Guiana. It must be admitted, that for a long time the Spanish government favoured the slaves of Surinam, who fled to them for protection, more out of hatred to the Dutch than from principles of humanity. They have even peopled with these fugitives two very considerable villages on the banks of the river Camra, into which are also received the Indians, whom the Caribs force to fly, in order to avoid becoming the slaves of the Dutch. From such a heterogeneous population, without civilization, it is greatly to be feared, that sooner or later the public tranquillity may be endangered.

These, and similar complaints have continued to be made by the respective governments for the last seven or eight years, and different treaties have been entered into, with a view to remedy such evils in future. One of the stipulations is, that the Spaniards shall either send back, or pay the full value of every slave who takes such refuge in their dominions. If this condition continue to be faithfully executed, it will greatly tend to preserve harmony between the two countries.

That tract of country lying to the east of the river Caroni, from about a league above St. Thomas, is included under Upper

Guiana, and is placed under the care of a Franciscan mission. If we are to estimate the zeal of these missionaries by the progress of Christianity among the Indian tribes, we must suppose it to have been very lukewarm indeed; but when we reflect upon the obstacles they had to surmount, the difficulties they had to encounter, and, above all, the indifference, or rather the decided repugnance of these tribes to receive the light of Christianity, it must, we think, be admitted that the Franciscans have done as much on the upper banks of the Oroonoko, as it was possible for man to achieve under such circumstances. While we thus do justice to the zeal of these spiritual guides in the propagation of their faith, we cannot but lament that they had not endeavoured to establish among their converts habits of industry and a love of labour; instead of which, if they only muttered over a few prayers at stated hours, they were suffered to pass the rest of their time in sloth and idleness. If any of them, more active than the rest, raised a few provisions round his hut, he was deemed a prodigy of industry. The consequence of such an erroneous system has been, that on the richest land in the universe, we only behold a few scattered and wretched habitations, situated thirty leagues to the south of the capital of Guiana. Here the proprietors raise some cotton, a small quantity of sugar-canes, and some of the culinary vegetables of the country. The land in this neighbourhood is well suited to the culture of tobacco, if we may judge by the excellent quality of that which is raised in the vicinity of Saint Antonio Uspata, on account of the king.

The city of Saint Thomas, situated on the right bank of the Oroonoko, is the residence of a governor, who enjoys a salary of three thousand piastres. He enjoys all the rights, and exercises all the functions of the other governors, but subject in the military, political, and financial departments, to the controul of the captain-general of Carraccas.

The bishop of Guiana also resides in this capital; but there is not one decent edifice dedicated to religious purposes. Divine worship is performed in a mass-house, of which the most insignificant village would be ashamed as a parish church. The bishop has made many representations on this subject to the Spanish government, which have hitherto been wholly fruitless, and, with the limited income he enjoys, nothing is left for him to do but to breathe his ardent wishes for the erection of an edifice worthy of the grandeur of the object to which it is set apart.

The police of the capital of Guiana is administered by a *cabildo*, the only one in the province, consisting of two *alcades*, an *alguazil*, an *alferez real*, and a *notary*.

In the province of Guiana there are only three curés, Saint

Thomas, Saint Rose of Maruante to the east, and Caycara a hundred leagues to the west.

The air is extremely pure and healthy in Saint Thomas. The breezes are regular from November to the month of May; but during the rest of the year they are frequently interrupted by calms; the streets are regular, and all paved; the houses, like those of Carraccas, are mostly built of lime and sand, with terraces above, where the inhabitants sleep during the hot season. Storms are here very frequent during the months of August, September, and October, but they are never visited by earthquakes. The tythe throughout Guiana was farmed in 1803, at 4,000 piastres. Now, supposing the farmer to gain fifty per cent. which, added to the former sum, makes 6,000, the annual value of the exports, &c. throughout the province of Guiana, will amount to 60,000 piastres. It requires little penetration to estimate the share which can be appropriated to commerce.

It is true, that in this calculation the tythe of the profits of the flocks of the missionaries are not included, because they are exempted from the tax. It is estimated that they possess cattle to the amount of a hundred and fifty thousand, which constitutes part of the riches of Guiana.

From 1791 to 1794 there were exported from the port of Guiana ten thousand three hundred and eighty oxen, and three thousand a hundred and forty mules, all either bred in the province itself, or brought from Varinas; in return, was imported two hundred Blacks, and 349,448 piastres in specie.

From 1791 to 1795 the silver exported to

Europe, amounted to	-	-	-	25,203 piastres.
In commodities	-	-	-	363,397

Total      388,600

At present this commerce is reduced to less than one half.

Toward the conclusion of 1803 there were thirty small vessels employed in the coasting trade between Guiana and the other colonies; and this trade was chiefly in the hands of some Catalonians, but the indolence of the inhabitants, and other circumstances, rendered their speculations in a great measure abortive.

One great obstacle to the exertion of industry in Guiana is the difficulty of communication between the different parts of the province, owing to the numerous rivers with which it is every where intersected, and the want of good roads.

The port of St. Thomas is likewise subject to continual injuries from the shooting-in of the earth, which exposes the houses to be inundated, particularly during the months of July, August, and September, but which might easily be remedied by the

erection of a solid quay on that part called *la Almeda*. What would still farther improve this harbour, would be to blow up the large rocks, which at present render the anchorage ground unsafe and incommodious. The most proper season for performing the operation would be the beginning of February, when the waters of the Oroonoko are at the lowest. Another improvement, suggested by the inhabitants, would be to render more navigable the channel of Mamo, which is seven leagues below the capital, since in its present state no vessel can sail through it from the month of January to that of April.

With a view of better protecting Guiana from foreign attacks, the Spanish government has placed the capital at the immense distance of ninety leagues from the mouth of the river; but, in my opinion, this purpose would have been more effectually accomplished by placing it nearer the sea; since an enemy in this case could not have penetrated into the country till they had first rendered themselves masters of it. Whether we consider the subject in this point of view, or with respect to trade and navigation, it must, I think, appear evident, that a worse situation could not have been chosen.

The voyage from that mouth of the Oroonoko termed *la Bouche des Vaisseaux* to Saint Thomas's, generally takes from fifteen to twenty or thirty days; and if we add to the time thus lost, the risks to be encountered, it must be allowed that there are few navigators who would not prefer making a voyage to Europe, rather than undergo the danger, anxiety, and delay attendant on the navigation of the Oroonoko.

## EXPLANATION

*Of the Map of the City of CARRACCAS, in South America, the Capital of the Provinces of Venezuela, Maracaybo, Varinas, Guiana, and the Island of Marguerite.*

<b>A</b> THE Cathedral	<b>a</b> Placa Mayor, or principal square	<b>1</b> Archbishopric
<b>B</b> Parish of St. Paul		<b>2</b> Town-house
<b>C</b> ———— of Altagracia	<b>b</b> Square of Candalaria	<b>3</b> Edifices building for public offices
<b>D</b> ———— of Candalaria	<b>c</b> ———— of St. Paul	<b>4</b> Barracks of St. Anne
<b>E</b> Church of St. Maurice	<b>d</b> ———— of Trinity	<b>5</b> Barracks of the Militia
<b>F</b> ———— of Pastora	<b>f</b> ———— of Lion	<b>6</b> Convent of Misericorde
<b>G</b> ———— of Trinity, & Chapel of Candalaria	<b>g</b> Small Sq. of St. Lazarus	<b>7</b> Bivonac
<b>H</b> Parish of St. Rosalia	<b>h</b> ———— of Pastora	<b>8</b> Shops let out by the city
<b>Y</b> Monastery of St. Hiacinthe	<b>l</b> ———— of Altagracia	<b>10</b> Custom-house of Pastora
	<b>m</b> ———— of Hiacinthe	
<b>I</b> ———— of St. Francois	<b>n</b> ———— of St. Philippe of Nervi	<b>11</b> Road from the Valley of Pastora
	<b>o</b> ———— of Rosalia	
<b>K</b> ———— of Mercy	<b>p</b> Cemetery of the Cathedral	<b>12</b> Road from Petare
<b>L</b> ———— of Carmilites	<b>q</b> Play-house	<b>13</b> House of Prayer
<b>M</b> ———— of Conception	<b>r</b> House building for the residence of the Captain-General	<b>14</b> Houses let out
<b>N</b> Oratory of St. Philippe ———— of Neri	<b>t</b> Military Hospital	<b>15</b> State Prison
<b>O</b> New Church, left unfinished	<b>u</b> Seminary of Female Education	<b>16</b> House of Correction
<b>P</b> Convent of Capuchins		<b>17</b> Prison of Inquisition
<b>Q</b> Hospital of St. Paul		<b>18</b> ———— of the Treasury
<b>R</b> ———— of St. Lazarus		<b>19</b> House of the Royal Audience
<b>S</b> Convent and Chapel of the Daughters of Charity		<b>20</b> ———— Royal, Administration.
<b>T</b> College and University		<b>21</b> Bridges
<b>U</b> Hermitage of Calvaire		<b>22</b> Public Fountains
		<b>23</b> Reservoirs of the Fountains

# INDEX.

**A**MERICA, difficulty of the Spaniards in conquering some parts of, accounted for, 6.—America considered before its conquest, 17; its population and government, 48.—Americus Vespusius, futility of his pretensions to the discovery of the continent of America, 7.—Amusements, public, state of the, at Carraccas, 98.—Araya, the point of, necessity of knowing it in entering the port of Armana from Europe, 27.—Audience, the court of, remarks on the, their power, &c. 67.—Authority, parental, observations on it, in South America, 36.

Barcelona, particulars relative to the port of, 26.—Barquisimeto, excellence of its situation, 120.—Bays, sketch of the principal, in the province of Carraccas, 23.—Bodegas, their advantageous trade, 88.

Cabildos, account of the institution of the, 68.—Calaboso, account of the city of, 123.—Caratapona, account of a small island so called, in the lake of Valence, 17.—Caravaleda, foundation of the city, causes of its abandonment, 25.—Cariaco, account of the gulph of, 20.—Cariaco, the gulph of, convenient for landing on account of its depth, 27.—Caribbean sea, origin of its name, boundaries, &c. 21.—Carora, description of the city of, 119.—Carraccas, division of the captain-generalship of, 30.—Carraccas, attempt to excite a revolution there frustrated, 42.—Carraccas, the Indian population in, 63; sketch of the Spanish government, 64; account of the representative of the king, his prerogatives, &c. 66; facility of making a descent in these parts, 71; military establishments, 73; religious functionaries, 75; trade with the mother country, 81; clandestine trade with the English, 84; Carraccas, the city of, climate, topography, &c. 93; remarks on the inhabitants, 95; population, &c. 99.—Ceremonies, Spanish, description of some cu-

rious, 38, 40.—Charles IV. anecdote of, illustrative of his philanthropy, 43.—Cobano, Lady, history of our, 97.—Columbus, Christopher, his sagacity and intrepidity in the discovery of America, 5.—Consulate, the, its jurisdiction and object, 89; indolence of that assembly, 90.—Coro, the second European establishment in America, account of, 117.—Corteza, Lady, miraculous discovery of our, 123.—Creoles, their attachment to their native country, 32; their capacity for science, 35.—Cumana, account of the city and its harbour, 27.—Cumana, its situation, fortifications, &c. 72.—Customs, Spanish, description of some peculiar, 38.

Divorces, their frequency among the Indians, 55.—Dutch, their contraband trade with Spanish America, 81.

Earthquakes, their frequency in the southern part of America, 11.—Education, public, reflections on it in the Carraccas, 32.—Education of Indian children, evil effects of the loose, 55.—Emigration from Spain to South America, 31.—English, their clandestine trade with the province of Carraccas, 84.

Females, their extravagant luxury in dress, 95.—Females at Carraccas, their character, 100.—Festivals, in what manner observed by the Spaniards, 96.—Forests, abundance of timber by them on the mountains of Venczuela, 11.—Fowling, curious and advantageous method of used by the Indians, 15.

Goahiros, the most ferocious of the maritime Indians, 57.—Goayre, brief account of the port of, its inconveniences, 24.—Goayre, account of the town and port of, 107.—Guano, its population, trade, &c. 122.—Guaranos, their customs, manners, culture, &c. 56.—Guarapiche, source, extent, and navigation of the, 21.—Guipuscoa company, its origin, increase, and abolition, 81.

- Guigues, origin, course, and extent of the river, 19.
- Husbands in South America, restraint imposed upon them with respect to their wives, 37.
- Incas, remarks respecting the copiousness of their language, 49.—Indians, observations relative to the physical or moral distinction of their character, 49; sketch of their religious principles, superstition, 50; customs, manners, &c. 54.—Indians, privileges granted to them by the Spaniards, 59; their preference of the savage state to civilization, 61; their indifference to religion, 62.—Inquisition in South America, power of the, 75.
- Lake of Valence, account of the singular phenomenon relative to it, 16.
- Law-suits, propensity of the Spanish Americans to frequent, 41.—Litigation, the spirit of, evident from the number of attorneys in South America, 41.—Lizards deemed delicious morsels near the lake of Valence, 18.
- Manzanares, utility of the river in fertilizing the lands, 20.—Maracaybo, description of the lake, its course, importance, &c. 14; account of the city of, 72.—Marguerite, account of the island of, 73.—Marriages, early, remarks on their frequency in the Carraccas, and result, 36.—Mines, motives of the Indians for resisting the working of the gold mines in Carraccas, 9.—Missionary, dreadful consequences occasioned by the cruelty of a, 57.—Missionaries, their religious traffic with the Indians, 78.—Missions, zeal of the Spanish, 60.—Mountains, hypothesis respecting their formation, 8.
- Ocumare, commodiousness of the bay, 24.—Otomaques, their superiority to other Indian tribes, 53.
- Paria, the gulph of, its site, extent, navigation, &c. 28.—Pearl-fishery, the, at Cubagua, abandoned by the Spaniards, 9.—Piaches, character of the, 50.—Police of Carraccas, remarks on the, 104.—Port Francois, convenient for conveying the goods of the neighbourhood, 26.—Porto Cavallo, account of the harbour of, its superiority to every other in America, 23, 72.—Porto-Cavallo, description of, 108.—Priests, their decrease in South America accounted for, 79.—Pulperias, see *Bodegas*.
- Rivers, brief notice of the most remarkable in the province of Carraccas, 17.
- Sambo race, worthlessness of the, 127.—Sanz, M. J. his enlightened ideas of public education in the Carraccas, 32.—Sarsaparilla, increase of its exportation from a port of Goyare, 13.—Slavery, in America, its first introduction by the Spaniards, 44.—Slaves, their treatment in America considered, 45.—South America, its seasons, climate, &c. 10.—Spain, commercial system of, with her colonies, 80; her impolicy, 84.—Spaniards, obstacles to their emigration to South America, 31.—Spaniards, their cruel conduct to the American Indians exaggerated, 50.—Spaniards, their aversion to manual labour, remarks on the conduct of those who migrate to Carraccas, 99.—Superstition, curious instances of, 113.
- Tar, mineral, immense quantities of, obtained near the lake of Maracaybo, 14.—Timber, its abundance on the mountains of Venezuela, variety of purposes to which it is applied, 12.—Tocuyo, its situation, soil, manufactures, trade, &c. 121.—Tribunals, Spanish, remarks on the different, 70.—Tribunal, commercial, its establishment, object, &c. 88.—Turtle, the abundance of, on the shores of the Oroonoko, 53.
- Valencianos, miracles wrought by our lady of, 125.—Venezuela, derivation of the name, 15.—Victoria, account of the village, its trade, &c. 116.—Villages, aquatic, description of some on the lake of Maracaybo, 14.
- Unare, notice of this river forming the boundaries between Carraccas and Guiana, 20.—University of Carraccas, state of the, 102.
- Winds, remarks on the winds prevalent on the coasts of Carraccas, 22.—Wives, Spanish, partiality of the laws to, 37.
- Yaracuy, navigation of the river, 19.

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A

TOUR IN WALES,

AND

THROUGH SEVERAL

COUNTIES OF ENGLAND,

INCLUDING

*BOTH THE UNIVERSITIES,*

PERFORMED IN THE SUMMER OF 1805.

---

*complete.*

LONDON:

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1806.



TO

*Charles M\*\*\*\*\*, Esq., Mrs. M\*\*\*\*\*, and Mr. F\*\*\*\*,*

THIS JOURNAL OF A

TOUR IN WALES,

*As a small testimony of sincere regard,*

*and in pleasing remembrance of the satisfaction derived*

*from their company, during its progress,*

IS MOST RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,

BY THEIR FAITHFUL AND AFFECTIONATE

FELLOW TRAVELLER.



## PREFACE.

WE are indebted for the following Tour to a gentleman, from whose literary abilities the public have long derived the highest gratification. It would, therefore, be indecorous in us, however we may estimate the work, to offer any opinion upon its merits. Now that making the Tour of Wales has become the predominant fashion of the year, any tract which illustrates that interesting part of the kingdom, cannot fail to excite the attention of the public; but a Tour so lately performed, and described by a person of character and independence, must be valued in proportion to the veracity of its author; who, though he in this instance be too diffident to acknowledge what he considers as a bagatelle, produced *currente calamo*, yet has the pleasure of knowing that it will meet the examination of a very numerous circle of friends and acquaintance, comprising many of the most distinguished characters in the kingdom.

EDITOR.



# TOUR IN WALES,

&c. &c.

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JULY 6.

JOURNEY FROM LONDON TO OXFORD, THROUGH HENLEY.  
DESCRIPTION OF OXFORD, &c.

**T**HOUGH during the ardour of composition, and the assiduity of occupation, the mind is lulled into an oblivion of present ills, and overlooks future consequences; yet literary pursuits require intervals of repose, or the health will soon give way, and the spirits flag. I had experienced this truth to a lamentable degree: my nerves were unstrung, and I felt the necessity of suspending my usual engagements, and of changing the scene, without knowing exactly how to dispose of myself. Some kind friends in one of the midland counties of England, hearing of my situation, pressed me to join them in a projected tour of Wales; and as they offered facilities and accommodations which did away every objection I could possibly have formed, I gladly fell in with their views, and set about preparing for my journey, determined to keep a regular journal of every thing that might appear worthy of being remarked and recorded in the course of our tour. When a person begins travelling, the fewer incumbrances he has about him, the more comfortable he will find it. All my clothes, except what I carried on my back, were packed up in a small portmanteau, which likewise contained a map of Wales and Mavor's British Tourists; a work which, in every excursion I have made, has proved of singular utility, and which may be termed the vade-mecum of home-travellers.

Thus equipped, I left London in one of the Oxford coaches, on Saturday July 6, and was soon out of the smoke and bustle of the metropolis, though if its environs continue to extend in all directions as they have done within the last twenty years, it will

soon be difficult to enjoy the pure air of the country, and to see open fields and farms without exceeding the limits of a walk. We took the Henley road, which is incomparably more pleasant and picturesque than that through Wycombe, as I had verified on former occasions, as it presents various views of the prince of British streams, and uniformly runs through a rich and well varied country. I will not detain my readers with an enumeration of the villages through which we passed in this well-known tract; it will be sufficient to particularize the towns and more striking prospects. Brentford, though it may be denominated the county-town of Middlesex, from the elections for members being held there, is one of the most irregular and ugly places in the kingdom. The new gothic palace at Kew certainly does not derive much lustre from its vicinity to this place: it turns its back on it indeed; but still they appear unsuitable neighbours. I will not enter on a criticism of the palace itself, its stile, its ornaments, and its adaptation as a royal residence; but I must say, that in no one of these respects does it please me. The botanical garden, however, is a splendid appendage to any palace, and I never visit it without fresh and increasing pleasure.

The Grand Junction Canal, which falls into the Thames at Brentford, may be considered as a national work, and reflects honour on the judgment and persevering attention of its great patron, the Marquis of Buckingham.

Reach Hounslow, a pretty neat place, and a great thoroughfare, but possessing few attractions, either external or internal. Hounslow Heath, the scene of frequent robberies, and occasionally of foul murders, is a disgrace to the very kingdom itself. That such an extensive tract should be doomed to sterility, within ten miles of the metropolis, where every article of country produce bears such an extravagant price, is a solecism which I leave to political economists to explain, if it is capable of explanation or defence.

A few miles farther, Windsor Castle began to open with its forest, immortalized by Pope. The castle enjoys a most commanding situation, and it seems intended by nature to be the residence of royalty. The magnificent improvements made in this favourite palace by his present Majesty, do honour to his taste; nor ought the royal example of reclaiming some of the surrounding wastes and other meliorations in the science of agriculture and of breeding cattle, to pass without the tribute of praise. The introduction of Merino or Spanish sheep is likely to be highly beneficial to the country at large, and will perpetuate his memory as a patriot king when the remembrance of more splendid

actions that have adorned his reign is only to be found in public annals.

Colnbrook lies in a champaign tract, and is sometimes subject to inundations from the river Colne, from which it receives its name. Slough contained nothing remarkable; but I regretted that time would not allow me to pay my respects to the illustrious Herschell, whose immense astronomical apparatus for "sweeping the heavens" is visible from the road. Between Slough and Salt-hill, scarcely a mile apart, Windsor castle and Eton college lying below, appear to great advantage.

It is well known that the Eton Montem is kept at Salt-hill, which is famous for its inns. Eton was founded and endowed by Henry VI. and is perhaps the most distinguished of all our public schools. Seldom fewer than 500 of our British youth receive their early education here. If there are radical defects in all our ancient establishments (and who can deny that some adhere to the best institutions?) certain it is, that our public schools and universities have produced, and are constantly producing men eminent in every walk of life. But public schools and universities are best adapted for public men: those who are destined for a private path—to be tradesmen, merchants, or country gentlemen, may spend their time more advantageously in private seminaries, as being more suitable to the stations they are intended to fill. When such persons have received a public education, the ideas which they have naturally imbibed, become the torture of their lives. All were not made for the same station, nor can the same mode of instruction be suited for all.

At the twenty-sixth mile from London we enter Maidenhead, a long low-lying town, but chiefly distinguished for its fine bridge over the Thames, and the beautiful seat of Sir Isaac Pococke, close adjoining. There is something extremely elegant in the design of this residence; and though it is constructed chiefly of brick, I know few places that contain less to offend or more to please the eye of taste. Clifden and Taplow occupy bold situations on the Buckingham side of the Thames, and have long been celebrated for their local advantages, and for other adventitious circumstances—

— In Clifden's proud alcove,  
The bower of wanton Shrewsbury and love,

Beyond Maidenhead, which is only a chapelry to Bray, a parish that derives no small historic importance from the *elastic* conscience of its vicar, we entered on Maidenhead thicket, where the Bath road diverges from that leading to Oxford.

What now obtains the name of Maidenhead thicket, is an

open waste, with a few bushes and trees ; but in former times no doubt, it was entirely covered with wood. At the extremity of this track, we came to the top of a descent, which overlooks the beautiful vale in which Marlow, Hurley, and various charming seats lie scattered, washed by the meandering Thames, and having the surrounding slopes and hills thickly planted with beech woods, which thrive in the chalky soil that abounds here, with the greatest luxuriance.

The Military College at Marlow, an excellent national institution, was pointed out to us ; but we were too distant to discriminate minute objects. If this country can be saved from the wreck into which the rest of Europe seems falling, it must be by giving a military education to our officers, in which they have too long been miserably deficient.

Passed through the vale of Hurley, a place advantageously known to the public, from its being the seat of Lord Lovelace, about the time of the Revolution ; and from the literary talents of its present vicar, who resides at Woodstock. From the number of books which he has written for the use of schools and young people, he has obtained the honourable appellation of the CHILDREN'S FRIEND. Again ascending between beech woods, we discovered an elevated level country for two or three miles, and then came to the brow of Henley-hill, catching, through the deep-cut vista of the road, a charming view of the town of the same name. On the left stands Park Place, the seat once of Field-Marshal Conway, and now of the Earl of Malmesbury, delightfully situated on the Berkshire bank of the Thames, and possessing in its grounds and its accompaniments all that nature could furnish for taste and art to embellish. Immense quantities of lavender are raised here, and afterwards distilled. Its pungent fragrance perfumed the air.

Henley bridge is a beautiful and extensive fabric, has key-stones to its centre arch, and contains two charming pieces of sculpture, by the honourable Mrs. Damer, one representing the Thames, and the other the Isis.

Henley, in Oxfordshire, distant thirty-five miles from London, is a very fine and populous county-town, governed by a mayor ; but without the right of being represented, which it once possessed. The malting business is extensively carried on here. On the other side of Henley is a straight reach of a mile, planted with a small row of trees on each side of the road, between rising grounds, which makes a distinguished approach to those who are coming from Oxford ; the vista being terminated by the majestic tower of the church,

Passing over chalk hills, chiefly covered with beech and cultivation, we soon reached Nettlebed, a neat little place, standing

on very high ground, though the ascent is so gradual as to render this less perceptible than the reality warrants. Some have indeed considered this as the highest ground in England; and certainly there is a generally continued rise on one side for many miles, and a similar descent on the other.

Beyond this, the country soon opens in front to a vast distance, and we catch views of the Thames flowing by Wallingford, which we leave about two miles on the left. Nearly opposite to it is Benson, a place of far inferior consideration; but having the advantage of being the thoroughfare to London, much better known by travellers than its more illustrious neighbours.

A few miles beyond Benson, we crossed the small river Thame, by an ancient narrow bridge, not far from the place where it falls into the classical Isis, and then legitimately forms the Thames. Close to this stands Dorchester, formerly one of the largest sees in England, and still famous for its cathedral-looking church. The bishopric of Lincoln was transferred from this now decayed place, which, like impoverished nobility, has only splendid titles to recommend it to notice.

On passing the park-gate of Nuneham, the seat of Earl Harcourt, which is not visible from the road, we drove through Nustown, an elegant assemblage of cottage-houses, built in an uniform style by the late Lord Harcourt.

About three miles beyond this Oxford opens in all its beauty; and though perhaps the view from Hedding hill is more striking, it is impossible to behold this seat of the Muses from any approach without confessing the splendour of its architecture, and the amenity of its situation. We entered it by Magdalen bridge, an elegant modern erection, and soon stopped at the Angel inn, where I was happy to find my friends and the companions of our future tour ready to receive me, and welcoming me with a sincerity that mocked the mere expression of fashionable phrase. They consisted of two gentlemen, a lady, the wife of one of them, and a servant, who together with myself were to travel in an open vehicle, of no common construction, but sufficiently attractive in its appearance, and perfectly well adapted to its destination. It was strongly built, would turn in the smallest compass, possessed great accommodation for luggage, yet was extremely light. We gave it the name of the CAMBRIAN TOURIST, and it perfectly answered its appellation.

Having arrived in Oxford soon after five o'clock, we made a hasty dinner, and sallied out to visit the lines of the place. It will not be expected that I should enter into a minute description of the twenty colleges, and five halls, with other public buildings belonging to this famous university; but I cannot refrain from

noticing what struck me as best worthy of a stranger's observation.

We first took a rapid glance at the physic-gardens, which appear to be well-arranged, under the auspices and direction of the late able and inquisitive botanist, John Sibthorp, M. D. The present professor, Dr. Williams, is said to cultivate the charming science of botany with much assiduity: but to him it is an acquired, not an original pursuit, farther than it was connected with the medical profession.

We eyed with a fond enthusiasm the walks of Magdalen College, which were once trod by Addison. The tower of this college is the most superb piece of architecture in the university.

Queen's college is on the whole an elegant pile; but the cupola in the centre towards the street, is too diminutive; and appears like an *extinguisher* placed over the head of Queen Philippa. Opposite to this is University college, and we saw with rapture the monument in its chapel, erected to the memory of Sir William Jones, once a member of the society. The altar-piece, representing the Last Supper, is expressively designed in poker work, by one of the fellows of the college, and at a small distance bears all the effect of painting in colours.

St. Mary's church, where the university attend divine service, is not inelegant, but we expected something more superb and more attractive.

From hence we proceeded to Christ church, the pride of Oxford, and certainly deserving of the fame it has acquired. The great quadrangle has an imposing effect from its extent, Peckwater from the symmetry of its architecture, and Canterbury court from its elegant simplicity. The hall is a noble apartment, and its pannelled walls are thickly hung with the pictures of the illustrious persons who have been educated here. The cathedral, once the church of St. Frideswide's monastery, is a gloomy and a clumsy pile. The library is of great dimensions, and forms the south side of Peckwater. It is full of books, and contains many valuable paintings, presented to the society by General Gwin, and drawn chiefly from the collection of Charles I.

We next visited Oriel College, Corpus Christi college, and Merton college: the two former are sufficiently commodious, and even elegant, but the latter has an air of antiquity which arrests the attention more than its beauty.

Tired with this perambulation, we retired to our inn, resolving to see the remainder of the university in the morning.

DESCRIPTION OF OXFORD CONCLUDED.—BLENHEIM.—  
WOODSTOCK.

*July 7.* **A**NXIOUS to see as much of Oxford as circumstances would permit, we agreed to rise early, and the morning being as fine as heart could wish, we sallied out before breakfast, on a perambulation of those parts of the city which we had left for this day's survey.

St. Peter's in the East first attracted our notice. It is of Saxon architecture, and by far the oldest building in Oxford. It was formerly the University church, and is still used during Lent for that purpose. From thence we proceeded to New college, and the chapel being open for prayers, we had an opportunity of joining in divine service, and likewise of surveying that beautiful edifice, which of its kind is unequalled in Oxford. It has been fitted up within these few years, and received many splendid but appropriate improvements. The great painted window into the anti-chapel, from a design of Sir Joshua Reynolds, is the most beautiful composition I ever beheld. We were rivetted to the spot; and though the majestic organ was sounding, and the several voices of the choristers ascending in notes of praise and adoration to the Supreme Being, we found it difficult to withdraw our attention from the works of man, and to fix them on the proper subject before us.

After service we walked down the chapel, and saw the crosier of William of Wickham, the founder of New college, and one of the most munificent patrons of learning that this country has produced. Witness his other grand establishment at Winchester, of which he was bishop.

The college itself is sweetly sequestered, and has more the air of a place of education than any other we had seen. The gardens are finely laid out, and occupy a considerable extent of ground.

Leaving New college we walked into the quadrangle of Wadham, whose warden is restricted from marrying, though the college was endowed in the reign of James I. and whose fellows hold their fellowships for no more than eighteen years from their regency. As the patronage of the college is but small, it sometimes happens that after a gentleman has spent the best part of his life in the enjoyment of present comfort, the term of his fellowship expires before he has gained any other provision, and he is left destitute at an age when he is ill qualified to change his habits, and to elbow his way in the world. We heard of an affecting instance of such a reverse; and an ex-fellow was pointed

out to us, who missed a living of 600*l.* per annum, by his being superannuated as a fellow, only two or three months before this handsome piece of preferment dropt. Surely as every member of this college is exposed to a chance of the same misfortune, policy, humanity, and justice should unite them in establishing a fund for ex-fellows. No one would claim assistance from it that could do better, and a contribution of 5*l.* per annum from each actual fellow, would be fully adequate to the purpose proposed. It is fortunate, however, for the Wadhamists, that they are not obliged to take orders, as is the case in most colleges; but that they may adopt the profession of law or physic, as well as of divinity, according to their own tastes and views.

The Clarendon printing-house is a noble structure, and the delegates of the University press are not inattentive to the objects of their appointment; but books printed here are priced too low to the public, or too high to the retailer: hence the allowance is not sufficient to encourage booksellers to publish them; and from this cause, inferior works are substituted in their room.

We looked into the adjoining theatre, a spacious and well-adapted edifice, capable of containing three thousand persons. At the annual commemoration of founders and benefactors, which always happens in June, it is well filled; and on the late occasion, a music meeting, under the direction of Dr. Crotch, being joined to this solemnity, it was difficult to find places, capacious as the theatre is.

The Ashmolean museum we did not visit: it is chiefly famous for its manuscripts, coins, minerals, and fossils. The schools, the Bodleian library, and Radcliffe's library, lie contiguous. Being Sunday, we had not an opportunity of being admitted every where, nor would time allow us to take more than a rapid external view.

All Souls college, whose grand front opens to the square in which Radcliffe's library stands, possesses unrivalled symmetry and beauty. The two light turrets springing from the sides of the gateway, are to be reckoned among the first specimens of gothic architecture in this kingdom. We took a bird's eye view of Oxford and its environs from the top of Radcliffe's library, a magnificent pile, but as yet ill provided with books. Perhaps it might be advisable to transfer some classes of literature from the Bodleian, already too full, to this noble receptacle.

Brazen Nose college has few external attractions, but it is richly endowed, and in a very flourishing state, under the auspices of its principal, the present Bishop of Bangor.

Lincoln college is a very old building, consisting of two moderately sized quadrangles. It is not ill endowed, and its mem-

bers may be said to make a wise exchange of splendour for comfort.

Exeter college is a handsome fabric; and Jesus, chiefly filled by Cambro-Britons, is not deficient in attraction. Over the gateway towards the street, is a shield bearing three stags, which the vulgar always interpret into three *goats*, with a reference to the country that is supposed to produce them in greater abundance.

We now crossed Broad street to Trinity college, an elegant pile, with pleasant old-fashioned gardens, in which some of the greatest men that ever this country produced, have passed a musing hour. The great Lord Somers, the great Earl Chatham, the poet laureat Warton, and many more distinguished names, have honoured this society. It now contains Henry Kett, B. D. one of the best scholars and most amiable men in the university. In the anti-chapel is a small marble let into the pavement, to the memory of Thomas Warton. As I contemplated the spot, the tear of regard was ready to start; for I can never forget the attentions of Warton to a person so much younger than himself; and when he bestowed those attentions, very little known.

From Trinity we proceeded to Baliol college, the first regularly endowed college in the university, and respectable for its present master, whose plan of public examination has done more for the good of the students and for the support of discipline, than all the expedients that had been adopted to promote those important objects for the last century.

It is generally believed and understood that the statute for this purpose, originated with Dr Parsons, master of this college; and posterity will have just reason, on this account only, to set him down for a benefactor.

St John's college is of great extent, and its gardens are unquestionably the finest in the university. They are laid out with modern taste, and carefully preserved, though open to all respectable persons.

The observatory is extremely well situated, and is furnished, as we were told, with the best astronomical instruments. It was too early to pay our respects to professor Hornsby, to whom we had introductions; as we had indeed to many other distinguished persons in the university, which were generally lost from our anxiety to push on towards Wales.

Worcester college is a modern endowment, and the new buildings are extremely elegant. It stands detached from the other colleges, and enjoys an airy and cheerful situation, but the approach to it is very bad.

We now turned round by the castle long converted into a county

prison. Only one of the old towers and the mill remain; the keep, however, is a bold elevation.

Passed Corfay church, and descended the High street, which for width, cleanliness, and the beauty of its buildings, is, without exception, the finest I ever saw; sat down to breakfast with a good appetite about ten; and resolved to attend service at St. Mary's before we proceeded to Woodstock, the route we had chosen after our little council had deliberated on farther movements.

By a late regulation, the university appoint a certain number of preachers, when the gentleman whose turn it is to mount the pulpit at St. Mary's does not chuse to officiate. By this means a respectable preacher is always secured, and the credit of this learned body, and let us hope the cause of religion itself, are equally consulted. The sermon was argumentative rather than brilliant, most persons in this place having more ambition to distinguish themselves as logicians than as orators. The long vacation being on the point of commencing, the attendance of the members of the university was but limited; but we were much pleased with the general decency of deportment, observable even among the junior students. Were some sumptuary laws adopted to restrain idle expences, were the tradesmen forbidden to give credit without the concurrence of tutors, on pain of being discommoded, or prohibited from dealing with the students; were young men, whatever might be their fortune, prevented from keeping horses and setting an ill example to those who cannot afford this charge; were wine and dinners interdicted in private rooms, a young man might have the noblest opportunity of prosecuting his studies at Oxford, at the least possible risk to his morals and to the ease of his parents. The expence of education, of rooms, of battels, is moderate enough; but the extra charges on parents for the dissipations arising from wine parties, excursions, unnecessary dress, &c. &c. render it impossible to maintain a son as a commoner for less than 150*l.* or 200*l.* per annum. Thus a degree will cost from 6 to 800*l.*; and probably a situation of 40*l.* a year, the bare interest of the money expended on his education, is all that a young man, without patronage, will gain by a four years residence in Oxford. It is not thus in trade: its prospects are more certain, and its charges less! In fact, the present age offers little encouragement to literary exertion. A man may possibly rise by his political talents, or by a facility in speaking; but the deepest scholars, unless their talents can be rendered subservient to the views of some patron, will probably sink unnoticed into the grave. Hence, few are at

the trouble in Oxford, to distinguish themselves as writers; though many, like dark lanterns, carry sufficient light within them.

About two o'clock we ordered our carriage, and set off for Woodstock, passing over a level track, with little variety in the distance, and few objects to interest us. Campsfield, an extensive level plain, forms a noble foreground to Blenheim park, and by contrast heightens every feature of that delightful and magnificent place.

We put up at the Marlborough Arms, an excellent and well-conducted inn, and having ordered a hot dinner, we hastened to see Blenheim park and gardens: for the palace is not shewn on Sundays. A keeper, mounted on horseback, rode before us round the park, stopped to point out a few landscapes of remarkable beauty, and galloped the rest of the way, as if he had been afraid of our detaining him too long. We took the usual ride in less than an hour; but on our offering him five shillings for his attendance, he appeared to think it too little for a person of his consequence, and we substituted a seven-shilling piece in its room, determined we would not look shabby; though the reader will determine how far it is proper to permit such a heavy tax being levied on travellers, who often have more taste than affluence: but the noble owner knows not of this. The author of the "Blenheim Guide" has done full justice to the beauties of this place, and his work deserves the celebrity it has acquired; but from partial considerations, as may naturally be supposed, he has omitted to *guide* strangers through the arcana of fees; and every person is left to guess at the compliment he is to pay to porters, keepers, gardeners, house-keepers, &c. &c. which, when every thing is visited by a party of three or four persons, cannot amount to much less, on an average between liberality and meanness, than ONE GUINEA AND A HALF!

We were delighted with the pleasure gardens, grounds, and water; and paid a willing compliment to the subaltern who attended us. Indeed we could have spent days with pleasure amidst these Elysian scenes; and it was nearly seven o'clock before we returned to the inn, where an excellent dinner awaited us.

After dinner we walked round the little neat town of Woodstock, an ancient borough, and, viewed with all its local advantages, one of the most desirable residences in the kingdom. I wished to have paid my respects to Dr.—, but found he was from home.

It was now too late to think of proceeding a stage farther, and we retired to rest before ten o'clock, after having come to a resolution of being on the wing very early next morning.

JOURNEY FROM WOODSTOCK TO CHELTENHAM THROUGH  
CHIPPING-NORTON AND STOW.

*July 8.* **B**EFORE five o'clock this morning we were in motion, and proceeded on our tour. It was nearly two miles beyond Woodstock before we left Blenheim park on our left, when Dilchley woods, Glympton and Kiddington woods, opened in succession, and gave a richness to the scenery on our left, while on our right stone walls in some places were the only fences. Nothing gives a more steril aspect to a country than this; and where quicks thrive so luxuriantly, nothing can be more inexcusable. The road towards Kiddington is carried along the top of a gentle hill for upwards of a mile, resembling a terrace, with beautiful views of pendent oaks on the opposite steeps. The estate formerly belonged to the ancient family of Browne, a branch of the Brownes, Viscounts Montague; but the male line in both being extinct, in right of his mother, the heiress of Sir George Browne, Bart. and relict of Sir Edward Martyn, Bart. of Talacre, it is now the property of her second son, Charles Browne Martyn, Esq.

Reach Euston, a neat post-town or rather village, where the water-works, named from Henrietta, queen of Charles I. detained us a few minutes; and they are no bad specimen of the taste of the period when jets d'eau were in fashion. The earl of Shrewsbury's elegant seat at Heythrop, appears to advantage amidst the general sterility of the scene, which prevails till we reach Chipping-Norton, a large and respectable market town; but most bleakly situated, and containing no structure worthy of observation, except the church, which is a truly superb pile.

From this place we took road towards Stow on the Wold, passing the plantations of Mr. Lee at Addlestrop, chiefly composed of Scotch fir and larch, which appear very thriving and luxuriant. The latter is one of the most valuable as well as ornamental kinds of timber that can be cultivated in shallow soils, and deserves to be more generally used. On ascending the next eminence, we had an agreeable view of that gentleman's house on one side, and of Governor Hastings's, at Dailesford on the other: nothing can be more elegantly disposed than the seat and grounds of that illustrious character, and some of the party who had seen the interior, spoke in the highest terms of the taste and magnificence with which the mansion is fitted up.

The governor is now sinking into the vale of years, but possesses all his faculties entire.

The weather was lowering; but during the dog days an obscuration of the sun could not be unpleasant for travellers. The succession of showers however, which had fallen during the last fortnight, had evidently injured the hay, large quantities of which lay in the fields. The corn of all kinds and the rising turneps looked promising: and on such objects as are connected with the prosperity of the country, I kept a constant eye, which will explain the frequency of my georgical observations. Indeed, mine may in some measure be considered as an agricultural tour; for the face of the country and the situation of the people every where engaged my attention. I was not indeed insensible to picturesque beauty, but I regard it as a secondary consideration: the state of the natives, their improvements or neglects, appear to me of infinitely greater consequence to be attended to, as being most useful to the reader.

Breakfasted at Stow on the Wold; an ordinary market town in Gloucestershire, very bleak and exposed; but enjoying a pure air, and commanding very extensive views. It is wholly destitute of springs, and one of the common necessities of life, and almost the only one that is commonly untaxed and gratuitous, particularly in the country, here costs considerable sums. I remember in passing through this track many years ago, that a kind of wag who resided at this place, offered to lay a bet with me that I could not drink six penny worth of brandy and water in six hours. On coming to an explanation, he informed me that water was sold at three pence per hogshead, and that he proposed giving me equal value in the simple element and in spirits.

The Coteswold breed of sheep is seen in large flocks on the hills in this district of Gloucestershire; and they appear excellently adapted to the situation. From the neat bowling green belonging to the Unicorn inn at Stow, we had a distant view of Spring hill, the seat of the earl of Coventry, which stands in a naked and steril country, though its appearance is improving, by the number of new plantations that are rising round it.

Maugersbury, the seat of the Chamberlaynes, about a mile from Stow, overlooks a rich and populous vale, and commands a pleasing prospect of distant hills, and of the sylvan honours of Whichwood forest, which last is seen from almost every part of Stow and its environs.

Proceeding on our journey, pass Lower Swell, an agreeable village, through which runs a fine clear brook, supplied in a great measure by a neighbouring spring of great copiousness. In this direction, the Coteswold hills present a succession of dips and elevations, which diversify the scenery very agreeably. Near

the sweetly sheltered village of Eyford, the wild rose, *rosa canina*, covered the hedges with its native blossoms in unusual abundance. Stone walls, however, prevail in this elevated track, which increased the sterile appearance of the soil. The crops here are chiefly oats and barley, which in wet seasons are extremely productive. Noticed some extensive fields of saintfoin, still uncut, and much lying unfinished, though in the vicinity of the metropolis the hay harvest was generally over. In one place on the Coteswolds, five oxen yoked at length, were ploughing up a light field where the turneps had failed; and a little farther six oxen in couples, and another as a leader, were drawing two united harrows over some turneps just sown, though a pair of oxen would have been sufficient for either task. What a waste of expence and of strength! It was observed by a gentleman in the party, "that the owner of these teams could only mean to send them out to give them an appetite for their dinners; for it could not be called work." Ash trees appear to flourish on the Coteswolds.

Pass Naunton, a charmingly sequestered village; and soon after caught a view of Guiting Grange, formerly the residence of the lively and ingenious Powell Snell, &c. The small deer park, and the trees round the house, give a cultivated aspect to the spot, when contrasted with the general sterility. After this the country becomes naked and uninviting, with very few objects to attract the eye, till we open a dell that leads to Dodeswell, one of the sweetest villages in the kingdom, and the point of all others which a man of taste and fortune would select for his residence. It is sheltered from the cold by hills covered with trees, and commands a delightful landscape over the spacious and fertile vale of Gloucester, bounded by the Monmouthshire hills, on which, at this time, a thick haze hung, and concealed part of their beauty.

Here we leave the Coteswold hills, and make a rapid descent to Cheltenham. Met numerous belles and beaux on horseback, who were taking a sauntering ride to Dodeswell, the favorite airing road with the visitors of the Spa. Every thing now convinced me that we were approaching one of the haunts of fashion; and within two or three miles of Cheltenham, carriages of every description appeared in rapid succession. Among them we recognized those belonging to the Earl of Kenmare and Lord Belmore. The family of the former were well known to my companions, and are said to be very amiable; but this was not a time for greetings and salutations. It is polite not to see, when you are not expected to be seen. I remember a duchess who met one of her most intimate friends as she was going round the pleasure grounds of her grace's country seat: the stranger turned

her head aside in passing ; and on the duchess enquiring afterwards out of curiosity, if it was not such a person the gardener had been attending, and finding her conjectures right, she expressed herself in high terms of the politeness of her friend.

In the vicinity of Cheltenham the soil is naturally rich ; and it receives every assistance from art. Numerous snug boxes are yearly rising as far as the pleasant village of Charlton Kings, which will probably soon connect with this great inland place of resort, round which, at the distance of three or four miles, except towards Gloucester, where the country is open, the hills present a bold and in places an abrupt front, in others they are feathered with wood from top to bottom. Loose sands render the environs of Cheltenham unpleasant for walking ; and the air, from its being confined by the neighbouring hills, is often sultry and oppressive ; yet the situation is sufficiently salubrious ; and the waters possess very active virtues, particularly in bilious and scorbutic complaints. Hence East and West Indians, who have amassed fortunes, but sapped their constitutions, no sooner return to England than they hasten to the Spa, and frequently recover comfortable health.

We put up at the Plough Inn and Hotel, which, like the greatest part of the town, is a new creation. Indeed, within the last twenty years this place has so changed its aspect and enlarged its bounds, that a person who knew it formerly, if dropt down into one of its streets at the present period, would be at a loss to say where he was. We found the inn very full ; but were fortunate enough to obtain a sitting-room, where we ordered dinner ; and as a storm impended, and our carriage was calculated only for fair weather, we had no sooner finished our meal than we attempted to secure beds, in which we were likewise successful.

After dinner took a walk to the well, but found few people on the walks, which are lined with rows of the most flourishing elms, whose umbrageous tops uniting resemble the long aisles of a Gothic cathedral. At the upper end of this fine vista the old well is situated, with a long room on one side, and a corresponding building let out into shops on the other. The new well at a small distance, discovered by Dr. Jameson, the resident physician, seems already to have acquired almost as much reputation as the original spring ; and when I mentioned the subject to Mrs. Forty, the aged priestess of the Spa, she appeared jealous of the new rival, and used some expressions which marked her predilections. All this is extremely natural ; and if my wishes could be heard, they would be, " that she might long continue to preside over her favorite spring, and to dispense in her rummers the blessings of health !" One great advantage,

however, has resulted from Dr. Jameson's discovery : there is no longer a scarcity of water, and 2000 persons may receive their daily quota, without the risk of disappointment or quarrelling about a glass of water, as I have known to be the case. Turning round, we crossed the meadows, which begin to be overspread with houses. Here we noticed some Irish servants jumping for their amusement, one of whom cleared a trench not less than 16 feet and a half wide, with the opposite bank rising against him at least 18 inches. Several others jumped full five yards, with the like disadvantage of ground.

The house of the master of the ceremonies, a new edifice, displays much taste, but the situation is low and damp. Admired the new theatre, which does credit to the place, and to honest Jack Watson, the proprietor, as worthy and as original a character as ever lived. He was once a Methodist preacher ; but it was for a short time, and only when he was at a loss for more suitable employment. The man, though he could occasionally act an unnatural part, was not made for a hypocrite. He tried his talents as a raunter, he succeeded, and immediately relinquished the trade.

Cheltenham, though much resorted to by all ranks, is certainly overbuilding itself. In every quarter we saw unfinished houses.

As travellers, we were unwilling to take the trouble of attending the dress-ball ; but drank tea with an agreeable family of our acquaintance, and returned to our inn about nine o'clock. Here a lord, who was known to some of the party, interchanged compliments with them ; and probably in consequence we found our bill swelled, as if we too had been of the patrician order. It is perhaps ill policy to make a shew of consequence at inns, or to appear known to great people : a tax on this kind of vanity is always levied by landlords, and who can complain when the cause produces its natural effect ? I remember some years ago that the late Earl of Howth used to sit for hours together on a bench by the Plough door. Of this good-humoured nobleman many ludicrous tales are told, among the rest, that he once was proceeding from his seat in Ireland to Dublin, in order to see an eclipse ; but a wag meeting him and telling him that it was *put off* to another day, he ordered his carriage to turn, and thanked his *kind* informant for saving him the trouble of going farther.

FROM CHELTENHAM TO MONMOUTH, DOWN THE WYE  
FROM ROSS.

July 9. **I**NTENDING to reach Monmouth to sleep, we were up by five o'clock. The morning was foggy, and our prospects as far as Gloucester were limited to near objects. This road is flat and execrably bad, though it is a frequent drive with the visitors of the Spa. Where persons resort to spend their money more frequently for the good of others and of themselves, every accommodation should be provided for their use and allure-ment. Bath sets a politic example in this respect, which is worthy of imitation by other public places.

The soil between Cheltenham and Gloucester is generally a rich loam, bedded in clay. The prevailing crops are, wheat, beans, beans mixed with peas, and some barley.

At Haydon Elm we noticed a singular but neat summer-house, erected by the road-side on the top of a low leafy elm, to which we were told company from Cheltenham frequently resort to drink tea and stare about them. On the left, towards Gloucester, Chosen Hill, crowned with a church, makes a conspicuous figure; and beyond this Robin Hood's Hill in like manner rises into a sudden eminence from the surrounding champaign.

A mile from Gloucester, passed through the village of Wooton, and here that city may be said to commence, as neat boxes line the way at intervals between them, down to the Bell inn, where we breakfasted about seven o'clock, and, while our horses were baiting, took a perambulation of the city, though it was no novelty to either of us. It is a clean and not ill-built place, with the four principal streets meeting at right angles on the highest ground which the site occupies. This not only gives it a regular appearance, but promotes ventilation, and consequently health. The cathedral is universally and deservedly admired. The prison is a stately pile, erected with the best intentions, but with the worst effects, on the plan of Howard, whose gloomy ideas were transferred to every thing where he had any influence. Howard has rendered many of our prisons more horrible by seclusion than they were before; and Rumford, by his *philosophical* chimneys, is likely to destroy the comforts of our fire-sides. When will reformers and sciologists meet with that contempt which they deserve!

The great bason of Gloucester for receiving ships is a noble, but a useless work; the navigation that was to conduct them to

it, being unfinished, and from what we heard, likely to remain so. Vessels, however, of about 200 tons burthen come up the Severn to this city, and on the whole it may be considered as a place of some bustle and opulence. The principal manufacture is that of pins, which has been less flourishing since females have in a manner relinquished the use of clothes.

Leaving Gloucester, we passed over a causeway, not less than a mile in length, with several bridges for the different branches of the Severn. Rich meadows accompanied our progress. After passing the village of Over, we came in sight of Highnam, the delightful seat of Sir William Guise, Bart. built by Inigo Jones, whose stile of architecture is very perceptible here. The church, which is almost desecrated, stands too near to the mansion. May Hill and Huntley Hill begin to appear in front. Wheat, beans, and natural grass are the common produce of this track. A few miles from Gloucester the soil changes to a reddish sandy loam, which continues to Ross. In many places the road is cut through rocks of the same colour with the soil.

The farm-houses here appear comfortable, but have few marks of elegance or improvement. The cottages are extremely small, and have only a ground floor. Though frequently picturesquely situated, and surrounded by little orchards and gardens, they are too diminutive for comfort or even for decency, and they are too much scattered to allow of society, which, while it sometimes fosters crimes among the lower classes, certainly is well adapted to prevent pilfering and thieving.

On the left, skirted the forest of Dean; and passing Huntley, a pretty considerable village, began to ascend the hills, and to enter a defile between them, where they open and shut into each other with easy and elegant swells and recesses, scarcely allowing the traveller to guess the direction of the road for a quarter of a mile together. Great quantities of fox-glove grows here, and we observed this beautiful plant continued to attend our progress through the whole, or by far the greater part, of our tour through Wales. What Providence has so widely disseminated, must be intended for the service of man; and yet it is not long since it was introduced into medicine; and even now its use and application are but imperfectly understood.

The views from the nature of the ground were confined to the scenery immediately beneath the eye. Much wood grows here, but chiefly of the coppice kind. The prevailing species, oak, ash, and hazel, large quantities of which are cut annually and charred for the iron furnaces in the vicinity. Hence, we meet with so little timber in this district. Wheat, barley, and natural grass continued to prevail; but we observed neither saintfoin

nor turneps between Gloucester and Ross. We met; however, several teams of oxen yoked two and two with bows, drawing very heavily-laden carts. Sometimes four yoke in one team with a horse for their leader. The manner of yoking these poor animals is rude and barbarous; but on expostulating with one of their drivers, who seemed to have as few ideas as his cattle, on the cruelty and folly of the practice, he asked, "Hoow else shoud thay be yoaked? Wee always uses 'em soa, and it doesena hurt 'em."

Extensive woods open to the left of Ross, and the beautiful spire of its church is visible a mile before we reach the town, the approach to which on this side is flat and little interesting, though some villages on the road-side are not destitute of beauty, and, being built with a redish stone, have a singular and not unpleasing effect.

Drove up to the King's Arms Inn, and were much diverted by the attention which our carriage attracted; for we were followed by all the men, women, and children in the streets, an evident proof there is little travelling and less novelty in this place. To carry on the joke, we attempted to pass for strolling players; and eagerly enquired on alighting, if we could obtain permission to perform. Whether we did not observe a proper gravity, or our appearance did not favour the trick we were practising, must be left to those whom we addressed; but a laugh was all the reply we obtained, in which we heartily joined; and sat down to some refreshments, for which we were charged very moderately, compared with what we had experienced in the commencement of our tour.

Here dwelt the man of Ross. O traveller! here  
 Departed merit claims the rev'rend tear.  
 Friend to the friendless, to the sick man health,  
 With generous joy, he view'd his modest wealth.

It is impossible to reflect on the amiable character of Kyrle, who has gained the honourable appellation of the Man of Ross, without feeling the best emotions of the human heart excited; nor can a mind of any sensibility eye the spot which was the scene of his virtuous labours, without wishing to deserve the praise of beneficence. Several works and endowments at this place still attest his charity, and the prudent use he made of the humble means he possessed. To do good, a splendid fortune is less wanting than a proper disposition.

Walked round the church-yard, which, though it did not answer the sanguine expectations we had formed of the scenery it commands, from the hyperbolical descriptions we had read,

still must be confessed to enjoy an extensive and sweetly varied landscape. From this spot we looked down on the meandering Wye, whose banks here possess no picturesque beauty, and over a fine woodland scene of bounding hills.

The weather appearing favourable for an aquatic excursion, we engaged a pleasure-boat to carry us down the romantic Wye, to Monmouth, a course of twenty-five miles, and sent our carriage by the regular road, which is somewhat less than ten. It seems that two guineas is the regular price for this navigation; but besides this the boatmen expect a farther compliment; and as pleasure was our object, we did not incur the imputation of meanness to the poor fellows who accompanied us, who were three in number.

At three o'clock in the afternoon we embarked, and rowed down the stream; for the use of a sail was proscribed, on account of the danger from eddying winds; and indeed had any fears mixed with our sensations, enjoyment must have been very imperfect, and diminished the pleasure which this navigation is so well calculated to inspire: for how can words do justice to the majesty and beauty of the scenes which alternately or in rapid succession disclosed themselves in our progress! I must, however, attempt to say something; not from any vain hope that I am capable of exceeding or even equalling what has been written by others on the subject, but because my journal would be incomplete, if I did not describe every thing in my own words, and from my own feelings.

On embarking, the spire of Ross church presently towering over the trees that line the cemetery, makes a conspicuous object, while the houses that are built on the descending slope to the river, though not remarkable for their beauty or elegance, have something of a picturesque effect. Opposite are the ruins of Wilton castle, now converted into a dwelling-house. It was formerly the seat of the Greys, Barons of Wilton, who through a long and honourable line, distinguished themselves in the service of their country.

At this point, and for three or four miles lower down, the banks of the river are neither bold nor varied, and only rich meadows occupy the fore-ground; but in the distance, hills, woods, seats, and spires enliven the scene. The Wye soon bends, and we quickly pass Wilton bridge, whose key-stones lock into each other in a curious zig-zag manner, and must certainly add to the general strength of the pile.

Near this, a dealer in corn has erected an agreeable residence, and fringed it with willows, which certainly are little calculated for beauty though they may be for use. The weeping willow alone of the genus appears to advantage in a picture.

We now enter on delightful sylvan scenery, while the river appears land-locked at short distances, every reach presenting some new variety ; but the banks continue tame, and exhibit only a reddish loam:

Pass a ferry, and on the left Goodrich Castle soon opens and begins to display its ruined towers on a bold elevation, feathered with trees. On the left is Pencraig, proudly seated on an eminence ; and Germany House, the situation and accompaniments of which do credit to the taste and fortune of Mr. Robinson, an industrious and successful tradesman of London, who is the proprietor of the place. Nothing can be more charming than the view from this whimsically named residence ; every window must present a picture.

Approach Goodrich Castle, opposite to which the Wye forms a noble bay, while the steep and woody bank on which the castle stands gives a sublimity to the ruins themselves. Here, by an instantaneous movement, we united in desiring the boatmen to halt, that we might contemplate the beauty of the scene at leisure. Not satisfied with this, we landed at the ferry-house on the right, a very agreeable spot, and much resorted to by the inhabitants of Ross ; and having put our rowers in good humour by giving them some refreshment, we sent two of them forwards with the vessel, while under the guidance of the third we scrambled up the hill to the castle, whose origin it seems defies antiquarian research ; but which, after witnessing many a storm during the time it remained in the successive possession of the Marshalls, the Valences, and the Talbots, was at last totally ruined and dismantled by order of the Parliament in 1646 : but such is the strength and compactness of the masonry, that it seems likely to remain with little further alteration for ages. The site is now the property of Mrs. Griffin ; and we were pleased to observe, that some care is taken to preserve the still splendid remains from wanton dilapidation. The building forms a square of about 150 feet, or 600 feet in circumference, with a strong turret at each angle ; and having a deep trench cut out of the solid rock on every accessible quarter, it must have once been capable of making a good defence.

Not far from this, on the same side of the Wye, the seat of Mrs. Clarke, an old maiden lady, nearly 90 years of age, was indicated to us. She is lineally descended from the same stem with the Man of Ross, and possesses all the beneficence that adorned her illustrious relative. Of her charities and liberality we heard some splendid and praise-worthy instances. Such characters do honour to human nature. When will wealth and rank learn to dignify themselves by virtue, and such an amiable ex-

ample be no longer solitary, or an object of wonder! What are a splendid retinue, a luxurious table, and all the pleasures of dissipation, compared with the heart-felt joy of having a thousand voices to proclaim the praise of humanity and munificence! Part of this lady's domain was little productive to herself, but capable of being applied to many useful purposes. To young persons therefore, who had behaved well in their stations, and wished to settle, she allotted moderate portions of this land; and houses, gardens, and cultivation now cover a spot, which might otherwise have been doomed to waste and desolation.

Land round Ross lets high; but about Goodrich and its vicinity, it is scarcely on an average more than 20 shillings per acre. Ox teams are not unfrequent here, not so much in consequence of the superior advantages attending them, as from custom and habit. A prejudice against these valuable animals indeed seems never to have existed here; or we should scarcely expect that it would have given way, while it remains so strong in districts where there are many evidences of a more improved mode of cultivation. Red and white lammas grow luxuriantly, and some little spring wheat; but the soil in general is not much adapted to artificial grasses as to turneps, though no doubt both might be advantageously reared to a greater extent than they really are.

Having examined the remains of the prison, the chapel, the hall, and the keep, we bade a reluctant adieu to this enchanting spot, and walked down to our boat, which was waiting for us below the Priory farm, where we observed crosses erected as the ornaments of barns, and other sculptures about the dwelling-house, which undoubtedly belonged to the old but little noticed religious establishment, called Flanesford in the Monasticon. Its situation must have been truly delightful.

In the space of half a mile, passed through the three several counties of Monmouth, Gloucester, and Hereford, which are all said to unite lower down, at a single rock in the river, near Cold Well.

The scenery now began to grow more sylvan and picturesque than before, and the banks of the river more lofty and precipitous. The upper stratum appeared to be limestone, from the number of kilns scattered round, under which was a reddish stone adapted for building. Cottages erected casually in the most picturesque manner, here and there cover the steeps, and give an animation and interest to the scenery: for what real pleasure can arise from the contemplation of wild nature, however inviting her features, if the abodes of men and the comforts of society are excluded? Here we had the satisfaction to find that the poor man easily finds a site on which to build, and that he is allowed to enjoy the fruits of his industry and application; and surely it

is a narrow policy in the public or in individuals to keep wastes and forests unproductive and uninhabited. Agriculture is the only certain wealth, and men the only real power of states. Our laws, however, lay heavy taxes and restrictions on the one, and do little to encourage the increase of the latter.

Pass an iron-work called Bishop's Wood furnace, and observe several pigs of iron ready to be conveyed to the barges. The reach of water in which we were now sailing appeared land-locked by a hill thickly dotted with cottages; but it soon opened again, and exhibited new and not less attractive features.

In this track, and the same practice indeed prevails wherever mines abound, the wood is cut and charred every twelve years: hence, where the soil is favourable for vegetation, there is a constant softness and delicacy in the foliage and tendrils which wave round the rocks, in the most fantastic but enchanting style, or cover the surface of the earth with a profusion of verdure.

At the sequestered village of Lidbrook, we saw several coal-barges, a wharf and rail-road, and learned that the pits were at no great distance. Indeed, the natives of every age and sex have a peculiar look, which belongs to mining tracks; and much as we were charmed with the inanimate objects, there was something repulsive in the appearance of the natives in general who line the banks of the Wye. Children of nature, they are ignorant of refinement, and of that soft charm which polished manners is capable of throwing even over immoral actions. Not that the morals of these are more pure than in more frequented haunts; but that to all the bad propensities of our kind, they superadd a want of decency in their excesses.

A little lower down on the right stands Court-Field, an ancient pile, with an artificial ruin above, belonging to a branch of the Vaughan family, who trace their pedigree from a Wallian prince that lived thirteen centuries ago, and was cotemporary with the renowned British prince Arthur. Here the illustrious Henry V. who was born at Monmouth, is said to have been put to nurse under the care of the countess of Salisbury. When an infant, it seems he was weak and sickly, and this situation having the advantage of a pure and open air, was chosen with great propriety for his residence. One of the apartments in Court-Field still preserves the appellation of the King's chamber.

Lower down in the same parish, stands the church of Welch Bicknor, so called to distinguish it from another Bicknor on the opposite side of the river, about two miles below, and situated in Gloucestershire. The church of Welch Bicknor is one of the smallest I have ever yet seen; but it is neat and most delightfully situated. Belonging to it is a chalice bearing the date of 1176, on which much antiquarian lore has been expended; but

I much doubt if the year and its real age correspond. I remember once, a valued friend at Reading, shewed me a stone in a wall with an earlier date than the introduction of Arabic figures would warrant, even had not the modern neatness of their shape evinced that some wag had been using his knife on the stone in question, on purpose to puzzle. The chalice is unquestionably ancient, but in no other respect is it an object of curiosity. Popular rumour says, that Henry V. was christened here; but on this story likewise little reliance is to be placed.

From the vicinity of this spot, which was enlivened by groups of hay-makers, among whom we thought we could recognize the parson of the parish, or perhaps the curate, setting his flock a laudable example of industry, we had a charming retrospective view of that part of the forest of Dean which is bounded by the Wye; and sailing down the stream amidst a succession of beauties, which it would be useless to enumerate, approach English Bicknor, as it is termed, where a conical triangular mount seemed to forbid our farther progress, and formed a noble termination to the reach before us.

As we advance, the scenery now becomes more sublime, and amidst the abrupt and amphitheatric cliffs at Coldwell, we pause to contemplate the majesty of nature. Here the mouldering perpendicular rocks, which assume the most fantastic forms, are clothed with a profusion of pendent foliage, and exhibit such a delicacy and variety of tints, that no efforts of art, even in miniature, can equal. Poor indeed are the works of man, compared with the surrounding objects. In some places, rocks of immense magnitude appear to have been detached from their native beds, and now repose in the stream; while others are constantly threatening a fall, and look as if ready to crush the humble cottages below, the inhabitants of which, from their position, can never see the cheering rays of the sun for at least four months in winter. At Coldwell we had completed half our course, and at this point it is usual to refresh.

Resuming our voyage, we continued to wind round Copet-hill, amidst such awful and majestic scenery that no pen can describe, no pencil can paint it to effect. At Symonds Gate Rocks, near the bend of the river, all that can agitate or astonish, seems to enter into the composition of the scene.

Reach the ferry called Hunts-holm Rope, which by water is no less than seven miles from Goodrich ferry, though only one by land. At this point the banks become low and verdant for some way; but hills of majestic size bound the near distance.

Pass Old Forge, where the river begins to wind again, and returns on the back of Symonds Gate Rocks, which have been already noticed. Reach Whitchurch, a village which contains

in itself every charm that can delight the lovers of sequestered nature. The church on the verge of the stream, is a very picturesque object.

Doward hill on the right, is sweetly sprinkled with cottages; but from what we heard, they are not all the abodes of innocence and simplicity. The scenery in this reach is still extremely grand, but it is less sublime than in the preceding.

In some places, as we approach the New Wear, the softer parts of the rocks being corroded by the hand of time, or washed away by the rains, what remains of them might be taken for architectural ruins. As we come down on the New Wear, which is about four miles from Symonds Gate Rocks, though the intervening promontory is only half a mile across, the river, which for some space, has spread out into a broader sheet, makes a sudden fall, and we passed through a lock erected on the left of the stream, not without some alarm, though probably without any real danger. It is impossible, however, to view the surrounding scenery without impressions of awe. Heavy masses of rocks rise perpendicularly from the water, here and there shaded with trees, which give a "browner horror" to the flood, while the cottages that seem to nestle under impending rocks, the iron-works in the vicinity, the coracles\* flying backwards and forwards on the stream, the idea of seclusion from the rest of the world, and the prevailing silence, which is only occasionally broken by discordant sounds, all unite to produce in the reflecting

\* The fishery here, which belongs to Mr. Partridge, of Monmouth, is wholly carried on by means of *coracles*, a very ancient kind of British vessel, broad at one end and rounded at the other, and only large enough to contain a single person. Its use seems now to be in a great measure confined to the Wye, and to some of the rivers in South Wales. It is composed of a slight frame of wicker-work round the edges, and of bent laths, intersecting each in the body, covered with pitched canvass. It has a cross bench or seat, and is so light that the owner can throw it over his shoulder, or place it inverted on his head, and carry it from place to place; of which we saw several instances in this navigation. Indeed, it is wonderful to observe the dexterity with which the fisherman manages it, by means of a paddle; and it is still more wonderful, when we consider its flimsy texture, that any person can feel secure in such a vehicle, in deep and sometimes rapid rivers. Yet notwithstanding its fragile appearance, it is recorded that an adventurous fellow, for a wager, once navigated a coracle from the New Wear, as far as Lundy island, at the mouth of the British Channel. In this voyage he spent a fortnight; and had not the weather been fine, he must inevitably have fallen a martyr to his temerity. On his return, he was received with as many congratulations by his acquaintances, as if he had performed the circumnavigation of the globe; and indeed the danger he incurred was much greater. The coracle used formerly to be made of leather, or at least covered with it, whence it is supposed to have derived its name.

The principal kinds of fish caught in the Wye, are salmon, gray-ling, trout, perch, eels, salmon pinks, chub, dace, &c.: we were told that it did not furnish pike.

mind, such mingled sensations as would be difficult to analyze or explain.

Proceeding on our voyage, sylvan swelling banks accompany us for some way, when the full-orbed moon, beginning to skirt the horizon, tinted with her silver rays every projecting mass, and threw a deeper shade on the cavities and recesses of the rocks. Nothing indeed could be more beautiful and serene than the evening, and every circumstance combined to give full effect to the charming views that surrounded us.

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All was hush'd ;  
 Save ever and anon the thund'ring stroke  
 That beats the fiery mass, while upwards rise  
 The smoaky volumes, sparkling through the air.

Between the New Wear and Monmouth, the Wye continues to present a variety of new attractions, but the prevailing character of the scenery is softer and gradually less sublime. In the immediate vicinity of the Wear indeed, the rocks possessing a limestone quality, are more grotesque and fantastic than before; some of them appearing like the ruins of once magnificent castles, particularly towards Doward, which furnishes a charming contrast with the rich and beautiful enclosures at Hadnock on the opposite bank. At a place called Martin's Pool, the river is of great depth, and has scarcely any visible motion; while the deep umbrage on the banks, rendered the spot still more gloomy and solemn.

Pass the Lays-house, the elegant seat of Stephen Attlay, Esq, commanding the most enchanting views, and yet occupying a sweetly sheltered situation.

The Cymyn hills on the left of Monmouth, now begin to open, and sailing amidst verdant meadows sloping to the water, we approach the turnpike road, where the river making an abrupt bend to the left, changes the sylvan hill which formed the foreground, into a delightful side screen, that accompanies our passage a considerable way.

Hadnock-house, the seat of the late Dr. Griffin, and built by an admiral of the same name, now appears in sight. It stands on the brow of one of those projecting eminences which bound the Wye, and possesses every charm that wood and water in their happiest distribution can bestow.

Not far below, on the opposite bank, stands the parish-church of Dixon, which in high floods is surrounded, and has more than once been in danger of being swept away by the water. It is a barn-looking building, and unworthy of the spot it occupies, if considered merely as a piece of architecture. We were informed that as the hero of the Nile was passing this place in a

boat about three years ago, in company with Sir William and Lady Hamilton, during the time of divine service, the news being communicated to the assembled congregation by the firing of some guns, they all rushed out of church, and left their astonished pastor, in order to have a glance at the defender of their country\*.

From Hardwick, a straight reach of nearly two miles, terminated by Monmouth bridge, conducts to that town, amidst verdant woods and gently sloping banks, replete with rural scenery. It was nearly ten o'clock when we landed, which made this delightful voyage about seven hours, and it is impossible that the same space could have been filled with more interesting and commanding objects.

Our boatmen having attended us to the Beaufort Arms, took their leaves; and being ushered into an excellent room, and finding beds bespoke by the servant, who had arrived long before us, we soon sat down to an excellent supper, in which the delicate fish called here a sewin, formed a principal dish; and having gained good appetites, more ordinary fare would have been relished. An agreeable young lady of the neighbourhood, a friend of Mrs. —'s, being apprised of her coming, favoured us with her company; and though we made the evening rather long, considering the early hour to which we limited our starting next morning, every thing was so pleasant that we disregarded sleep, and forgot the lapse of time.

\* At the moment that I am revising these papers for the press, the body of this illustrious naval chief is lying in state at Greenwich, preparatory to a public funeral at St. Paul's. Never was concern more general or more deep than for his loss: his fall has been lamented by every class of the community, and his eulogy written by a thousand pens. From some charming lines dedicated to the memory of Nelson, by a young gentleman of Trinity college, Oxford, I am tempted to make an extract.

Oh! blest the hero! how extremely blest!

Who in the lap of Vict'ry sinks to rest.

What tho' he fell? his glories still survive,

And in the roll of fame for ever live.

A noble life a noble exit crowns,

While every breast his high achievements owns.

So the bright sun, the golden eye of day,

Sheds full refulgence in his ev'ning ray;

His flaming orb with no dark cloud o'ercast,

He shines in all his splendour to the last.

Why then lament th' illustrious hero dead?

For him no sighs be heav'd, no tears be shed!

Exult we rather in his glorious fate,

Who fought, subdu'd, and perish'd for the state,

## FROM MONMOUTH TO CRICKHOWELL.

*July 10.* **T**HE beams of the rising sun darting in at my chamber windows, and the soft serenity of the sky giving the fallacious promise of a fine day, I started from bed at five o'clock, and being joined by Mr. F. we took a walk round Monmouth, an ancient and respectable town, situate at the conflux of the Wye and Munnow, whence it derives its name. Most of the houses are white-washed, a practice which is general in this part of the kingdom, and which gives some degree of neatness and animation to buildings in themselves scarcely worthy of notice. Of the castle\*, where Henry V. was born, very little now remains; but with a laudable pride the inhabitants have erected the statue of this great prince in front of the Town-hall, a very handsome structure, surmounted with a large gilt vane in form of a ship. The church is likewise a noble pile.

The situation of Monmouth is extremely pleasant, amidst an amphitheatre of hills, which bound it at a moderate distance. Very little trade is carried on here, and hence the natives possess only a mediocrity of fortune, and are satisfied with moderate accommodations. As a proof however, that they are not wholly destitute of taste, there are two booksellers in the place, one of whom is an author of some utility.

Walked down to the bridge over the Wye, an ancient pile of six large arches, with sharp projecting piers, well adapted for the impetuous stream, whose fury they were formed to withstand. A number of coracles were lying on the banks, of which we took some measurements and drawings. From hence we traced the Wye both above and below to some distance, and though its features are here mild, compared with what we had seen yesterday, they are uniformly charming. About a mile and a half each way from the bridge, the hills seem to close, and the water is lost behind them.

We had it originally in contemplation to continue the navigation of the Wye to Chepstow, and to visit Tintern Abbey; but this plan was given up, from an anxiety to reach the Principality as soon as possible, and to devote as much time as could be spared, to an examination of its various romantic beauties.

\* Monmouth Castle was an important fortress at the time of the Norman conquest. As antiquities, however, are but an incidental part of our plan, we omit its particular history and revolutions.

In conformity to these views, we recommenced our journey about seven, and took the road to Lanarth, the seat of Mr. Jones, with whom some of the party were well acquainted, and where it was intended to breakfast. Lanarth indeed stands at the distance of less than a mile from the regular road to Abergavenny; and having a ready communication with it both advancing and retiring, we could not possibly have fixed on a more convenient place to halt at; and as circumstances fell out, we had every reason to congratulate ourselves on our good fortune, in having such an introduction to its worthy possessors.

After leaving Monmouth, we passed the curious old bridge over the Munnaw, with an antique gateway over its centre; and gradually ascending the hill, surveyed with impressions of rapture the scenery in the vicinity of the town we had left, which, charmingly diversified as it is in itself, received an additional charm from the brilliancy of the morning sun, and the happy manner in which the light and shade fell on objects. Many seats are advantageously planted round, among the rest Troy-house, the once splendid mansion of the Dukes of Beaufort, now inhabited by tenants. On comparing this sweet situation with the country round Badmington, in Gloucestershire, the favourite residence of the family, we were struck with astonishment that the latter should have gained a preference. But the fact is, travellers are very inadequate judges in this respect. A country may possess every thing to delight the passing guest, but yet be very unpleasant or inconvenient for a constant abode. This observation I have often seen verified in regard to others, and my own experience convinces me of its truth.

Just as the vale of the Wye began to be lost to my view, I recollected the following elegant lines by Dr. Beddoes, and they speak what I felt on the occasion:

Farewell! thou dear to Fancy's eye!  
 Farewell, thy scenes, Arcadian WYE!  
 Back to the world, with footsteps slow,  
 From thy sequester'd glades I go;  
 And turn, by eve's protracted light,  
 To catch one last impressive sight,  
 That faithful mem'ry firm may hold  
 Thy blended forms of soft and bold;  
 And by thy images possess,  
 A sense serener sooth my breast.

WYE! by thy brink at Order's birth,  
 While fire-born vapours heav'd the earth,  
 In act on Albion's soil to trace,  
 A theatre of sylvan grace,  
 Presiding NATURE chose her stand;  
 There high she wav'd her plastic wand.

Swift spreads the level, sinks the dell,  
 And rude emerging masses swell.  
 Fair thought on thought to being sprung,  
 Fond o'er her toil the sov'reign hung:  
 Last smote the rock, and bade *THEE* roll,  
 The *SPIRIT* of the perfect whole!  
 Then fled yon steep thy gushing tide,  
 And wheel'd far off his concave side:  
 O'er glooms unpierc'd pil'd crags ascend,  
 Dark o'er the deeps tall forests bend,  
 Slow steals the wave in silence by,  
 O'eraw'd as though a God were nigh.

Unscar'd by war, unstain'd by blood,  
 Through ages, *VAGA!* roll thy flood;  
 Nor e'er broad oak, that shrouds thy side,  
 Fell deed of midnight spoiler hide.  
 Cool in thy groves, a frequent guest,  
 May Innocence uninjur'd rest;  
 Untarnish'd Beauty round thy bed  
 Her rural bland enchantments spread;  
 There on the Muses' wandering child  
 Burst unimagin'd visions wild.  
 There he who shuns a brother's eye,  
 Sad outcast! and himself would fly,  
 Own some sweet moments of repose—  
 There breathe, deluded of his woes.

Drove through Wynastow and Dynastow, both prettily situated and graced with small neat churches. In front, the Blorange, the Sugar Loaf, and Skerrig Vawr, or the Holy Mountain, present their alpine crests, and accompany our progress for several miles. Not long after the former opened, the Black Mountains made their appearance, behind which Llantony Abbey is placed in the midst of sequestration and sterility.

The soil continues to be a reddish loam with clay; and the ground undulates with alternate dips and eminences in a very delightful style to the eye, though not to the mechanical traveller, who considers every inequality of surface as a hindrance and a drawback. Indeed, Monmouthshire, which formerly belonged to Wales, is in the whole one of the most picturesque counties in the island, nor is its fertility inferior to the natural beauty of its landscapes. Hence, it is more frequently visited by persons of taste; and has been more frequently described than any other remote and rural district in the kingdom. But to attempt by description to give more than an outline of the features of a country, is to attempt what language is not capable of performing.

In our progress towards Lanarth, we passed several snug cottages, surrounded by orchards; and unfavourable as the season had been for the stores of Pomona, not quite destitute of her

gifts. Many of the peasants keep bees, and an air of comfort prevails round their habitations. Oxen are much used in agriculture. Pasture and natural grass far exceed the quantity of arable and sown fields. Lime is the most common manure, and it is not unfrequently laid on the land in alternate heaps with dung. Laminas wheat, peas, and beans, with a little barley, are the principal crops. All looked luxuriant, but this seems more owing to the natural goodness of the soil, than to any improved modes of cultivation. In employing oxen, however, the Monmouthshire farmers deserve more than common praise; but they yoke them in a manner that must not only be painful to the animal, but render half its strength useless. In this track, not only the churches, but the meanest cottages, and even the pigstyes, are white-washed. Artists I know reprobate this; but many things which look indifferent in a picture, are not unpleasant to the eye. I have always admired white houses in a landscape; they are at least more agreeable than flaring brick or rough stone; and as they can be seen at a greater distance, they indicate the abodes of men, and give more extensive animation to the scene.

Arrived at Lanarth court just as the family were preparing to sit down to breakfast; and the welcome we received, and the ride we had taken, made us truly enjoy that meal, which, notwithstanding the vicious refinements of fashion, has never yet been stained with excess, or given rise to a blush on the score of intemperance. Among various pieces of local information which Mr. Jones had the politeness to communicate, I learnt from him that land on an average does not let here for more than 20s. an acre; and at that rate it is certainly cheap, and provisions ought to be in proportion.

Though Lanarth is surrounded by commanding situations, and the amplitude of Mr. Jones's estate allowed him great choice of ground, he has erected a handsome new house on the site of the old one, preferring a calm scene, with a limited park-view from the principal front, to the ostentation of an elevated site. No expence, however, has been spared on the decoration of the house and the embellishment of the grounds; and it may truly be observed of this place, what Capability Brown said in a similar case, "that it is so pleasant within itself, no one can wish to look beyond it."

Clytha castle, a fanciful modern erection, makes a conspicuous object from Lanarth. It belongs to the same family, one of the most ancient in Wales, and which can prove its descent from one of the South-Wallian Princes. We were to have visited Clytha after breakfast; but the morn which promised so fair, had suddenly changed; and before eleven o'clock, the rain began to fall. This obliged us to deny ourselves the pleasure of excursing to any

distance, and to accept the pressing invitation of the family to stay dinner, that we might have a chance of making another stage with more favourable weather in the evening. In order, however, to fill up the interval, our hospitable friend drove us in his sociable to Pant y goitre, two or three miles distant, late the seat of Dr. Hooper deceased, whose live stock was selling off by auction. To me this was not uninteresting; and as the sale was well attended by the gentlemen in this part of Monmouthshire, we had an opportunity of meeting many pleasant people, as well as of seeing how a professed breeder's stock sold in this remote part of the kingdom. A very fine Yorkshire bull fetched no more than 10l. 5s. a Warwickshire cow in calf, with a considerable cast of the Dishley breed in her, sold for only 11l. The very best of the cows was knocked down at 16 guineas. A couple of Herefordshire oxen fetched 43l. 10s. the highest price given, and indeed the beasts well deserved it, being large and extremely well shaped. Another inferior couple went for 28l. and they were dear enough at that price. Among the sheep which were to be sold, though we did not wait till they were put up, we saw some of the Leicestershire breed, but few that would be called capital. One peculiarity in the farm lately occupied by Dr. Hooper, is a very large barn, composed of brick pillars, beams, and open spaces between them for the admission of air; the structure being intended for the securing of hay, instead of ricking it.

Returned to Lanarth, and soon sat down to a sumptuous dinner. In the dessert, were melons, ices, &c. General Sir G. Boughton and several neighbouring gentlemen were of the party. The conversation ran chiefly on the subject of Lord Melville, and the Catholic emancipation as it is called. In regard to Lord Melville's business, there was some unanimity of opinion, and therefore little room for discussion. Several persons warmly advocated the cause of the Catholics; but though I trust I have as much liberality as others, and should be happy to see the English Catholics allowed the enjoyment of the elective franchise, and some other rights and immunities which can no longer be justly denied them, I argued against the policy of the latter identifying themselves with the Irish Romanists, and against the length to which they carried their common claims. I observed, that government must take care not to lose or neglect friends by attempting to bring over opponents; and though I might be inclined as an individual, to concede every thing short of a seat in the cabinet or in parliament to the professors of the Roman faith; yet while tests were thought necessary to be imposed on the members of the national church, I did not see why Catholics could expect to be relieved from them; particularly, as long as

they maintained the supremacy of the pope in spirituals, which cannot entirely be separated from temporals.

This introduced some quotations from the Bishop of Ilandaff's late charge to his clergy on the Catholic question. The liberal bias of that venerable prelate is well known; but we understood that his sentiments on this subject did not strictly accord with those of his clergy, in this part of his diocese at least. I have ever been adverse to bishops dabbling in politics; if an exception could be made, I would do it in favour of the enlightened and liberal Dr. Watson: but more than once his best friends have had occasion to regret, that he did not confine his charges to what was properly episcopal, and that he was not more cautious in giving the sanction of his authority to schemes of untried policy, with which he had little concern.

The rain ceasing, and the sun again appearing, we ordered our carriage to be got ready; and taking our leave of the Lanarth family with the strongest impressions of esteem and respect, proceeded towards Abergavenny. The hills which had so long presented themselves in front, now began to shew an opening between them, through which the Uske winds; and after passing Colebrook park, an assemblage of rural beauties, we soon entered the charming vale in which Abergavenny and Crickhowell lie, on the banks of the Uske.

Approach the base of the Blorange, on which are some iron-works that employ many hands, and are found so productive, that in one instance the rent has been raised from 60*l.* to 5000*l.* a year. This mountain, which is deep, massy, and verdant, bounds the view on the left; while the Sugar-loaf, a hill that receives its appellation from its conical figure, towers on the right of the road, but is soon lost behind other hills, though of apparently inferior elevation and magnitude.

Pass Mr. Ewer's farm at Hardwicke, lying at the very foot of the Blorange mountains. This gentleman has gained much distinction for his oxen and his superior breed of pigs, which have procured him several premiums from the Bath Agricultural Society. It always gives me pleasure to find and to record the name of a benefactor to the community, and as such I consider Mr. Ewer.

The inclosures here, and generally throughout Monmouthshire, are small and commodious for occupation. No doubt some land is lost by the multiplicity of hedges, but if these are properly managed, the injury thus sustained is more than counterbalanced by other important advantages. In this drive we observed a considerable number of walnut and Spanish chesnut trees, both too little cultivated, though extremely profitable.

Enter the neat town of Abergavenny, while the long vale in

which it stands was finely illumined by an evening sun, which heightened the beauty of the picture. The streets are too narrow, as is usual in old towns; but we noticed several modern houses, which would have done credit to a larger and more opulent place. It is washed by the Uske, and the beauty of the vicinity has induced several persons of moderate fortune to make this their residence. Various neat boxes adorn the environs.

Visited the ruins of the castle, of which only fragments remain; but a terrace walk, conducted round the site it occupied, commanding the charming vale through which the Uske meanders, shews much taste, and must be an agreeable promenade for the inhabitants. Here we first heard the Welsh language spoken in the streets; a convincing proof, had we been ignorant of its geographic position, that we were approaching the principality.

Stopped only a short time at the inn to water our horses. The landlord appeared to be a good-natured original character. With some difficulty traced out the post-office, into which we put letters for our friends, to advertise them of our progress, and where they were to direct to us in reply. There are few who set out on a journey of any distance, that do not leave behind them some one who is anxious to hear of their welfare, and who is glad to be able to trace out an intended route on a map or in a Book of the Roads. Nor are there many who can leave home without feeling at each remove the lengthened chain of affection, and that their heart, untravelled, still returns to the objects on which it doats. The reader will perceive that this idea is taken from Goldsmith, and its truth will be confirmed by every feeling mind.

Proceeding to Crickhowell, distant six miles, we passed between elegant screens of luxuriant hanging-woods, which, on the right, in some places formed an embowering shade; while on the left were meadows watered by the rapid Uske, and backed by massy hills. This scenery continued the greatest part of the road; except that in one or two places, the fires of iron-works on the left, amidst the falling shades of eve, gave an impressive grandeur to the landscape.

At the distance of about two miles and a half from Crickhowell stands a stone to mark the entrance into Wales. It receives the appellation of the County-stone, and divides Monmouthshire from Brecon. The first house in the principality from this approach is called Sunny Bank, and it appears to have received an appropriate name. Cross the little river Grunny, which falls into the Uske at no great distance. A little farther, in the middle of a corn-field, we perceived a rude pillar, composed of a single stone, apparently not less than ten feet high. This is probably druidical; but we did not alight to examine it.

Looked in vain for for Dany house, formerly the residence of the ingenious Mr. Skrine; and were afterwards informed, that since the death of that gentleman the spot had undergone various changes. As a tourist, Mr. Skrine ranks high for fidelity of description, and we regretted that it was not in our power to visit a place that seems to have been endeared to his breast. Dany park may perhaps in time lose its name; but Skrine deserves to be remembered, and his fame will long give an interest to the spot.

Drove into Crickhowell by moonlight; and on stopping at the Bear, the only inn it affords, if it deserves the name of an inn, we had the mortification to hear that there was not a single bed unoccupied in the house; nay more, we found there would be some difficulty in obtaining comfortable refreshments for ourselves, or a stable for our horses. At our very entrance into Wales, where we anticipated nothing but pleasure, though we had made our minds up to be satisfied with moderate accommodations, and to take things as we found them, this circumstance gave occasion to gloomy presages as to the future; and the servant, who had been in Wales before, and who rather reluctantly undertook the expedition, seemed to enjoy our disappointment, and roundly told us that this was only the beginning of what we had a right to expect in such a country, whither he would not send a jackass that he valued. All this we heard with good humour; and having determined to submit to what appeared unavoidable, we began to alight, and to take our chance. Sir Walter James, who was in the house on a fishing scheme, seeing our perplexity, advised us to return to Abergavenny, as there was no probability of our finding beds otherwise nearer than Brecon; and our horses were incapable of reaching that place without rest. The baronet, however, who was going to bed, kindly and politely offered us the use of his room below stairs; and having found a place for our horses, we resolved rather to sleep in chairs than to leave the house before morning. Accordingly we ordered supper, the best that the inn could furnish; and after waiting two hours, an old cock, which probably was alive when we entered the house, was served up to us, with et-cæteras not worth naming. We tried to laugh away the time, and were contriving the position of the chairs that were to supply the place of beds, when we were informed, that, by some domestic arrangements, two beds were at our service, if we could consent to take them such as they were. This offer was not to be refused; and to do the people of the house justice, they had used every exertion in their power to accommodate us; having not only made up two comfortable beds, but sent for a plaisterer to mend some cracks in the walls of one of the apartments. The room where we supped exhaled no very

pleasant effluvia; and on enquiring into the cause, the girl who waited on us, with perhaps more truth than delicacy observed, that it must arise from the feet of some gentlemen, who had just pulled off their boots, and were gone to bed. In a land of simplicity, such plainness is not thought offensive, and we smiled at our informant's *naïveté*, for we will not call it indecency. It was nearly one o'clock in the morning before we could retire to rest; and wearied as we were with the bustle of the day, sleep soon closed our eyes, and we forgot that we did not repose on beds of down.

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FROM CRICKHOWELL TO BRECON.

July 11. **E**ARLY rising being an indispensable obligation in our preconcerted plan, I was up at 5 o'clock, and soon after six the other two gentlemen made their appearance, though we had agreed to breakfast before we recommenced our tour.

Our first object was to visit the castle, of which some picturesque fragments remain, clasped with ivy. The whole site may be easily traced, and the keep, raised on a lofty artificial elevation, must have been a place of great strength. The surrounding buildings are evidently erected with the stones purloined from this ancient fortress. Among the other antiquities of the place, are a fine old tower and gateway towards the public street, of curious but elegant architecture, and formerly belonging to a religious house. The bridge of fourteen arches over the Uske, connecting Crickhowell with the neighbouring village of Llangattock, also deserves notice. On the whole, however, this place is sufficiently mean; but the surrounding country is picturesque and lovely beyond description, and the sides of the hills on both sides are thick-studded with seats and cottages. Among the former, those of Admiral Gell, Captain Fredericks, and Mr. Everest, are the most elegant and advantageously situated. Sir William Ouseley's romantic cottage on the Llangattock side deserves notice from the talents of its possessor. Had the pleasure of meeting that distinguished Oriental scholar, who kindly invited me to visit him. Near his house, he told me, are some natural caverns of great extent, on the sides of the hills. Much iron ore is dug from the bowels of the mountains to the left of Crickhowell, which is either manufactured into pigs on the spot, or conveyed to proper points by rail and train-ways. Large villages in consequence are rising on spots once unvisited and almost inaccessible.

Paid our respects to Mr Everest, who lamented the inconveniences to which we had been exposed last night, which he would

have been happy to have obviated by furnishing us with beds. It was our wish, however, as far as possible, to avoid the interruption of visiting, and merely to make passing calls on such of our friends as lay in our way. This gentleman, whose seat is excellently designed and charmingly situated, possesses an exquisite taste in drawing, and obligingly shewed us some performances of his own in this line, as well as others by the most eminent masters. We were obliged to decline his cordial invitation to pass the day with him.

On our return to the inn from our morning perambulation, we had the farther pleasure of an agreeable conversation with the Rev. Mr. Paine, who favoured us with much useful information relative to our intended tour. On remarking that every thing in this part of the country looked white, he said the same observation had been made by a Welsh bard of the sixth century, in these terms: "The women are chaste, the men brave, and the houses white."

While discoursing with this worthy and well-informed divine, we were joined by Admiral Gell, who was well acquainted with some of our party. He is a tall robust figure, in whose air resolution is marked, but who affects so little of the consequence that is borrowed from externals, that he might have passed for an honest Welsh farmer. Fishing being his favourite amusement, his round hat was bound with hooks and lines, and the whole of his dress set fashion at defiance, and borrowed as little from the uniform of his profession. Though advanced in years, he seems to possess health and spirits, and by his ludicrous observations on the tour in which we were engaged, kept us in a roar of laughter. Though some of the expletives of language are too apt to fall from his lips, when he is in a good humour, there is neither malignity nor bitterness in his heart; and we heard many anecdotes of his charitable disposition, which would have done honour to an ampler fortune. In a word, he is a very worthy character, loved even for his oddities by his friends, and venerated by the poor, to whom he is a liberal benefactor.

In such society having passed a very pleasant hour, we ordered the carriage, and on settling the bill found it more moderate than what we had yet experienced. Had the house indeed been less full of guests, allured to this place by the purity of the air and the pleasure of fishing, we should have had little occasion to complain of our entertainment in any respect; but in Wales, where the public-houses have a bustle for three months in the summer, and nine months desertion, except on the most public roads, it would be absurd to expect the comforts that such establishments commonly afford in England.

Took the road towards Brecon. A naked hill on the right

has the appearance of a truncated cone: on its summit is an ancient encampment. In front, the hills seem tossed about in pleasing confusion; but are cultivated in some places to the very top, in others are naked and precipitous. In passing, again admired Mr. Everest's house, which stands about half a mile from Crickhowell on the right, about half way up the side of the hill, which gives it the command of views of almost matchless beauty. Indeed the whole course of the Uske is pregnant with charms; but in the vicinity of Crickhowell, they appear more concentrated.

Before us, the Myath now opened, a green hill from which the landscape is beautiful and well-varied. In this track, the turnip husbandry has long been successfully introduced. Indeed the Brecknock Agricultural Society may be reckoned one of the oldest in the kingdom, having been established upwards of half a century ago; and its effects are sufficiently visible, though much still remains to be done even in the best-cultivated spots.

Proceed towards Brecon, with the Cwmdw hills in view. Made a digression about half a mile from the road to the old castle of Tretower, which stands in a retired spot on the right, and, though of eminent beauty even in its present very dilapidated state, is not so frequently visited as more obtrusive but less interesting objects. The ivy clasps its rifted towers, of which only one remains in tolerable preservation; and whence the croaking raven, perched on its highest pinnacle, seemed to warn us of the danger of a near approach. In the area, which is of considerable extent, I found the deadly nightshade, the houndstongue, henbane, mullein, some species of polygonum, fever-few, maiden-hair, and pellitory of the wall. A farm-house and its appendages are formed out of some of the mouldering walls on the east; but the modern buildings seem quite lost in the superior extent of this fortress, though it is by no means so large as many in Wales.

Ascend the Bwlch hills, on the brow of which stands a public-house of the same name; and crossing the ascent, catch a view of Llangors pool, a fine sheet of water, bending in a semicircular direction along the base of one of the hills on the right, and extending about three miles in length in a rich expanded vale. It abounds in pike, perch, and trout. The country-people have a tradition that a large city was swallowed up here by an earthquake; and we are farther told, that before the Normans ravaged this country in 1030, the water of the pool assumed alternately a miraculous green or red colour.

On the left the Buckland hills, overtopped by the highest point of the Beacons near Brecon, present their green undulating fronts; while several handsome seats enliven the fore-ground, particularly Buckland house, an elegant fabric, delightfully placed on a knoll, on the left of the Uske, Maesmaur on the other side of that river,

and Tallylynn, adjoining Llangorsepool, which seems to belong to it.

Baited our horses and refreshed ourselves at the new inn, of the village of Bwlch. It is a comfortable house, and the people are extremely obliging, and deserving of encouragement. I therefore recommend every traveller to taste the ale, bacon, and bread which are sold here: they are the best of the kind I ever met with in any country. Here we observed an instance of Welsh economy: the spout of the pump was broke off or lost; but a piece of an old hat bent into form, supplied its place!

In this part of Brecknockshire, we were told that a couple of fowls at the present season were worth 2s; but as a proof of the prevailing use of tea, a pound of butter fetched thirteen-pence. Trout sells at six-pence a pound; beef and mutton at eight-pence, and veal from five-pence to six-pence. Arable land may be worth on an average about 20s. an acre. Large farms are rather uncommon. The usual run is from 20l. to 50l, and from that to 100l. a year. Hence, though few are rich, many keep themselves independent, and the poor's rates are proportionably low. The Brecknock little farmer works hard, but he works for himself, and is satisfied with what he can command. All seem employed: but there is little stimulus to great exertion of body or of mind; for where luxuries are unknown, and capitals small, and wants easily supplied, severe labour or diligent application are seldom found. The women, however, have every appearance of being industrious; they knit while they are walking, and spin while they are nursing. Since we left Gloucester, we have seen few handsome faces: the females early become haggard; and though generally well formed, they are seldom striking. Their eyes are their best features. We observed several mothers with children in their arms, who would have passed for grand-dams in England. Young girls frequently ride astride, and passed us without any confusion; a proof that the practice is not uncommon. Here we noticed three yoke of oxen, and a horse for their leader, drawing a swing plough over light wheat fallows; and in another place, three horses at length were employed in the same service.

As we advance, the Beacon hills open in various fantastic shapes, and exhibit several sinuosities and beautiful basons in their sides, while their apex is truncated and abrupt. Pass Llan-sanfraed, whose church has a singular kind of a cupola tower. From this spot, the Uske appears in all its beauty; and Buckland house, the seat of Mr. Gwynne, presents, with its accompaniments, one of the most charming residences that fancy could conceive.

The Uske now attended us the greatest part of the way to  
TOUR IN WALES.]

Brecon. When swelled by torrents from the hills, of which there are sufficient evidences in the dry pebbly channels at this season, it must be a noble stream. Its banks, however, possess none of the bold features of the Wye, but it is much more rapid, and therefore incapable of navigation. To supply this defect, the Brecon canal accompanies its progress; and in one place crosses its bed on a series of brick arches.

The road from Crickhowell to Brecon, in general does credit to its managers; but at the distance of little more than a mile from the latter, it approaches so near the canal as to be actually dangerous, for want of a fence. Surely this should be remedied.

Brecon, the country town, makes no great show at any distance; but from the inequality of the ground on which it is built, and the mixture it exhibits of modern buildings, dismantled towers, and other ruins, its internal is sufficiently striking. It was formerly well walled, and had four gates. At present, it consists of three principal streets; but they are in most places too narrow, and except at our entrance, we saw few houses that might be called handsome. Its two old churches, and its different bridges, give it some degree of distinction. It also boasts of the ruins of a castle, from which the whole town may be advantageously viewed. Of this but some detached fragments remain, and among these, various ugly cottages are erected. A tennis-court, however, is formed in one of its angles; and an undershot water-mill, probably an original appendage, adjoins the site. Within this fortress, Stafford, duke of Buckingham, and Morton, bishop of Ely, concerted the union of the two houses of York and Lancaster, in consequence of which Henry VII. was elevated to the throne of England. A new military depot, capable of containing 16,000 stand of arms, is established here.

On the banks of the Uske, amidst the solemn gloom of trees, may be traced the venerable and extensive ruins of a Benedictine priory, founded in the reign of Henry I.; and on the east of the town stands the college, once a Dominican priory, now a collegiate church, with a dean and other dignitaries. Of this establishment the unfortunate Dr. Dodd was a prebend; and he has recorded his connection with the place by some beautiful lines, entitled "Pious Memory," descriptive of the custom of decking the recent graves with flowers, which prevails in this vicinity, though not generally, as has been insinuated, throughout the principality.

At Brecon, the Romans undoubtedly had a station, as appears from various coins and inscriptions which have been occasionally found here.

The Golden Lion at this place is negligently, not to say uncivilly conducted. None of the family made their appearance;

and the waiter was such a mixture of bustle, forgetfulness, and stupidity, that it was impossible to know what to make of him. On my hinting the oddity of his manner to the chamber-maid, and asking if he was not in love, "Lord, sir," said she, "that is impossible; he is a married man, and has children." "I beg his and your pardon," replied I, "you have given me a sufficient reason for his not being in love: married people are seldom troubled with that passion." "No, to be sure," was her answer."

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## FROM BRECON TO LLANDOVERY.

July 12. **T**HE morning being fine, we early quitted the arms of Morpheus, and were ready to start soon after six o'clock. It was our wish to have proceeded by Bualt and Rhayadar to the Hafod Arms, at the Devil's bridge, and then direct to Aberystwith; but after collecting and comparing the information of several persons acquainted with that route, we gave up the plan as impracticable, on account of the badness of the roads. To what cause this neglect to provide for the public, and indeed individual convenience, is to be ascribed, we are unable to determine; but surely it is impolitic to throw difficulties in the way of those who come to spend their money in the country, and who ask no favours, but good words and civil treatment. The landlord at Brecon declared, that if we attempted to proceed by Bualt, our carriage would inevitably be broken to pieces, and that four horses were necessary to draw any carriage. As this is the direct road from many parts of England to Aberystwith, which is yearly rising into fashionable notice, it is not probable that any difficulty will long exist to drive travellers round by Llandovery and Llanmpeter, which was the route we were obliged to take; a circumstance which in the end we did not regret, as expedition was less an object, than to see as much of the country as possible.

We left Brecon, by crossing the stately bridge over the Uske on its southern side; and a little way farther passed the Arrow, at this season a very scanty stream. The Beacon hills, reckoned the highest in South Wales, which had caught our attention yesterday long before we reached Brecon, now seemed to accompany our progress. Indeed we had in various instances before noticed this deception; for the roads in Wales, generally winding round the bases of the hills, and following the course of the vales; mountains of any magnitude are thrown into such different perspectives as we advance, that they apparently change their position.

Between Llanspyddad and Penpont, the scenery is truly enchanting. The Uske, frequently visible from the road, flows on the right, amidst oaks of the most vivid green, which feather down the hills from the bottom to the very summit. All the rudeness of nature, and the asperities of surface, are concealed; while for the space of about a mile, every combination of wood, water, and figure of ground, as viewed from the road, unites to constitute the highest perfection of landscape. In majesty and sublimity, the banks of the Wye infinitely surpass this; but in point of beauty, we had seen nothing comparable to this scene; which was farther enlivened by the melody of birds, that seemed enamoured of the spot.

At Penpont is a good house, belonging to the family of Williams; but it is less happily placed than it might have been, where there are so many inviting situations. On taking a retrospective view from this point, the vale through which the Uske winds, presents a long and beautiful vista; but in this light, the morning sun rendered objects indistinct.

After passing Penpont, the country assumed a more sterile aspect, and the soil evidently changed for the worse. Oats and barley now in some measure supplanted wheat and beans, or were intermixed with them; and the hills had nothing attractive in their form or appearance, except that they generally allowed cultivation, which, though it increased their value, diminished their picturesque effect.

Breakfasted at Trecastle, about eleven miles from Brecknock. It was once a place of some consequence, but is now dwindled to a miserable village. It is surrounded by wild mountains, but standing on the Uske, receives some advantages from that circumstance. Here stood a castle, the site of which is now covered with turf, and cattle were grazing upon it in social peace. The Welsh language is universally spoken by the inhabitants; and we were told that not above one in a hundred understands English.

We found the inn very comfortable, and it was undergoing some repairs and improvements, which will render it still more commodious. I walked into the kitchen, which was well stocked with bacon and hung beef; yet we found it difficult to procure a few eggs. They are probably considered as superfluities at the breakfast table, in this part of the country.

Walked round the village, and descended by a lane lined by some wretched cottages, to the Uske, which had accompanied us so long. Here we witnessed a Welsh washing by the side of the stream.

A kettle placed on two stones was kept boiling by a fire of sticks, and one woman was attending to this department. Another was stamping with her naked feet in a large tub, filled with

clothes; and a third was beating the linen on a wooden horse with a beetle, and occasionally rinsing it in the running stream. As we approached, they were singing very merrily, but they ceased on seeing us; and when they perceived that one of the party was *taking them off*, or in other words making a sketch of the scene, it was with some difficulty we could get them to resume their occupations. The only dress they wore, was a striped flannel petticoat, a shift, and a black beaver hat. This mode of washing in the rivers, which is prevalent in Wales, must tend very much to domestic comfort; for nothing is more unpleasant in families of moderate fortune than the frequent return of washing week, when mistress thinks herself privileged to be out of humour, if the weather is not favourable, and master must put up with any thing he can find, because "the washing is about."

In our way between Brecon and Trecastle, we met many of the country people going to market at the former place. One person perhaps was driving a small flock of Welsh sheep, another a herd of pigs, which are a neat but small breed, generally brindled and spotted with black, with moderately pendulous ears. Nothing can be more agreeable than the bacon of this country: it has seldom more fat on it than is common on mutton, and its flavour is delicious. We noticed likewise several persons, carrying each a calf before him on a small horse; while others had a few fat sheep, or a calf or two, placed on a sledge of singular construction. The shafts resemble those of a cart, but their extremities trail on the ground, and from them a few upright poles proceed, bound a-top by a cross bar, which keeps the live or dead stook from being thrown out into the road, or, as some would say, from being spilt. These machines are very cheap, and may be drawn wherever a horse can go.

The country waggons in Monmouthshire and Brecknockshire are uniformly long and narrow, and are not ill adapted to the nature of the roads. They have an inelegant appearance; and some of them are open on the sides of the bed, or rather sparred. These last are extremely light, and well calculated for carrying hay or corn. Panniers also are in common use. The horses are small and very sure-footed, and generally not ill made. Droves of black cattle and horses began now to meet us in their way to England. It seems to be a profitable speculation to deal in these animals. The poor Welsh farmer depends more on his live stock to pay his rent, than on the produce of the earth, which seldom furnishes more than a subsistence for himself and his family.

Leaving Trecastle, we at the same time desert the vale of the Uske, and soon after pass the village of Llwyel, in the church-yard of which are a great number of small plank stones, placed at the head

and foot of the graves, uninscribed and white-washed. This is a singular, but a decent custom, and as strongly evinces the affection of the living for their deceased relations, as the most splendid monuments would do.

At no great distance beyond, we entered a charming woody dingle, of considerable depth, with a brawling brook on our left, which works its way over a rugged bed of rocks; while the road is carried along the side of the slope, in some places very precipitous, and covered with oaks of great beauty. Here, in driving down a steep of the Cwmdwr hills with too much rapidity, the foresprings of the carriage partially gave way; and as the day was fine, we determined to send it on by the servant to Llandovery, and walk the distance of about seven miles at our leisure. Being provided with fishing tackle, we amused ourselves with fishing in the Gwyddrch, which devolving from the hills, and receiving several tributary brooks, works its noisy way by the side of the road, till it falls into the Towey, a little below Llandovery. Caught some salmon pinks, with which and trout the torrent abounds. On the rocks through which the road is cut, found several curious plants, the natives of Alpine tracks.

Enter Caermarthenshire about the fifth mile-stone from Llandovery; and finding one or two who could speak English, among a groupe of peasants who were taking their frugal dinner of oat-cakes and cheese, we entered into conversation with them; and for a taste of their cakes, which they very politely offered us, we gave them a trifle to purchase drink, which it was evident they did not expect. The Welsh, as we found on various occasions, especially among the lower classes, seem ashamed of having it suspected that they set their attentions to sale. They accept with an amiable reluctance, what is offered with delicacy and generosity; and this trait in their character is so delightful, that we blushed for the selfishness of our own countrymen, when contrasted with the manners of the peasantry of the principality. In wishing to be civil, the Welsh are perhaps too inquisitive; but if they sometimes ask too many questions, they are never tired of giving answers, when you appear to interest yourself about their welfare, or evince a partiality for their country. They are fond of being noticed by persons who appear their superiors; and would, I am convinced, do more for a kind word, than would be done in some countries for money. Of their inquisitive disposition, and the little intercourse they have in this quarter with strangers, we had in this walk a convincing proof. The only lady in our party had gone on a little before us, and in short, was not in sight of her friends, when she was accosted in English by a Welshman, who seemed declining into the vale of years; who having eyed her dress and appearance with apparent astonishment, asked what

brought her there, what she was doing, if she had any body belonging to her, if she was married, or single, where she came from, and whither she was going? Not in the least alarmed, she answered him without reserve, and put some questions to him in return; but our coming up put an end to the Welshman's conversation, as he seemed to fear he had been too free in talking to a person who he found had a carriage gone forward, and three gentlemen to protect her.

The narrow vale of the Gwyddrch continues, though with diminished beauty, and several transverse breaks successively open in the bounding hills, the channel of wintery torrents, and at present of babbling brooks, till we come within a mile of Llandovery; when a noble plain discloses itself to the view, stretching to the right and the left farther than the eye can reach, through which the pastoral Towey winds its way, and gives name to the vale.

During this long walk I botanized not without success, but lamented that I had forgot to bring a box with me, to secure such plants as I might judge worthy of being examined at leisure, or even of being transplanted into England. The whole way, the road undulating with the hills, which sometimes advanced and sometimes retired, only shewed itself in short reaches, which invited our advance by uncertainty, and frequently rewarded it by unexpected turns and objects.

Hay-making had not yet commenced in this district. Oats and barley, the chief crops, looked well; lime continued to be the common manure; and the houses still white-washed; an operation which seems to be repeated annually, though the natives are by no means remarkable for cleanliness. The roofs of the buildings, particularly cottages, we observed to be much flatter here than in England, and in general much more picturesque. There is something very tasteful in a flattish projecting roof, in which respects we might imitate the Welsh to advantage. Nor would white-washing both internally and externally, be less conducive to health than it is to the beauty of the landscape. But on this subject I have already touched, in defiance of the dogmas of painters, who must allow me to claim the liberty I give.

Reached Llandovery about four o'clock, and were pleased to hear that the carriage had received much less damage than we had apprehended. Though we had only travelled twenty miles this day, it was agreed that we should lodge here, send the servant forward with our horses to Lampeter, and take post-horses in the morning to that place, in order that we might be able to reach Aberystwith, a stage of twenty-five miles farther, with our own.

Llandovery, which stands on the Bran, near the head of the upper vale of Towey, is an insignificant place, and very irregu-

larly built; but the situation, being encompassed by streams which all fall into the river Towey; about a mile below, is as delightful as the heart could wish. For fishing, nothing can be more eligible; and we eat some fine specimens of the produce of its streams, both at dinner and supper. On an eminence, between the Bran and Erveny, are the remains of a small castle, which before the invention of artillery must have been of some strength. The ruins of the keep are still very massy, and are likely to stand for some centuries more, if left solely to the hand of time. It seems the Romans had a station near this place.

There is only one inn at Llandovery, but that inn is excellently conducted by Mr. Edwards; and it is to be lamented, that the road from hence to Llampeter is so indifferent, that few have the resolution to take this agreeable route to Aberystwith. Between Brecon and Llandovery, the roads are equal to any in the kingdom; and we were informed that the gentlemen in the neighbourhood, were so far awakened to a sense of their interest and their duty, that they had indicted that to Llampeter.

After dinner, while my friends were employed in fishing, I took a walk to Abercrychan church, which stands on a hill about a mile off. In the cemetery I found various inscriptions, some in English, some in Welsh. As a specimen, I subjoin one in each language.

#### ON TWO CHILDREN OF EVAN JONES.

O am Galon i Glodfori  
 Ac am Galon i Ufurddhau  
 Ac am Galon i foliannu  
 Yr Jesu tirion fy'n rhyddhau  
 Fe rhyddaodd ddau frawd oi cystudd  
 Au chwaei fychan or in lle  
 Genaue Plant perffeithiant  
 Mewn Gogoniani yn y ne.

#### ON A HARPER,

Whose inscription states that he had the honour of being employed by her present Majesty Queen Charlotte, and that he died in 1789, aged 78.

Farewell my Friends, I am gone  
 To life eternally,  
 I have paid the debt that you do owe,  
 And all will follow me:  
 For when the day of judgment comes,  
 The righteous shew their face;  
 I hope all nations will provide,  
 For'tis a heavenly race.—AMEN.

In regard to the Welsh epitaph I do not pretend to judge; but I think it will be allowed, that the one in English is *equal*

in point of *elegance*, to what our stone-cutters generally produce for the edification of the ignorant, and the amusement of the learned.

Divine service is performed at this church, and indeed in most places in Caernarthenshire, alternately in Welsh and English. It is to be regretted, however, that English should not be more commonly used; for notwithstanding the merit of the Welsh bards, and the attachment of the natives to their original tongue, its prevalence must ever be a bar to the general improvement of the country, and to the interest of individuals. They who can talk only a local and almost obsolete dialect, must of necessity be confined to the spot where they were born; and in consequence contract notions as confined as their situation. They are precluded from launching into the world, and from improving their circumstances; for even in the humble situation of a servant, few will be inclined to employ them, if they are unable to speak the language of the country where they reside. In short, I am convinced that till the Irish, the Welsh, and the Scotch Highlanders lose their original tongues, which are all dialects of the Celtic, they must remain far behind the rest of their fellow subjects, in all the arts that embellish life, and render it delightful. At this time, there is scarcely a book of any real value written or printed in either of the Celtic dialects; and what must be the situation of that people in regard to mental improvements, who are cut off from every source of rational information, and have their knowledge confined to a few old ballads of their bards, and to uncertain records relative to their sanguinary chieftains, whose memory had better be lost?

At Llandovery we noticed some farther instances of Welsh economy, and we might add filthiness. Over the window of my bed-chamber, some domestic pigeons had a place to roost in: their dung fell on the frame, and had attracted so little regard, that it was likely in time to obscure the light. Yet this house was on the whole a very good one; and had the cause of our disgust been pointed out (which we were unwilling to do, lest we should wound feelings disposed to oblige), there can be no doubt that the offensive sight would have been removed, and not been suffered again to accumulate.

I know not if I should notice an incident here, which the fastidious will call indelicate. There is a bank at Llandovery, and a Welsh cow appears well engraven on one corner of the paper, perhaps the arms of the town, or the crest of the proprietor. A wag, and we suspect a worthless one, seeing the poor cow solitary, had introduced a bull making love to her on one of these notes, which accidentally fell into our hands at Brecon; and when we were changing it here, to pay the bill at the inn, the ludicrous circum-

stance was discovered, and we blushed as we offered it in payment; but conscious that we were innocent of the addition, the matter passed over on our part, and was not remarked on the part of the landlord. Had a woman been concerned, so accurate was the delineation, it would have been impossible to have put the note into her hands.

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FROM LLANDOVERY TO ABERYSTWITH.

*July 13.* **W**ITH four post-horses to our carriage, we started this morning a little before six o'clock, and in somewhat less than four hours (and it was hard work for the poor beasts,) we reached Llampeter to breakfast, a distance of only twenty miles. The morning was overcast, and mists floated on the tops of the hills. We enjoyed, however, a delightful view of the vale of Towy, as we ascended the first hill from Llandovery, in which Glanbran park and house, and Abercrychan church, formed distinguished objects. The hill opposite to us is called the Forest, as we were told, and probably it might have been so at some remote period, but now scarcely a bush diversifies the sterility of its surface.

Observed some flax growing on the cultivated side of the hill as we began to ascend, and tolerably fine barley and oats, but very little wheat is produced here. In this district, lime is commonly spread on natural grass, as a manure. The Welsh seem to know the use and value of lime much better than the English.

In this whole stage, a succession of barren hills are the prominent feature in the landscape, with some spots or patches forced into cultivation, which yield a scanty crop of oats and barley. Potatoes are pretty abundant near the thinly scattered and miserable cottages that are seen from the road; but few other culinary vegetables are to be found.

The greatest part of the hills in this morning's drive, bid defiance to agriculture, being covered with rocks and loose stones. They are interesting, however, to the sportsman, as they are plentifully stocked with grouse, black-gamè, and wheat-ears. The rocks, and indeed the soil likewise, have a slaty appearance; and in one place we observed a slate quarry, which appeared to be worked with great care. Lord Cawdor is a principal proprietor in this track.

In an opening of some extent between the different ranges of hills, we caught a favourable view of the village of Cynyil Gaio, and its picturesque church on the right; while lower down the vale on the left, was the elegant seat of Mr. Williams, the representative for the county.

Pass the Cothi, a small but rapid stream, and crossing another

eminence, ford the Turrock, a river of some importance, even at this season. Turf is generally burnt here, and its smell in some places is powerfully oppressive to strangers of delicate nerves. We met several carts and sledges laden with this kind of fuel for the winter's supply.

The only house of refreshment in this almost desolate route, which is laid down in no book of roads we have seen, is the New Inn, about eight miles from Llampeter. The houses of the natives are wretched beyond description. They have singular chimneys or rather openings in the roof, constructed of a kind of crate work covered with straw, and bound round with twisted ropes of the same material. They are universally thatched, and the walls are frequently of mud. In fact, poverty and sterility every where presented their most forbidding aspects; and it was with pleasure, that, on gaining the summit of the Llampeter mountain, we looked down on the fertile vale of the Tivy, which lay like a map before us. About half a mile from Llampeter, we crossed the Tivy by an old and ill constructed stone bridge of two arches. The Tivy is a fine river, and produces abundance of fish, particularly excellent trout. It forms the boundary between Caermarthen and Cardigan-shires. Here we observed several coracles, of the same construction as on the Wye.

On one of the hills in this stage, it should be remarked, we were entertained by the sight of a man standing on a ridge of rocks, and calling his cows together to be milked. He had a peculiar note; and it seems the poor animals obey it, when uttered by a known voice.

The fences in this mountainous track, where cultivation is at all attempted, are composed of turfs, intermixed with large unshapen stones. Quicksets, elder, hazel, birch, and furze have been all tried, but with very little success. The soil is too poor, and the aspect too exposed, for trees or shrubs of any kind to thrive.

Breakfast at the Black Lion in Llampeter, a decent house, where a chaise or two is now kept, and where endeavours are made to accommodate the public—may success attend them! The town is small, and contains a mixture of slated and thatched houses, though it is probable the former would be cheapest. A large old seat belonging to the Lloyds, is the only ornament of the place, and this seems hastening to decay. Except indeed for about a mile on each side of the town, where a genial soil invites cultivation, bleak and barren mountains surround it, and render the contrast more striking. Yet in this sequestered place, we found several gentlemen from England on fishing schemes, who appear pleased to saunter life away on the banks of the Tivy, during the day, and with potations of Welsh ale, to lull their

senses into oblivion for the night. But, *de gustibus non disputandum*, "as the man said when he kissed his cow."

Proceeding on our journey, we gained the next hill, from whence the vale of the Tivy displays itself to the greatest advantage. It is full of enclosures, hedge-rows, corn and grass fields, bounded by a various outline of naked hills, which strikingly contrast with the fertility below. Heath, fern, and turf or peat, with patches of cultivation on the slopes and in the hollows of the hills, which last are dotted with sheep and cattle, continue till we pass the fourth mile-stone, when a glorious view of the rich triangular vale of Ayron bursts at once on the sight, the heights round which are feathered down with extensive woods, chiefly oak, from more than half way up to the level of the plain. This agreeable feature was wanting to complete the beauty of the vales of Towy and Tivy; for to give fertility and cultivation their full effect, every appearance of their opposites must be excluded from the scene; at least, they should not fall under the eye at the same instant.

Take the road which leads to Aberayron, distant thirteen miles from Llampeter. To adopt this route, though five miles farther round than through the village of Llanlir, we were induced by the superior beauty of the scenery, and the avoidance of a long and steep ascent of two miles which we saw on our right; and for this circuitous way we were amply repaid by a variety of attractive objects, which were constantly presenting themselves.

Leaving the open part of the vale of the Ayron, a small but cheerful stream, we entered a defile about half a mile wide, which taking a winding direction, continued the whole of the drive to Aberayron, exhibiting a succession of beauties. In our progress down this charming vale we passed the village of Ystrad, in the cemetery of whose church stands a remarkably large yew tree, of great beauty and age. In this vicinity the cottages improve; and the misery and desolation which we had witnessed in the morning, are agreeably exchanged for the appearance of comfort and content. Some of the dwellings of the peasantry were extremely picturesque, and happily situated; but we could not help observing in several instances the singular absurdity of white-washing the slates, which in themselves are beautiful beyond what most countries produce.

About two miles from Aberayron, the elegant modern seat of Colonel Lewis shews itself, standing on a fine plain, where the vale is somewhat more expanded, as if to make room for the embellishments which are here so happily applied. It is backed by a hanging wood of oak, and in front has a lawn of moderate extent. The road on its left, by which we were passing along the side of the steep, is cut through a rock, with fine pendent

woods both above and below. Nature here has done so much to render the scenery illustrious, that art is little wanted; yet it is not always called in where it might be of service. At the bottom of the precipice on our right, which turns the head giddy to contemplate, as there is no fence to guard the passenger from accident, rolls the silver Ayrôn, which falls into the bay of Cardigan, whose expanse begins to open as we proceed amidst this sublime scenery. We had indeed for some time been sensible of our approach to the sea by the peculiar freshness of the air; and at last I was gratified with the sight of that world of wonders, which from early habits and recollections must ever to me be productive of pleasingly painful sensations.

Being still sixteen miles from Aberystwith, where we intended to take a late dinner, we found it necessary to halt for a couple of hours at the little inn of the little village of Aberayron, kept by a very sensible and civil woman of the name of Felix, who obligingly furnished us in writing with a few colloquial phrases and forms of salutation in Welsh. The situation of her house is delightful, and we were not sorry that circumstances had arisen to make us decide in favour of this interesting route. Were it for no other purpose, every traveller of taste ought to pass this way for the sake of Colonel Lewis's scat, to which we were told he had given the name of Clanchairon, instead of Llanerchairon, its ancient Welsh appellation; an alteration that does not seem to please those who are attached to original orthography, and who fancy that their language is the most expressive of all others.

Here we saw the women, with long cloaks and red silk handkerchiefs under their black beaver hats, employed in making hay under a burning sun, though they would have been sufficiently warm in their shift sleeves. But the costume here is in a great measure independent of seasons: it seems to be neither too hot in summer, nor too cold in winter.

About Aberayron, and indeed all along the coast, it is said that smuggling prevails, to the injury of the revenue, and the destruction of health and morals. Over several doors, in the course of this day's ride, we observed the initials of the inhabitant's name, with the addition of SHOP-KEEPER, in characters more rude and uncouth even than the *Egyptian*, which *decorate*, or, *deform* the signs of the citizens of London. This, we were informed, was meant to indicate a dealer in prohibited commodities. It is a lamentable circumstance, that the lower classes do not consider themselves as guilty of any crime when they are defrauding government; while immense profits, with the probability of escaping detection, tempt numbers to engage in this illicit traffic.

We had frequently been remarking, that hitherto we had not seen a beggar in Wales. Even voluntary bounty had been re-

ceived with apparent pain, though with gratitude. Here, however, we saw a man, almost blind and double with age, who seemed by his manner, to implore our charity; and if ever misery had a claim to relief, his appearance gave a sanction to this painful privilege. He did not supplicate in vain; but it was done without importunity or even articulating a word; and had we been unfeeling enough to deny the humble boon which he probably expected, I have no doubt he would have moved on as quickly as age and infirmity would allow, without deigning a second time to put himself in a begging attitude. I admire this independent spirit in the Welsh: I have witnessed the same among the Scotch; but in England it is almost extinct, and never can be revived, while *legalized* beggary, under the name of poor's rates, remains the order of the day.

The road from Aberayron towards Aberystwith, takes the direction of the coast, which generally forms a bold outline, with occasional promontories and bays. On setting out we ascended a long hill, in constant view of the sea, though gradually retiring from it by the elevation we had gained; and over the expanse on the left, which was as smooth as glass, we saw several coasting vessels, apparently without motion, as there was scarcely a breath of air to curl the surface of the water. From this point too, the mountains in North-Wales began to shew their giant heads, and we could distinctly discern Cadw Idris, besides the nearer Plinlimmon, the pride of Cardiganshire.

We now began gradually to retire from the sea, and proceeded over a track destitute of trees, but producing in many places excellent barley, oats, and some wheat. The soil is loamy, with a substratum of slate, and the prevailing manure on the coast is sea-weed. From the highest part of this road we had a sea scape over the whole bay of Cardigan, with its bounding points; and from our own observations, could easily give credit to the tradition of the natives, who speak of a well inhabited country stretching far into the Irish sea, which has long since by gradual encroachments been swept away. Of a district formerly celebrated for its hundred towns, only a few miserable villages now remain. It is probable indeed that the whole bay of Cardigan was once a spacious plain, and that the sea advanced, till it was stopped by the hills which now bound the shore.

Descending from the summit we had gained, we reached Llanrhysted, a village lying in a quiet vale, watered by a small stream, and separated from the sea by an intervening hill. Here is a larger church than is usually seen in Wales, with a tower much more ancient than the body of the building. It was indeed conventual; for it formerly belonged to an ancient monastery, of which few memorials remain.

While we halted at the miserable inn of the place to water our horses, the superior appearance of the church induced us to take a walk round the cemetery, in order to make our remarks on the few tombs that are erected there; and it is with a melancholy reflection on life I noticed, that not one person whose memory they record, had reached the age of more than thirty-three. Notwithstanding all that is said of the purity of the air in mountainous countries, and of Wales in particular, life is evidently not prolonged by the climate beyond the common date, even if it reaches so far; and as we had almost universally observed, people look old and wrinkled before their time. It must be allowed, however, that the inscriptions on tombstones would be an uncertain criterion of longevity, without supplementary evidence, as the affection of parents, more frequently than the duty of children, raises the sepulchral monument or the recording stone. But the fact is, that the Welsh, from the most authentic accounts, are more liable to mortal diseases at an early period of life, than their neighbours the English; and that a low diet and a moist atmosphere, predispose them to pulmonary complaints and intermittents, beyond what is found in champaign and rich countries.

The ascent from Llanrhysted is long and circuitous, and we were nearly an hour before we reached the highest pitch of the road, near which, on the left, we made a digression to see two upright stones, called by the country people, "The man and his wife." They are between six and seven feet in height above the surface of the ground, and between ten and twelve feet in circumference, and standing at the distance of thirteen paces from each other. Two other stones of inferior dimensions lie near them, which have probably been thrown from this perpendicular position. The whole groupe is evidently Druidical; and though the situation is elevated, they stand in a little hollow of the hill, which excludes every view from the spot, except towards the east.

The greatest part of this drive presented nothing but barren hills on the side screens and the fore-ground, with very few houses and little cultivation; but in the back-ground of the landscape, there is a most glorious scene of a tumultuous ocean of hills, among which Plinlimmon on one hand, and Cader Idris on the other, towered in all their majesty. The former may easily be distinguished by its long ridge, somewhat resembling the back of a horse, the latter by its two conical points. Inferior hills, or rather mountains, crowded round the feet of those mighty sovereigns, and seemed to acknowledge their supremacy. The beams of the evening sun, which had sunk too low behind the hill on our left to have his disc any longer visible to us, sweetly illumined the projecting masses of Plinlimmon, which appeared at no

great distance; while a deep, but well defined, shade was thrown over its hollows and recesses. Except in mountainous countries, this delightful mixture of light and shade can no where be witnessed.

About the fifth mile-stone from Aberystwith, the landscape is almost boundless, and may be truly called sublime. Here the road, after undulating up and down, makes a determined descent, and brings us to the vale of the Ystwith, which river we cross by an excellent modern bridge of one arch. Again we began to ascend, and winding round the back of the hill which separates the Rhaidol from the Ystwith, by a road partly cut with infinite labour out of the solid rock, we at length reached the turnpike, from whence there is a charming view of Aberystwith, lying full before us, at the distance of a mile, with the Rhaidol flowing on our right. This river we crossed by a commodious bridge, just before we entered the town, and saw it winding round the bottom of a sloping semi-circular hill to meet the Ystwith, when both mix with the tide.

The approach to Aberystwith is certainly very striking, and raises expectations which the interior is not calculated to gratify. It stands on a considerable elevation between two bold promontories; and as we advance, it is constantly disclosing some new feature. The fragments of the castle open on the left, with some picturesque effect, before we reach the bridge, and by the bend which the road takes here, are thrown into various perspective.

The situation of the town is not unpleasant, and the air is reckoned pure. The beach is level and inviting, and from it the extremities of the bay of Cardigan may be traced. The houses are built of a dark slaty stone, which, though extremely durable and easy to work, gives it a gloomy appearance; and in spite of the partiality of the Welsh for white-washing, they generally neglect it here, or confine it to the roof, where it might very well be dispensed with.

When I complained of the dusky hue of the houses to one of the most intelligent among the inhabitants of the place, and expressed my wish to see them white-washed, the only answer was, "La, sir, would it not be a shame to conceal such beautiful stone as this?"—Habit reconciles them to what no stranger can view with pleasure, and they see beauty where others observe nothing but deformity.

Accommodations suited to moderate fortunes, may be obtained in this place without difficulty; and though the surrounding scenery is neither rich nor grand, the vicinity is not absolutely destitute of attractions, particularly in summer. In winter, it is never thought of as a place of public resort; and it is probably less frequented in the bathing season than it would otherwise be,

were the direct communication with various parts of England rendered more safe and pleasant to the traveller. In particular, the road from Brecon through Bualt and Rhaiader, should be immediately opened for the easy passage of carriages. This would not only shorten the distance from several points of approach, but would give strangers an opportunity of visiting Hafod and the Devil's Bridge, in their way to the place.

The public walks are traced with considerable taste and effect, amidst the ruins of the old castle; and as the sea-breezes may be enjoyed here without interruption, this is the favourite lounge for visitors. The Castle House, as it is called, built by Uvedale Price, Esq. who has so freely ridiculed the *false* taste of others, is a most striking specimen of his *own*. This, however, is the principal edifice in the town. But while these sheets are preparing for the press, a correspondent\* has informed me, that public rooms and a theatre are erecting here; and that from the influx of company during the last season, Aberystwith promises fair to be the first bathing station in South Wales. To render it agreeable, however, to persons of fortune, the houses in general must be improved, the streets widened and better paved, and their slopes and asperities softened, or removed.

Put up at the Talbot, kept by Mr. Jones, an attentive and well-behaved man, who during the bathing season keeps an excellent ordinary, and is generally able to accommodate strangers with private lodgings, who dislike the bustle of an inn. The Gogerthan Arms is likewise a good and well-conducted house, and commands its share of custom.

Wearied with the long journey we had made this day, we took only a general perambulation of the town, and being resolved to spend next day here, which was Sunday, we early resigned ourselves into the arms of sleep.

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#### ABERYSTWITH, AND ITS ENVIRONS, WITH SKETCHES OF CAMBRIAN CUSTOMS, &c.

July 14. **H**AVING engaged horses the evening before, I was up-early, and set out with another gentleman of the party on an excursion round the environs of Aberystwith. I will not

\* Aberystwith, September 10, 1805. "The crowds of company that have flocked to this romantic shore, during this season, have been great beyond precedent. Many new houses have been built for their accommodation; and a subscription has been entered into to erect rooms on the walks near the sea, which are to be ready for the reception of company next summer. Cards and assemblies three times a week. Plays every other night; and it is intended to build a new and elegant theatre, on a very large scale."

attempt on this occasion regularity of description; but notice, as they occur to my mind, places and objects that attracted my attention, or fell under my view.

Plas Grug was the first place we visited. It stands on the banks of the Rhydol, not far from Aberystwith, and is recorded as one of the seats of Owen Glendower. A square embattled tower still remains very perfect, and there are other considerable fragments of the ruins of this fortified mansion, which must have been very extensive. We were told of a subterraneous communication between this place and Llanbadarn Fawr, but no person could indicate its commencement or its termination.

Llanbadarn Fawr, about the distance of a mile from Aberystwith, and still the parish church, is supposed to be one of the most ancient sees in Wales; for here Paternus, in the sixth century, founded a monastery and a bishopric, since united to St. David's.

The present church is large and cruciform, and bears many traces of a high antiquity. It is surrounded by a considerable village, and the parish is of great extent, including Aberystwith, which has only a chapel of ease.

From hence we made a digression to Gogerthan, one of the seats of Pryse Pryse, Esq. It is distant three miles from Aberystwith, and stands in a lawn between two very lofty mountains, one of which is feathered down from top to bottom with various kinds of pines and other evergreens, while the other is principally covered with oak. A small river runs through the lawn near the house, whose banks are fringed with a variety of beautiful wild flowers.

Having heard much of the beauty of Lodge park, belonging to the same gentleman, we proceeded to visit it. A broad winding path through a wood from the right of the road to Machynlleth, conducts to the house, which stands on a bold eminence, and commands some of the finest views in the world. It is astonishing that such a delightful spot has not been more frequently visited by travellers. In this park are some valuable mines, and in particular one of silver, which has produced a considerable quantity of that precious metal within the last thirty years. The ore, however, is not sufficiently rich to yield any great profit to the proprietor, or perhaps the mine may not be skilfully worked.

Highly gratified with the views from this place, we directed our course to Moelynis, or the barren isle, and rightly it is named, for it scarcely produces any thing except rabbits, and foxes to prey upon them. This extensive track of land, however, seems capable of being reclaimed and improved; and at some distant period, it probably was equal in value to any in Cardiganshire.

It is wholly surrounded by the sea and the rivers Dovey and Lerry, with only one entrance by a stone bridge. The Dovey separates it from North Wales.

We now rode along the sands to Borth, once a Roman station, but now a miserable fishing and smuggling cottage. This is a fashionable ride for the company at Aberystwith; and where the influence of sea breezes is desirable, it can no where be more fully enjoyed.

Returning to our inn with good appetites, we found our friends ready at the breakfast-table; and during that repast we entertained them with our morning's adventure. Nothing but Welsh horses could have carried us so far in so short a time, over such a country; and even with all the confidence we reposed in these sure-footed animals, it was sometimes difficult to divest ourselves of fear.

I now prepared to attend divine service in the chapel of Aberystwith, which was built about twenty years ago, and stands within the precincts of the old castle. It possesses little elegance, though it is sufficiently large and commodious. The gallery was erected at the sole expence of Mrs. Pryse, who lies buried in the chancel of Llanbadarn Fawr, with a handsome monument over the spot, erected by her grandson, the present Pryse Pryse, Esq. The inscription is said to have been written by the late Dr. Thomas King, chancellor and prebendary of Lincoln; and it does justice to the character of a very worthy woman, who practised every christian virtue.

The service was performed with due solemnity; but notwithstanding the permanent population of the place is about two thousand, scarcely one person in twenty attended. In fact, Methodism and sectarianism of every kind prevail at Aberystwith, as in most other places in Wales; and the established church is in a great measure deserted.

On returning, I had the pleasure to see an old friend looking out at one of the windows of the Gogerthan Arms; and as he happened to be disengaged, I immediately added him to our party for the day, to the great satisfaction of my friends, who were pleased to enjoy the company of a gentleman who had resided for many years in Wales, and who, to a turn for investigation, united a disposition to communicate any information that we could wish, in regard to the place, and the general manners and customs of the people. It is to him that I owe whatever interest the remainder of this day's journal may be found to possess.

In regard to the Welsh mode of courtship, among the peasantry, about which so much has been said *pro* and *con*, in the counties of Cardigan, Caernarvon, and Merioneth at least, the following he affirmed to be a fact. When two young persons have

agreed to visit each other, the woman soon receives her admirer into her chamber, and they court sitting or lying on her bed. The natural consequence is, that the female becomes pregnant; and it is seldom that a marriage takes place without that being the case. To the honour, however, of the Welsh gallants, it must be confessed, that they very rarely desert the woman who has made them happy; nor does either sex feel any impropriety in the practice to which we have referred. To a stranger, a Welsh female would be as reserved as any woman on earth could be: she knows he is not to be trusted; and the most arrant clown of her own country would be preferred to a London beau. As wives, they are generally faithful, dutiful, and affectionate.

When it is settled that a wedding is to take place, a few days previous to its solemnization, the parents of the parties have what they call a bidding, or meeting of their friends, at their separate houses. If they are persons of any respectability, the numbers that attend on this occasion is astonishing.

Where the intended bride lives, great numbers of women, as well as men, make their appearance; the former generally come on horseback, and bring various gifts with them;—some a cheese, others a pot of butter, flour, sugar, tea, &c. The women have an apartment to themselves, where they are entertained with tea; while the men take hearty potations of cwrw, smoke their pipes, and leave such a sum of money as they chuse, or can afford. At the bridegroom's, it is chiefly men who attend, and after being entertained in a similar manner, they make some pecuniary presents and retire. Twenty, thirty, or forty pounds are sometimes collected on these occasions between the contracting parties, and this helps to establish them in life.

On the night previous to the wedding, a few of the young man's companions proceed to the bride's house, to see if she is safe, when her friends conceal her for a time, either by dressing her in man's apparel, or by putting her into some obscure place; but after some pretended difficulty, she is at length discovered, when they sit down and spend the evening merrily; and then depart. Next morning, however, they return again, and demand the bride, which is done by repeating many lines of Welsh poetry. A kind of refusal is made by the father in a similar strain; but his consent being at last obtained, the girl is mounted on a horse, behind one of her young male friends, who sets off with her full speed to the church where the marriage ceremony is to be performed, followed by a numerous concourse of people. The bridegroom is sure to be in readiness to meet her at the church door, with his attendants, when the clergyman joins them together according to the established ritual, except that when he comes to the words, "with my body I thee worship, and with all my worldly goods I

thee endow," the bridegroom puts his hands into his pockets, and produces what money he has about him, which he gives with the ring to the clergyman. The latter takes his fee, and delivers the remainder to the bride. After this, the ceremony concludes at the altar in the usual form.

When a person dies, there are people sit up every night with the corpse till the funeral takes place, the night before which is called "the watch night," when the chamber is illuminated, and a number of friends and neighbours continue in it till morning. The company assemble early, frequently to the number of two or three hundred or more who follow the corpse, to the place of interment, some on horseback, others on foot. When arrived at the cemetery, they place the body on a bier, and a number of persons walk before it bare-headed, singing proper psalms for the occasion, till it is set down in the chancel. The nearest relations then kneel round the coffin, till the service is ended, when the same take it up and carry it to the grave. This must be a trying scene for affection to bear; but the most tender hearts are reconciled to it through habit, and it certainly is more decent than the custom which prevails in England, of trusting the remains of those whom we loved most, to indifferent and hireling hands.

The small-pox sometimes breaks out with great virulence among the country people, and sweeps off great numbers. Nevertheless they have an aversion in general to inoculation, and vaccination is too little understood as yet to be commonly introduced. They have likewise something of a predestinarian principle, which renders them indifferent about approaching the infected, whether dead or alive; and this, added to the old prejudices in favour of warmth and a close air in the chamber of the deceased, tends very much to spread the devastating power of this cruel malady. Nothing but legislative provisions can extirpate the small-pox; but, alas! the health of the subject is the last object that engages a statesman's attention.

The natives of both sexes among the mountains on the sea-coast of Cardiganshire, and probably in other places, are much addicted to sea-bathing, during the light summer nights. The manner of their collecting together, is by blowing horns the whole way as they advance towards the deep. When arrived on the beach, they strip, and take a promiscuous plunge without any ceremony. This kind of ablution is generally performed on Saturdays, in order that they may enjoy rest the next day. It is generally day-light before they return to their homes, and the noise they make is sure to disturb those who are not engaged in these aquatic orgies.

Foxes abound among the mountains, and as it is impossible to

pursue them in the usual way by hunting\*, about the times the lambs are dropt in the spring, it is usual for the whole country to rise by the signal of horns, and with guns, dogs, forks, and other weapons, to destroy as many of these crafty and noxious animals as come within their reach. Hunting on foot indeed is the usual practice in Wales; and is certainly safest and best; for few would have the resolution to ride after hounds in such a country as this.

By far the greatest part of the lower orders, both in towns and in the country, are Dissenters, and consequently are little addicted to any public amusements; but if an itinerant preacher visits them, they immediately leave their pursuits, and crowd to hear him from every quarter. The annual meetings of the Methodists, called Associations, are attended by a vast number of preachers. These meetings are circular. Last year they were held at Aberystwith, when it was computed that nearly ten thousand persons were collected together. A stage was erected for the ministers on the marsh adjoining the town; and business of all kinds was suspended during the stay of those pious fanatics. Lately the sect of Methodists, called Jumpers, prevailed, as being most extravagant and best suited to make an impression on weak and vulgar minds. While the preacher among these ignorant enthusiasts is delivering his discourse, the congregation keep holding up their hands, and waving them about in a frenzied mood; but no sooner has he finished than they instantly begin jumping, hand in hand, with the first person they can lay hold of, generally, however, a young man with a young woman; and this exercise they continue with horrid screams and noise till they are quite exhausted, and perhaps fall down in a kind of trance. Others clap their hands sometimes over their heads, and sometimes against their sides; and it is nothing unusual for a party of three or four to link arm in arm, and turn round with such velocity, that they soon become giddy. Once when a preacher was asked if the Jumpers were actuated by joy or sorrow, he replied, "both;" and desired the person who put the question "to go home, and read the scriptures." In a word, the stories we heard of these people from the most credible authorities, would stagger the belief of strangers; but as enthusiasm is a powerful source of love, these exercises are not often *barren*.

A great number of pigs are bred in Cardiganshire and in the adjoining counties, which are usually purchased by dealers from Bristol. When one of these chapmen arrives, he goes to the

\* We were told, however, that Pryse Pryse, Esq. keeps a small pack of fox-hounds at Gogerthan, and hunts with all the animation of a keen sportsman, amidst mountains and precipices, where almost every step is neck or nothing.

clerk of the parish, who on the first Sunday after, as soon as service is ended, gets on a stone or some other elevated place, and proclaims where and when the dealer is to be met with, and how long he is to stay. The country people who have pigs to dispose of, attend to the intimation, bring their property to the spot appointed; and when the pig-merchant has laid out all his money, he draws off his bargains, and makes the best of his way to England, by crossing either the Old or the New Passage over the Severn.

At Aberystwith a custom-house has been erected, in consequence of the increasing trade. The exports are oak bark, birch ditto, oak timber, lead ore, black jack, copper ore, iron, corn, butter, poultry, slates, and Welsh ale. The imports are chiefly balk, deals, hemp, pitch, tar, rosin, Russia iron, groceries, flax, porter, cyder, wine, brandy, rum, Geneva, &c. The vessels from this port trade to Ireland, Liverpool, Bristol, and some few to London.

The months of August and September may be called the harvest season of the fishermen, particularly for herrings, which are sometimes caught in immense quantities in the bay of Cardigan. Numbers are immediately conveyed from thence into North Wales and Shropshire on horses; the rest are salted, and together with potatoes, constitute the principal food of the labouring poor during winter.

The value of land in these parts varies extremely, according to its locality. In the more fruitful vales near towns, it is worth 3l. per acre; but land of the same quality at a distance from them, lets only from 15s. to 25s. The sheep-walks on the hills may be worth from 6d. to 9d. per acre; and the average price of land by the year throughout Cardiganshire, cannot exceed 5s. per acre; perhaps 4s. 9d. would be nearer the truth. It should be observed, however, that many of the mountains bid defiance to cultivation; and that they furnish only a miserable subsistence for a few sheep, which, as well as their lambs, are exposed to many dangers.

Cardiganshire is rich in mines, particularly in lead. The veins of this ore run directly East and West, or North and South, generally the former; so that when a mine is discovered, a compass is used to direct the workmen. When the ore is brought up, it is separated from the stone and earth, and washed quite clean. It is then beaten into a coarse powder, and being afterwards put into bags, is exported to Bristol, where it is smelted. The present price is about 18l. per ton.

The principal mines now working in this vicinity, are Cwmystwith, belonging to Sir Thomas Bonsall; Cluernog and Cwmsumlog, the property of Mr. Pryse, of Gogerthan: the latter is

the mine from which Sir Hugh Middleton, who brought the New River to London, derived the wealth that enabled him to perform that vast design. Those who rent mines, commonly pay a duty to the proprietor of the land of a guinea per ton. Silver ore is found here, of which my friend furnished me with specimens; and I have seen a very handsome and large service of plate, belonging to a gentleman in England, which was wholly fabricated from the ore dug in this district, on his own estate.

In the evening my friend invited us to attend a meeting of the Jumpers; but as they had, it seems, performed their orgies in a village at some distance the same afternoon, to our great disappointment, they did not exhibit. One of the teachers, however, was employed in catechising the children, where their parents attended. The former were seated round benches, in a wretched hovel, the doors and windows of which were open. At the entrance stood several persons of both sexes and of all ages, busily engaged in conversation; but as they talked only Welsh, it was impossible for me to gain any new information. In order to observe its effect, I addressed Mrs. — in the Greek epigram, *παντα γελως*, &c.; when a lively boy about fourteen, who was listening, turned to an elderly woman with marks of astonishment, and seemed to think the language I spoke was more uncouth than I considered his to be.

From this place we proceeded to the mall on the castle hill, which was pretty full of company; and as the evening was fine, we moved round in the circle till ten o'clock, when all, as by mutual consent, retired to their respective homes. The most beautiful woman that we had seen in Wales, was walking in the groupe: she was a native of this place, and came under the description of a widow bewitched.

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FROM ABERYSTWITH TO THE DEVIL'S BRIDGE AND HAFOD, AND BACK TO THE HAFOD ARMS.

*July 15.* CALLED up by my friend whom I had met yesterday, at an early hour, in order that we might spend a little more time together, before we parted to meet perhaps no more. I walked with him to the bathing-machines, which are at no great distance from the two principal inns\* of the place; and in their vicinity indeed the greatest part of the new houses in Aberystwith have been built, or are now building. The machines are of the usual form; constructed of wood, topped in a pavilion shape, and running on four wheels. Three or four are allotted in one quarter to the ladies; and as many in another to the gentlemen.

\* Aberystwith is governed by a mayor. Its burgesses, together with those of Cardigan, return one Member to the Imperial Parliament.

quarter to the ladies, and as many in another to the gentlemen. Nothing can be more favourable than this spot for bathing, and as the tide is little mixed with fresh water, it must of necessity be strongly impregnated with saline particles. After all that can be said, however, in favour of fresh or salt water immersion, it is probable that a few dips to clean the skin would be sufficient for every purpose of health; and that the other good effects supposed to result from this practice, must be ascribed to change of scene and air, which are often more salutary than all the aids of medicine. I intended to have bathed myself this morning, but the air was cold, and being somewhat indisposed from incessant fatigue, I thought it safest to desist.

In this morning's ramble we met several children with the small-pox on them, neither shunning the crowd, nor being shunned by them. It is a pity that this dangerous confidence is so far indulged: many lives are annually lost by it. But the greatest plague on the coast is smuggling, and more victims of both sexes fall by drinking spirituous liquors than by natural diseases. Where good brandy can be purchased for 2s. per bottle, it is not easy for the poor, the profligate, and the wretched to resist the temptation which lures them to destruction.

Several circumstances conspired to delay us in Aberystwith till after breakfast; and it was 10 o'clock before we were ready to start. At last bidding adieu to my intelligent friend,

Who fix'd on Cambria's solitary shore,  
Gives to St. David one true Briton more,

we crossed the bridge over the Rhaidol by which we had entered Aberystwith, and retracing our steps for more than a mile, took the road which leads to one of the greatest wonders in Wales—the falls of the Rhaidol and the Monach.

In our way, met several women, barefooted, going to Aberystwith market. This economical practice is very prevalent. The ascent was long, but it afforded a very favourable view of the vale of the Rhaidol; and from two or three points, we could look down from the ridge along which the road runs, at once on the Rhaidol and Ystwith. We skirted the hills, however, that bounded the former, observing all the windings of the vale, and the different figures it assumed as the bases of the hills projected or retired. In general it is sufficiently fertile; and even the sides of the hills are enclosed and cultivated a great way up. Oats, barley, potatoës, and a little wheat, were the crops that fell under our notice. The soil is ill adapted for any other kind of grain or roots; and few attempts appear to be made for its melioration. An agricultural society indeed is established in

Cardiganshire, under the active patronage of the principal gentlemen of landed property; and the premiums they offer are extremely well adapted to the country; but there is a visible want of energy among the Welch farmers, and they are too much wedded to old habits to contemplate any new schemes with satisfaction. Ignorance will ever despise what it does not understand. All the patriotic exertions of Mr. Johnes, the lord-lieutenant of the county, have little effect on his wealthy neighbours; but he perseveres, and his example will not be wholly lost.

As we advanced, in the foreground and on the left were waves of hills, rising one above another to the bases of Plinlimmon, which exhibit unvarying sterility, and are used only as sheep-walks. Took the new road, which is more picturesque than the old, as it keeps in sight of the Rhaidol; but being formed of broken slates, the substratum of numerous hills in this track, it will be very unpleasant till they are better pulverized. The slates, which separate without labour, and may be procured without difficulty, in some places lie edgeways and vertical, in others with an inclination to the east, and sometimes to the west. If it were possible to remove one of these schistus hills to the vicinity of London, its fee-simple would be worth more than the whole county of Cardigan.

Admired the beauty of the sheep and lambs on this alpine track; they were the only living objects before us: but we were astonished to see folds placed where it was impossible the dung of these valuable animals could be converted to any use. Whereas, had the folds been judiciously erected, and shifted from time to time, patches of arable might have been obtained, and the barren wastes gradually reclaimed. Where the art of folding is not understood, it is impossible to expect agricultural improvements.

Till we had passed the ninth mile-stone from Aberystwith, we had perceived no particularly striking features, no grand display of nature; but we now began to approach the Devil's bridge, when the vale of the Rhaidol began to contract, and the banks to become more woody and abrupt. At length, the road winding round the back of a craggy hill, brought us at once in view of the falls of the Rhaidol, which thundering through a deep chasm between two rocky hills, whose almost perpendicular sides are covered with oak coppice wood, works its noisy way to the bottom over stones of enormous magnitude, and there meeting the foamy current of the Monach, which falls from an enormous height, makes a sudden and determined bend to the right. Every circumstance that enters into the composition of this scene, is calculated to inspire fear and horror. Where the eye cannot fathom depths, and noise is heard without being able

to trace its cause, fancy is no longer under the controul of judgment, and it creates terrors of its own; at least this is the impression I felt on the first opening of this awful scene. My head grew giddy, and I was glad to turn my eyes from the spot, though I could not shut my ears against the appalling sounds. But as yet we had not seen half the wonders of this place. Alighting at the Hafod Arms, we descended a few yards towards the Devil's bridge, consisting of two arches, built the one over the other\*, and springing from two perpendicular rocks, between which the Monach tumbles from one ledge of rocks to another in broken cascades, a perpendicular height of not less than 200 feet; while from the top of the bridge to the surface of the water on the north-east side, is a frightful distance of 114 feet more. From the bridge, however, impending trees of the most luxuriant foliage, forbid our seeing much of the water. It is only to be caught in glances as it bounds from one ledge of rocks to another; and uncertainty being thus added to the other attributes of the spot, constitutes a new source of sublimity.

Adventurous visitors descend an abrupt and dangerous precipice on the right of the bridge; but except a peep through the arch, there is little on this side to reward their toil and risques. While we were standing here, however, a young lady, the daughter of a senator, slid down between two gentlemen with more resolution than prudence; and on being dragged up in a similar manner, she fainted away, and was some time before she recovered.

We were satisfied with the experiment which we had seen made by others; and under the conduct of a little girl, we pursued a winding path through the woods on the left, and soon arrived at a ledge of rocks, from whence the greatest part of the falls may be viewed at once in all their grandeur; but as few can overcome the impression of fear which this station excites, or have the temerity to encounter difficulties and dangers without some more laudable object, the prudent pause at the spot where these begin, though in consequence they see the different cataracts less distinctly. Where security is wanting, it is impossible to be at ease; or rather where fear begins, pleasure must end. If the falls of the Monach and the Rhaidol are worth visiting, and if they continue to attract the notice of strangers, it would be politic as well as grateful to render them as safe and accessible as possible. A few posts and rails to fence against accidents, and a little labour to cut steps out of the precipitous rock, would

\* The building of the first bridge is ascribed to the monks of Strata Florida, about the year 1087: the upper arch was added in 1753, at the expence of the county, in order to render the approach on both sides more level and secure.

enable parties to descend together, instead of this undertaking being left, as it is at present, to those who have most nerves and least brains. As for the natives, they never think of such an expedition, unless they are paid for it: they smile, and justly smile, at the risques we run to gratify a vacant curiosity.

Ascending again from the contemplation of this sublime scene, to which neither the pen nor the pencil can do adequate justice, we were next conducted by another winding path to the right of the former, amidst the thick shade of trees, to the falls of the Rhaidol. In our way, cross two rivulets, which fall from a great height in gentle cascades; and as they may be viewed in perfect security, they were at least more attractive than their neighbours of mighty fame, though still without a name, and hitherto without a recording pen. Descending by a circuitous route, the track becomes more precipitous, and the difficulties increase; but to those who possess sufficient resolution, it may be desirable when the river is low, to descend to the rocky bed of the Rhaidol, and to advance up to the brink of the immense and unfathomable bason, into which it devolves its tide, with a noise which at first stupifies and confounds. Rocks of vast magnitude lie scattered about in the channel, and nature looks again reduced to her original chaos.

On our return from this expedition, we met another party just arrived at the inn, who were waiting for our guide. Among the rest was a gentleman of Christ Church, Oxford, with whom I had some conversation on our mutual plan of tourification. In wild and distant countries, I have more than once observed, that travellers instantly become familiar. Where one must in general depend on the society he takes with him, every incidental rencontre with persons similarly circumstanced, is recorded among the *agrémens* of the day.

After taking some refreshment, and bespeaking beds for the night, we procured a ticket, which is granted at this house, to visit Hafod, the far-famed residence and the sole creation of Thomas Johnes, Esq. representative and lord-lieutenant of the county of Cardigan. It is distant about five miles from the Devil's bridge, and is only to be seen from twelve to two; but though it was already the latter hour, trusting to a letter of introduction, we flattered ourselves that we should be allowed an extension of the indulgence; and in the sequel we were not disappointed.

The commencement of the road towards Hafod from the Devil's bridge, is awfully grand. It runs by the precipice that bounds the Monach, just where it is hastening to a fall; and being destitute of a fence, which in this country seems disregarded even round the finest seats, the appearance is too dangerous to be contemplated with pleasure.

Ascending, as is usual in the principality, at the beginning of every stage, we wound round the base of a long hill, shagged with rocks, and destitute of cultivation, but affording the finest sheep-walks that we had yet beheld. The opposite hills were nearly of the same character, and were thickly dotted with the woolly race.

When about half way to Hafod, the road begins to decline, and the eye darts over a mountainous and waste country, where not a tree is to be seen, and scarcely a human habitation enlivens the prospect. At length some stone walls and young plantations of larches, which do not seem to answer so well as the public spirit and patriotic intention of the planter deserves, convince us, sterile and dreary as the aspect of the surrounding scenery continues, that we are approaching Hafod. Passing a common gate, with an ordinary cottage lodge (for the transitions here are never so quick as to offend by sudden contrasts,) we descend towards the vale of the Ystwith; and by degrees a scene of sylvan beauty opens, which appears the effect of enchantment, and we are ready to doubt the evidence of our senses. Both sides of the mountain which bound the silvery Ystwith, are feathered down from top to bottom with plantations of luxuriant oaks, intermixed with birch and ash, whose diversity of tints increase the beauty of the picture.

As we advance, a forced crop of oats was seen on each side of the road; for the natural sterility of the soil prevails over all the arts of improvements, which taste, judgment, and expence can apply. Passing a second gate with a lodge, somewhat more ornamented than the first, we catch a view of the church, proudly seated on our right, amidst a number of fine trees; and soon entered a wood, whose over-reaching branches exclude the beams of the sun, and produce all the obscurity of sylvan beauty. Far below, rolls the Ystwith; and hills rise above to a giddy height. I could not help shuddering as I contemplated the unguarded steep on our left, and the danger which might arise from a sudden start of the horses; but we had not long to indulge such reflections, before the scene became more open, and the road making a bend to the right, soon brought us in sight of the mansion, when a burst of beauty almost unrivalled, astonished and delighted the eye.

Hafod is built in a chaste modern gothic style, and perfectly assimilates with the character of the country in which it is placed. It stands on a fine knoll on the right of the river, where the vale of the Ystwith expands to a moderate breadth. Above it, rises a steep and deeply wooded hill; and beyond the Ystwith, which here spreads into a broad sheet with a pebbly channel, rises another hill, majestic, sylvan, and elegant in its out-

line. The offices lie behind the house, and are wholly concealed by plantations. Viewed from the mansion, which is built of Portland stone, with turrets and painted windows, and is only two stories high, the valley seems to close at both ends, and aptly represents an *oasis* amidst a surrounding desert.

Delivering our letter of introduction, accompanied with a request, that Mr. Johnes would give himself no farther trouble than to accede his permission to see the interior of the house at an irregular hour, which he readily granted, we were ushered into the hall. This contains some antique statues and copies, as well as pictures. We then passed through the music-room, the drawing-room, dining-room, &c. each of which possesses its appropriate beauties, and is replete with works of art. To particularize every thing deserving notice in this splendid seat, would carry me beyond the limits prescribed. The ante-library is a singularly elegant apartment, with two beautiful windows of painted glass, from a Flemish convent. The library itself is one of the most superb octagonal rooms in the kingdom; and is filled with many choice and valuable books. From this is a communication with the conservatory, which is three hundred feet long, and replete with the most curious plants; but strangers, without a special permission, are not allowed to examine them, for reasons assigned us.

Mr. Johnes is not only a man of taste, but possesses also distinguished literary talents. His translation of Froissart's Chronicle at once reflects honour on his talents and munificence. The Hafod press may justly vie with the most celebrated in the kingdom. Miss Johnes, an only daughter, about twenty-one years of age, and heiress to these fair domains, is said likewise to possess a very cultivated mind, with great goodness of heart and sweetness of temper. We saw her in an open carriage as we approached the house, and breathed a wish for her felicity, which the character we had heard of her involuntarily prompted.

Leaving the house, over which we had been conducted with great civility by the house-keeper, a sensible woman, we passed over a lawn, where the mowers were at work, towards the gardens. These are pleasantly and advantageously situated on a level plain near the Ystwith, and contain every appendage for furnishing the dessert.

The road now conducted us to an elegant bridge, which spans the Ystwith; and we were about to enter the walks, which are carried through the woods, along the slopes of the hills, and open the most brilliant views, when looking at our watches, we were reminded, that we had not time to take the round of the plantations, much as we wished it; we therefore advanced only

a little way, and hastening to our carriage, returned by the same road we had come, to the Hafod Arms, at the Devil's bridge.

We were informed on the spot that colonel Johnes seldom is absent from Hafod more than six weeks in the year; but charming as his seat is, and endeared as it must be to him by being the work of his own hands, its solitude, and its distance from any practicable society, must be drawbacks, for which, in my estimation, nothing can compensate. The idea of destitution rushed so strongly on my mind, though surrounded by every thing that art and nature could produce, that I sighed to behold once more the busy haunts of men, the cheerful village, or the cultivated farm. The distance from Hafod to Aberystwith, the nearest town of any note, is not less than sixteen miles; yet dreary and difficult as the road is, we were told, that it was usual for a servant to go and return on horseback, in little more than four hours.

The evening being very fine, we walked out, and amused ourselves with throwing stones from the bridge into the chasm and cataract below, and listening to the hollow melancholy sound they produced as they happened to bound from ledge to ledge, or to plunge into the basins worn by the incessant action of the water. Nature was hushed in every other quarter; but the falls of the Rhaidol and the Monach know no repose, nor can stillness ever visit their confines. Even at this season, their roaring was stunning to the ear; and what dreadful uproar must they produce, when swelled by wintery torrents, and the impetuous tide is struggling within its rocky barriers! Than such a scene, nothing can be more solemn: I can fancy all its power!

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#### FROM THE DEVIL'S BRIDGE TO LLANIDLOES.

*July 16.* **B**EFORE breakfast I employed myself in transcribing my notes of yesterday, which the rapidity of the objects that fell under my notice had prevented me from doing. While thus engaged, the two other gentlemen of the party descended to the falls of the Rhaidol, opposite the window where I sat, and began angling for trout, in one of the most awful situations that ever was witnessed by man. I could see them standing on the rocks in the bed of the river, reduced to the size of pigmies, and their fishing-rods to little more than straws. Such were the effects of distance and position! One of them, who is the least inclined to be nervous of almost any man I know, assured me, that on approaching the immense and nearly unfathomable basin into which the Rhaidol falls, and throwing in his line, the blackness of the water, the noise and other circumstances of the place, so overcame him, that he began to grow giddy, and was glad to return.

From the bow window of the principal room at the Hafod Arms the scene is inexpressibly grand. All the principal features of the junction of the Rhaidol and Monach may be seen at one view, and the cataracts of the former are full in front. To those who love the roaring and dashing of water, and the rude sublimities of nature, there cannot be a retreat more inviting than this. Finding an *album*\* in the room, in which several visitors had recorded their sentiments and feelings, I was induced to add mine in the following hasty lines.

With mingl'd fear and solemn awe inprest,  
 The Pont ar Fynach struck my anxious breast.  
 No scenes are these to sooth the troubl'd mind—  
 No charms in solitude my soul can find:  
 To softer views I turn with wearied eye—  
 For peopl'd tracks I heave the heart-felt sigh.  
 The majesty of rocks, the torrent's roar,  
 A moment please or agitate—no more;  
 But milder nature, deck'd by tasteful art,  
 For ever holds her empire o'er the heart.

Once in twenty years, the coppice wood, which adds so much to the beauty of this spot, is cut for charcoal and other purposes; but how this can be done amidst such precipices is appalling to conceive!

In company with Mrs. — I was induced by the representations of the landlord and his offered guidance, to attempt a descent to the falls of the Monach by a route little used and not much known, winding behind the Hafod Arms. This is more circuitous and perhaps is less difficult, but the gratification we received was not equal to the fatigue we underwent, in wading through mire and dirt nearly as far as Llyn Vat's cave, as it is called; a traditional personage, who is said to have followed the vocation of a robber, and to have lodged here in a place almost inaccessible, and certainly uninhabitable in its present state. Whatever his crimes might have been, he did daily penance for them, if he sought for shelter here.

Just as I got to the inn from this expedition, which I would not advise any person to repeat, I was honoured with a call from colonel Johnes of Hafod, who politely and hospitably invited me to spend a day or two with him. I had to lament that it was not in my power to accept his obliging invitation on this occasion. We had made a resolution before we started, to decline all visits to friends, except such as might be wholly incidental, and not likely to interrupt our progress.

\* I have since been informed by a friend that the *album* at the Devil's bridge was stolen, to the great regret of the landlord.

At the Hafod Arms, is an orphan girl of about twelve years of age, who acts as guide to the Rhaidol and the Monach. "She was left destitute six years ago," said the landlady, "and when we came here we found her in the house, and she has remained with us ever since. She has a head like a little goat." And well might this be said, for she clammers over precipices with the indifference of a mountain goat; while her modest diffidence, and her unprotected situation, entitle her to the humanity and attention of every person who invites her services.

I pointed out to the landlord the benefit which would result to the public and to himself, if he could contrive to render the descents to the falls of the Rhaidol and the Monach more easy and secure, by posts and rails in some places, and by cutting steps out of the rock in others. He thanked me for the hint; and promised that he would exert himself to get this plan carried into execution. For the sake of all parties, I wish he may succeed: he is a very obliging man, and his house is as comfortable as can reasonably be expected in such a situation.

Desirous of seeing as much of the country as possible, instead of returning by Aberystwith, the nearest way into North Wales, we took the more circuitous route by Llanidloes, distant from the Hafod Arms about twenty miles.

Crossing the Devil's bridge, for some time we followed the course of the Rhaidol, which was working its turbulent way on our left, through deep chasms in the rocks. Passed through the village of Yspyttyr Enwyn, in the cemetery of which we noticed some ancient pillars; and winding round the naked bases of Plinlimmon by a road formed with much judgment and expence, in one place, we crossed a part of that mountain, and met the carriage on the other side. We had once thought of ascending the summit of Plinlimmon, but were dissuaded by a gentleman who had often made the experiment, and who assured us, that there was nothing very interesting to be seen, even if the clouds and mists should happen to allow a view, which is always doubtful. The whole scenery is described as being inexpressibly wild; and on account of the bogs and the danger of being lost, it is never safe to attempt the ascent without a guide. Yet naked and uninviting as Plinlimmon appears, it has stronger claims to regard than any other mountain in Wales. It gives rise to no less than five rivers, whence its appellation, and three of these are of no small consequence; the Rhaidol, the Wye, and the Severn. The two last rise at no great distance from each other, but pursuing different courses, soon acquire a different character.

As we proceed, hills rise beyond hills in endless succession, from which devolve many wintry torrents, some of which are

not yet dry; and except that at the beginning of this stage, we saw some patches of oats, for many miles successively, neither the signs of cultivation, nor even a solitary cottage, cheered the dreary landscape. The whole track round Plinlimmon seemed doomed to unalterable sterility; and even the sheep that pick their scanty food in this district, are more diminutive than any we had yet seen. Yet their flesh is reckoned the sweetest and best of any in Wales, a country proverbially famous for its excellent mutton.

About the end of the sixth mile from the Hafod Arms, we entered Montgomeryshire, separated from Cardigan by a small brook; and following the course of the Wye, which rises on this side of Plinlimmon, and in the course of a few miles is swelled by tributary streams to a respectable river, we proceed amidst a continuation of the same alpine scenery to Llangerrig, where the vale of the Wye begins to expand; and delighted the eye with returning verdure, though but partial, and with human habitations, wretched as they are.

In travelling about fifteen miles, we did not meet with a single house where refreshments of any kind could be obtained. Just before we reached Llangerrig, we attempted to procure a little water for our exhausted horses from a farm-house near the road; and though the inhabitants, as we conjectured from the extent of the premises, were in a superior situation to many of their neighbours, it shocked us to observe their miserable state of living and accommodation. The water from which they had the kindness to fill a bucket with a ladle, ran from the hills into the dwelling-house, and was received into a hole in the floor of mud, from whence there was a channel to convey it out of the dwelling. The apartments were few in number, gloomy, dirty, and almost destitute of furniture. It was with difficulty we could make any of the family, which consisted only of women, understand what we wanted. At last an old woman, probably the mistress of the house, who alone at first made her appearance, or seemed willing to be seen, comprehended our signs, and set about answering them. But though the young women avoided us, no sooner did they perceive that we were mounted, and driving on, than they sallied out, and peeped at us over the walls and through a broken hedge, as if the sight of a carriage passing this way had been a wonder; and indeed we have reason to believe that this is a curiosity at least, and to be seen only during a short space in summer.

They all seemed to be employed in spinning, and in dying, as we heard the wheels going briskly in an inner room, and saw some blue yarn still dripping wet from the vat, hanging up against the eaves of the house to dry.

While we made a short halt at Llangerrig, the church invited our examination. Its tower is ancient, and its font, of which we took a drawing, is remarkable for its tracery and its elegance. The floor was strewn with loose earth, and as shutters were put up as a protection for the windows (a common practice in Wales,) a kind of darkness visible pervaded this sacred edifice. The *tout-ensemble* was a mixture of meanness and negligence; yet this is the mother church to seven others, and the parish extends about ten miles each way.

In the cemetery we observed several recent graves stuck full of box, and others of older date with small stones in mosaic work, representing a coffin, with head and tail upright stones. Both the prayer-book and the bible were in Welsh, in which language alone the service was performed. As the English, however, is yearly making a greater progress in Wales, and as it would tend much to the improvement of the county and the interest of the people, to lose their native tongue, it surely would be proper to have prayers occasionally in English, and to circulate religious tracts among the common people in that language. But on this subject, I have delivered my opinion before, and I know that I am treading on dangerous ground.

In this vicinity, noticed some curious plants of the vetch kind, and by the road-side, the *viola tricolor* and *lutea*, and other pansies in all the variety of blended tints and in the greatest profusion.

After leaving Llangerrig, the soil began to improve, and we were delighted to behold native woods of oak and birch, fine fields of oats, rye, and barley. Indeed many charming spots presented themselves in the vale leading to Llanidloes, which contrasted with the environs of Plinlimmon, appeared like so many gardens of Eden. Long pieces of flannel stretched on the racks, convinced us that we were now travelling through a country where that manufacture, one of the greatest in Wales, is extensively pursued. Many hands are employed, particularly females, in producing this useful kind of cloth, which not only serves the natives for their entire dress, but is exported in considerable quantities to England and other countries.

Llanidloes, standing in a pretty fertile vale, is rather a neat Welsh town, having its four principal streets crossing each other at right angles. It is surrounded on three sides by the Severn, which rising about ten miles higher up from a small lake in Plinlimmon, has already acquired some magnitude, and produces trout, and at some seasons, salmon.

The church is a new edifice, and possesses some elegance; but the market-house, an ugly old wooden pile, standing in the centre of the town, is a disgrace to the place, and disfigures the symmetry of its plan. The old houses in general are constructed

of wood frames filled up with mortar; but the new ones are of brick, in the modern taste. The streets are filthy to an extreme degree; but it would be singular to find a house in Wales without dung-heaps before the door. Whether they believe in the old proverb, "that where there is muck there is money," I know not, but certain I am, that they act as if they did.

It was about eight o'clock in the evening when we entered Llanidloes, which we found in the bustle of preparation on account of a large fair that was to be held there next day, and were glad to be able to secure accommodations for the night. While our dinner, or rather supper, was getting ready at the New Inn, we perambulated the town; and after enjoying a comfortable repast, being weary with the fatigues of the day, we early retired to rest, having previously agreed to start very early next morning. Indeed, we had no occasion to be called, as the noise of Welshmen over their cups of ale, the lowing of cattle and the bleating of sheep, which were continually entering the town, kept us more awake than we could have wished, and made us leave our beds with less reluctance than we should otherwise have done.

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FROM LLANIDLOES TO MACHYNLLETH AND MALLWYD.

*July 17.* **T**HIS morning we were in the carriage by five o'clock, in order that we might be able to take a stage of twenty miles to Machynlleth before breakfast. To get up early is no doubt salutary; but in the raw air of a hilly country, to attempt so much, without any refreshment, is by no means advisable. I felt the ill effects of the practice myself, and I wish to caution others.

Owing to the number of ascents and the execrable badness of the roads, we were obliged to have an additional pair of horses for the first twelve miles. The post-boy assured us, that carriages did not pass six times this way, in the course of a whole summer; and though it must be allowed, that nature has been extremely unfavourable, it is scandalous to exact tolls on a road scarcely passable, and where little regard is paid to the safety of the passenger. We observed the track of a wheel so very near the edge of a perpendicular precipice of giddy depth, that I now shudder at the recollection; and had it not been for the native politeness of a Welshman, who was driving his cart before us in a similar situation, in voluntarily turning aside, and exposing himself to the possibility of danger, that we might escape it, we should have been under the necessity of remaining behind him for not less than half a mile, or have run the risque of

being dashed to pieces, by tumbling at least fifty feet into a rocky stream below. It is with pleasure I record this incident, as it does credit to Cambrian civility. If the natives, however, who are habituated to dangers, do not see and feel the same cause for alarm as Englishmen do, the trustees of public roads are not less bound to provide against what is probable, though it may be of rare occurrence. I trust, therefore, that such of them as may happen to read this, will listen to the earnest representations of a man who admires their country and their character, and who is well convinced they would find it for the interest of the community to which they belong, to remove every impediment to safe and agreeable travelling in these romantic regions.

When we commenced our journey, the fogs were so heavy, that we could catch only near views of the country through which we were passing. Crossing the Severn, a giant even in its infancy, we began to ascend between hedge-rows of birch and hazel, and fields waving with wheat, oats, and rye. In the country through which we had lately passed, wheat had been rare, and we regarded its appearance as a sufficient evidence of the fertility of the environs of Llanidloes.

The hills which we now gained began to be covered with fern, and only allowed patches of oats in the hollows, and on the lower slopes. The substratum of slate which had prevailed so long, began to change to a slaty gravel, excellently adapted for making or repairing roads, but much less applied to this useful purpose than it ought.

By the time that we reached the seventh mile-stone, the fogs began to disperse, or to envelope only the heads of the loftiest mountains; and we looked over an alpine track of sheep-downs, intermingled with morasses, from whence peat and turf are dug for fuel. On gaining the summit of one of the different eminences, which lay on the road, and rendered our progress extremely slow, we beheld on the left a pretty extensive lake, with finely indented shores, but destitute of foliage, and surrounded in the distance by rugged mountainous scenery, the abode of grouse and black game. This lake gives rise to the Bachwy river, which falls into the Severn.

Before we reached the twelfth mile-stone on this unfrequented road, we had gained the greatest height in the stage, and enjoyed a striking view of rugged hills, abrupt and precipitous, and towering one behind another. At this point, we must have stood many hundred feet above the level of Llanidloes. Our progress, owing to a succession of hills, had not exceeded three miles an hour.

About the fifteenth mile-stone, with sudden descents in the

interval, and by a road carried along the very edge of a precipice, we arrived at land susceptible of full cultivation, and producing barley. Oats and rye had been seen higher up.

At a small pot-house within five miles of Machynlleth, and the only one in this long and dreary stage, we endeavoured to obtain a little hay and water for our horses. Not a word of English could any person in the family speak, and *dim Saesonig* was the only answer we could obtain to our various enquiries. Their looks, however, indicated civility and a readiness to oblige. When we pointed to the well and to the horses, they understood our meaning, and brought us a wide brass pan, full of water, out of which unusual vessel the horses drank, though not without indications of fear from the sound it made against their bits. Hay, however, was not to be found on the premises, and we were obliged to proceed without any refreshments for ourselves, as we could not drink *cwrw* in the morning.

The only amusement we had in this dull track, was in meeting groupes of Welshmen and women, riding, walking, or driving cattle to Llanidloes fair. In such a barren and apparently uninhabited country, it was astonishing to see such numbers pouring down from the mountains. They looked as if they had dropt from the clouds, for scarcely a single farm was to be seen from the road. The costume was evidently changed from what we had noticed in Caermarthen and Cardigan-shires, and was much less picturesque. Long blue cloaks were now universal, instead of the *twittle*; but the black beaver hat, and the striped flannel petticoat, prevail over the whole principality. The head was less muffled up, and the red silk handkerchief began to disappear among the females. Blue was the general colour worn by both sexes, even down to the stockings; and this predilection in favour of blue may be said to belong to all the Welsh counties.

Children are dressed in a striped flannel gown or frock, with sleeves, sitting close to the waist and pinned before. A beautiful little girl of about twelve years of age, dressed in this costume, walked bare-footed for upwards of half a mile, in order to open a gate for us on a wild common near a few houses; and though she received with pleasure the little gratuity we made her, she did not put herself into an asking attitude, nor sink the native dignity of her race. She had the finest eyes and the most interesting face that could be conceived, and her whole form was shaped by the hands of the graces. The flannel frock was evidently the whole of her dress, and it shewed her shape to great advantage. It reminded us, that beauty when unadorned attracts the most.

About four miles from Machynlleth we entered a pleasing vale, watered by a brook which falls into the Dyfi; and by a

good and level road proceed, amidst woods, corn-fields, and farms, to that neat and delightfully situated town. It stands on the river Dyfi, in a vale hemmed in by rocky hills in the distance, which are partly covered with verdure, and contains some respectable looking houses, and some genteel inhabitants. This was a Roman station; and in the vicinity are the remains of one of the forts, and some of the private edifices of that nation. Some coins of Augustus and Tiberius have been found near the site of the fort. An old building was pointed out in which Owen Glendower assembled the nobility and gentry of Wales in 1402, and narrowly escaped assassination from Sir David Gam, who attended on the occasion. Here Glendower exercised his first acts of royalty, and was acknowledged as a prince. The senate-house, however, is now converted into a stable and a butcher's shop, and except a spacious door way, bears no traces of its former honourable destination.

We put up at the Unicorn inn, near the centre of the town, and found it comfortable and cheap. Here we breakfasted or rather lunched, as it was eleven o'clock when we entered the place; and having tasted nothing, though we had been travelling from five in the morning, we were quite exhausted with hunger and fatigue.

After some rest and refreshment, we made a perambulation of the town, in which the flannel manufacture is extensively carried on; and about three o'clock took our departure from Machynlleth, proceeding along the road to the right of the Dyfi, which sometimes receding and sometimes advancing, accompanied us to Mallwyd, distant about twelve miles.

This is one of the most pleasant and easy stages which we had found in Wales, and the fineness of the evening threw a lustre over objects, which under any circumstances must be viewed with delight. For several miles we travelled between hedgerows, with the Dyfi meandering below us on the left amidst fertile meadows, while corn and grass-fields every where surrounded us, and even the hills were rounded, verdant, and beautiful, though not strikingly picturesque. In a word, the vale of the Dyfi waves with corn and smiles in cultivation; and no contrast could be stronger than between this stage and the preceding. Oats and rye, however, are the prevailing crops: there is but little wheat or barley.

Whether we look backwards or forwards, as we approach the sixth mile-stone the scenery is enchanting, and we paused to contemplate it. Here the side screens present either verdant woods or downy hills, while the vista of the vale unites a great variety of charming features. A little farther, we catch a view of one of the peaks of Cader Idris, over a break of the intervening

mountains. The vale now begins to contract; and as we came in sight of the village of Mallwyd, the mountains seem to close round in such a manner, as to forbid our farther progress, or at least to leave it uncertain through which pass the road may take its direction.

Several gentlemen's seats adorn this fine vale, among the rest that of Sir John Dashwood King, Bart. at Aberhiriath, a situation even superior to his fine residence at West-Wycombe, in Buckinghamshire.

Arrive at Mallwyd, whose church has a boarded tower, bearing the date of 1640, in which are cut some suitable inscriptions, such as SOLI DEO SACRUM, through the wood of which it is built, with longer or shorter slits or perforations, as the shape of the letters require, and of sufficient magnitude to be legible in passing.

Driving up to the inn, the sign of which is the Cross Foxes, (this is the Watkin arms) we had the satisfaction to learn, that we could be accommodated with lodgings, which, had we arrived a little later, would have been difficult, if not impossible, and we should have found it very unpleasant to proceed farther, particularly as no proper accommodations could have been found nearer than Dolgellau. Here several roads intersect each other, which shews the propriety, and even the necessity, of a house of accommodation on the spot.

After dinner, two of the party amused themselves with angling in the Dyfi, in which they met with but indifferent success; while Mrs. ——— and myself walked round the village, which is charmingly situated, and entering the church-yard, I took a near inspection of a famous old yew-tree, which had arrested my attention in passing to the inn. The trunk is very short, though of great thickness, and is surrounded with a stone seat for the village sages to rest on. A little above this seat, ten principal branches proceed from the same stock, and spreading in a circular direction, occupy a diameter of twenty-four paces in their utmost expansion, making a circumference of little less than two hundred and twenty feet. This amazing tree, which is still flourishing in all its parts, rises to a very great height, and is unquestionably the finest I ever saw. That at Aldworth in Berkshire, though its trunk is about nine yards in compass, is by no means comparable to this, except that it may be in superior antiquity.

We were waited on by one of the daughters of the widowed landlady of the inn, a young girl of about seventeen, who, without being beautiful, was extremely interesting and agreeable, on account of the innocence and simplicity of her manner, and the

traits of intellect which she possessed. On asking her in a jocular way if she had ever been at the top of Cader Idris, or if any people of the country ever thought of such an expedition, she answered in the negative. "Do you not laugh at us," said I, "for coming so far to look at mountains, cataracts, and rocks, which you would be glad to get rid off?" "No," replied she, without hesitation, "we are very glad to see you." This sensible answer gave me a favourable opinion of her understanding, and in a desultory conversation with her, she confirmed our prepossession. On enquiring if she was most partial to the Welsh or the English languages (for she spoke the latter with great correctness,) she declared, that she preferred English, because there were few books in Welsh worth reading. In this too she was right; and did I know how to send her some books fit for her use, I should feel a sincere pleasure in shewing her this proof of my remembrance. She is one of those few whom in my journey of life I have found qualified to please as soon as known. Her mind is superior to her situation, yet she evinced no symptoms of discontent. May Providence watch over her, and make her as happy as she appears to be amiable!

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FROM MALLWYD TO DOLGELLAU.

*July 18.* **I**T was seven o'clock before we were ready to depart from Mallwyd. The morning was brilliant, and we resolved to reach Dolgellau before breakfast. Passed a steep bridge over the Dyfi, with parapets scarcely a foot high, which can be no security. After proceeding about half a mile farther, with a fine terrace view of the river, we crossed it a second time by an excellent stone bridge, and then winding round the bases of the mountains which towered on our left, came to the romantic but miserable little town of Dinas Mawddwy, situated at the entrance of the narrow pass which leads to Dolgellau. Through this town, which contains nothing better than an ale-house, lies the nearest road from Machynlleth to Bala, which runs on the left of the river, whereas we had travelled along that on the right. Here, and indeed in other parts of Wales, we observed the roofs of the houses beautifully sprinkled with stone-crop, whose yellow blossoms, at this time in the highest perfection, rendered the most homely cott agreeable to the eye. The church of Dinas Mawddwy is a handsome structure, and the town itself was formerly of more consequence than at present.

Turning short to the left up the pass, between winding and craggy mountains of all shapes and hues, in the sides of which are deep ravines, the beds of torrents, not yet wholly dry, while springs descend from every lateral opening, and uniting form a

brawling brook, we proceed along a road where a few cultivated spots in the bottom of the vale, finely contrast with the unvarying sterility that reigns above, where sheep, picking their scanty fare on the highest ridges, appear only like white spots.

Beginning to ascend, the pass still becomes more contracted, and naked rocks above environ us. The ascent, which is gradual, continues for more than a mile; and on gaining its summit, the eye darts over a succession of mountains, vast and of undefinable shape.

We now sunk to a lower level, though the road is still very elevated, and at length Cader Idris, which had been concealed by intervening masses, opens on our left. It towers sublime among the subject mountains, that seem to retire, in order to allow its base more room to stand, and to display their sovereign to more effect. Yet I must confess that I expected to see something still more grand; and lofty as it is, I looked for an object of superior majesty. It stands on a broad rocky base with a gradual ascent to its brow; when the peaks lift themselves to appearance at once, abrupt, picturesque, and distinct. Professing myself an admirer of beauty rather than sublimity—of the rounded and verdant hill, rather than the shapeless and towering mountain, I contemplated Cader Idris more as an object of curiosity than of pleasure; and as the day was very hot, determined to abandon the design I had once formed of ascending to its summit, whatever the rest of the party might do. I have ever been of opinion, that difficulty is not to be encountered for the pleasure of overcoming it, except when duty or honour command. The task is not worth performing, that is productive of no advantage to ourselves or others.

Amidst the continuous rocks which scarcely allow a rood of unmixed verdure, the road now descends towards Dolgellau, which opened on the view about a mile off, in the vale at the foot of Cader Idris. This town, whose rugged style of architecture excellently assimilates with the character of the surrounding country, is washed by the rivers Aran and Mawddach, which uniting falls into the sea at Barmouth. It contains few good houses, though it is the place where the summer assizes for the county is held: the streets are irregular, and it has little to recommend it, except the beauty of the wide and fertile vale in which it stands. Though it is the grand thoroughfare on this side to the regular parts of North Wales, it has only one inn, the Golden Lion, and that is not only indifferent in its accommodations, but conducted with apparent negligence and want of civility. Instead of being received as welcome guests, we seemed to be treated like intruders; but this is too common in Wales, though here we felt the justice of the remark with peculiar force. When we set out on our tour, we made up our minds to every necessary privation in regard

to comforts we had been accustomed to; but we expected civility and attention would compensate for them, and even in this expectation we were sometimes disappointed.

The church is the only building in Dolgellau that deserves notice; it is a modern and not inelegant pile, erected in the Grecian rather than the Gothic stile, though perhaps it would puzzle an architect to say what style predominated. We visited it under the guidance of the parish clerk, a man not destitute of intelligence and information. It is of great breadth in comparison to its length; and the side aisles are supported by four wooden pillars on the right, and as many on the left; the roof is covered with boards, the sound from which essentially assists the voice of the speaker; and the seats, which are plain benches with rails and upright backs, being perfectly uniform, give the whole a neat and decent appearance. Here all sit on an equality; and in the presence of God it is right and proper that human distinctions for the moment should cease. The only antique monument that Dolgellau boasts of, is that of an armed knight, with a dog at his feet, with an inscription on his shield—*Hic jacet Mauric, filius Ynyr Vychan.*

I had much conversation with the parish clerk, and from him and others I collected the following information. Farms in this vicinity are very small, running from 20l. to 50l. per annum, some lower: few leases are granted, and little grain of any kind is produced here. Oats, rye, and some barley are the only corn crops: grass likewise is scarce, and hay is either housed, or placed under thatched roofs, supported by four strong posts. The gusts of wind from the mountains would lift and disperse a common Welsh hay-rick, if it were not thus secured. Potatoes are raised in some abundance; but both here and in other parts of Wales, I observed a most culpable inattention to horticulture in general. Even where the poor might have had gardens, or where they actually do enjoy this advantage, they wholly overlook it, through indolence or ignorance; and in the little enclosures round their cottages, we see nothing beyond a few potatoes, and often nothing but weeds; even the proverbial national leek is a rare plant. As for cabbages, carrots, turnips, &c. and all the little vegetable luxuries of labourers in other countries, they must be purchased, or done without. Where land is cheap, and where small spots might with industry be reclaimed, however poor the soil, it is astonishing that rewards and encouragements are not more frequently held out to the lower classes, in order to induce them to raise wholesome and necessary vegetables for their own use. It is equally delightful to the eye and to the heart, to behold cottage comforts; and if these pages should ever be read by the friends and patrons of Welsh agricultural societies, I hope

they will think with me, that they could not dispose of small premiums better than in encouraging the enclosure and cultivation of gardens. There is indeed an agricultural society in Merionethshire; but I believe its premiums are chiefly confined to other objects; though it is properly declared in the rules of the society, "that whatsoever may have a tendency to promote the general prosperity and improvement of the county of Merioneth, its agriculture and manufacture, shall be deemed worthy objects of attention:" and surely the melioration of the state of the poor, is the first object that ought to engage the regard of the judicious and the humane. The following beautiful picture is seldom realized:

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At eve new labours prest,  
 For then their little garden grounds were drest;  
 Scanty and narrow slips of earth 'tis true,  
 Yet there their comforts, there their treasures grew:  
 The white rose and the red, and pink so sweet,  
 Herbs for each day, and fruit for sabbath treat:  
 The currant bush, and gooseberry so fine,  
 Affording summer fruit and winter wine;  
 The cooling apple too, and juicy pear,  
 And pea for beauty, and for use, were there;  
 And formal box, and bloomy thrift were seen,  
 Bord'ring the flower-bed, and the path-way green;  
 And elder flowers, to make fair maids more fair;  
 The glossy berry still the matron's care,  
 In dark drear nights to give, when spirits fail,  
 A cheerful drop to thaw the gossip's tale.

PRATT.

But with the same author I cannot refrain from exclaiming,

O give the heirs of poverty their cots,  
 Attach them fondly to their native spots;  
 Amidst their thorny paths entwine a flower,—  
 Their's soft submission, thine attemper'd power;  
 Force them no more like banish'd men to roam,  
 But give to each that balm of life, a home!  
 A home though rocking in the mountain's brow,  
 Or plac'd obscure in woodland vale below.

The poor's rates run very high in this part of Wales, particularly in towns; and they certainly would be infinitely more oppressive, were not the occupation of lands so much subdivided, or were the prevailing custom of throwing several small into one large farm suddenly to take place. Rye and barley are chiefly used for bread. Fish, which is excellent and cheap, delicate mountain mutton, well-flavoured bacon, and poultry, are to be found at most of the inns; but a piece of beef is a rarity. The

sheep, and young horned cattle especially, are sold in great numbers to drovers; from breeding these the rents are chiefly paid.

Flannel is the common manufacture, and a considerable number of hands are employed in this branch in and about Dolgellau, which contains nearly three thousand inhabitants. We found that the usual prejudices against machinery prevailed here in all their inveteracy. Those who have weak eyes are always pained to behold the light!

I regretted to learn that the use of oxen for draught and other purposes began to decline in Merionethshire, and that horses increased: this will tend to make and keep the country still more poor. Sir Robert Vaughan, M. P. for the county, a very respectable gentleman, who resides at the very beautiful seat called Nannau hall in this vicinity, is the great patron and pattern of agriculture; but a few solitary examples cannot influence a whole district.

Called on Mr. Williams, the bookseller, stationer, and printer of the place, and purchased a Welsh grammar and vocabulary: he was pleased to find that I could pronounce some of the Welsh words better than the generality of strangers; and this compliment I had received from others. Except the *ll* there are few words but what an Englishman might easily master: that seems to bid defiance to all but native organs.

Some years ago, I was informed, not a person in Dolgellau could tell an English traveller the road he was to take; but now our language is commonly understood, and spoke by considerable numbers: divine service, however, is rarely performed in it; an omission that should be rectified wherever any tolerable number of the congregation understand it, in order to render its use still more general.

At Mr. Williams's I saw a pretty good collection of tours through Wales, but it seems the natives are not much pleased with any of them. Tourists who intend to publish, as was justly observed, pick up at random and set down at a venture all they hear; some are indolent, some inattentive, some credulous, and some write only to amuse. The Welsh do not like to have their peculiarities recorded, or to have reflections passed on their mode of acting or thinking; yet surely they ought to take in good part what is intended for their welfare, and learn to mend what may not have struck them as an impropriety or a disadvantage, till it was pointed out to them. I trust that my avowed object will justify my sincerity and plain-dealing: I wish not to please, but to profit.

Had an interview with the Cader Idris guide, one of the most original characters I ever met with. On his introduction he de-

livered the following hand-bill, of which he is not a little proud, a proof that vanity, like a gudgeon, will swallow any bait.

*“ Lege, aspice Conductorem, et ride.*

“ ROBERT EDWARDS,

“ Second son of the celebrated tanner, William Edwards, ap Griffith, ap Morgan, ap David, ap Owen, ap Llewellyn, ap Cadwaladar; great, great, great grandson of an ILLEGITIMATE daughter of an illustrious hero, (no less famed for his irresistible prowess, when mildly approaching under the velvet standards of the lovely VENUS, than when sternly advancing with the terrible banners of the bloody MARS,) SIR RICE ap THOMAS !!!\* by Anne, alias Catherine, daughter of Howell, ap Jenkin, of Ynys-maengwyn; who was the thirteenth in descent from Cadwgan, a lineal descendant of Bleddyn, ap Cynfyn, PRINCE of POWYS. Since his NATIVITY full two and eighty times hath the sun rolled to his summer solstice†; fifty years was he HOST of the HEN and CHICKENS ale-house, Pen-y-bont, twenty of which he was apparitor to the late right reverend Father in God, John, Lord-Bishop of Bangor, and his predecessors: by chance made a glover, by genius a fly-dresser and angler. Is now by the ALL DIVINE assistance CONDUCTOR to, and over the most tremendous mountain CADER IDRIS, to the stupendous cataracts of CAIN and MOWDDACH, and to the enchanting cascades of DOL-Y-MELYNLLYN with all its beautiful romantic scenery; GUIDE-GENERAL, and MAGNIFICENT EXPOUNDER of all the natural and artificial curiosities of NORTH WALES; PROFESSOR of GRAND and BOMBASTIC lexicographical words; knight of the most anomalous, whimsical, (yet perhaps happy,) order of HAIR-BRAINED INEXPLICABLES.”

He is a little slender man, about five feet four inches in height, and notwithstanding his very advanced age, hopped and skipped about the room with all the vivacity and agility of a school-boy. The manner in which he expresses himself is as droll as his appearance. He is rather too free in his use of the expletives of language, namely swearing; but I dare say the poor old creature only wishes to be laughed at, and to amuse his employers, which he never fails to do. He was dressed in a blue coat with yellow buttons, a pair of old boots, and a cocked hat and feather of enormous size. This last appendage or covering to his head, was assumed in consequence of his finding that we travelled in a carriage; for according to some regulations drawn up by a wag.

\* Vide Cambrian Register for 1795.

† He will be 82, March 1805.

of the place, the grand military cocked hat is only to be worn when he attends peers, bishops, members of parliament, and other distinguished personages. His whole air was military, though he had never been a soldier.

He procured us several little horses, that we might accompany him on a tour of the neighbouring curiosities, particularly to the falls of the Cain and the Mawddach; but not being able to collect a sufficient number for the whole party, I gave up my pretensions to one of them, and amused myself in near perambulations with Mrs. — before dinner. Nothing, however, amused us so much as to see the guide *en militaire*, with a long white rod in his hand, like another Merlin, setting out on a full canter from the door of the inn, on his Welsh poney, followed by my two friends, who could scarcely keep their seats for laughter, or indeed keep pace with him any part of the way, as they afterwards assured me. Had not the animals been very sure-footed under such a helter skelter conductor, and in such a country, a broken limb was the smallest evil that might reasonably be expected; but fortunately they arrived safe, and spoke highly of the entertainment which the guide had furnished them, by the quaintness of his observations, and the vivacity of his manner. Finding that the inhabitants of a farm-house where he had been used to procure some refreshments, were all gone to attend a mountain preacher, he consigned them to all the devils of Teneriffe; and could scarcely be restrained from forcing his way in at a window, to see if any cwrw or bread and cheese were *comeatable*.

While seated at dinner, a harper, named Réynolds, and the first we had met with, began playing some of his country airs at the door, and produced excellent music; we ordered him into the room, and were much pleased with his performance.

The day was so extremely, and indeed so oppressively hot, that we all agreed to abandon the thoughts of mounting to the summit of Cader Idris; but when the evening began to grow more cool, attended by the guide-general, we walked two or three miles along the Towyn road, to have a nearer view of that celebrated mountain. The point emphatically named *Cader*, appears to the eye below, little superior in height to the *saddle*; but the third point or apex, which has a name expressive of its sterility, is neither equal in height nor in beauty to the other two. Cader is computed to be two thousand eight hundred and fifty feet perpendicular height above Dolgellian, and is the commencement of a chain of primitive mountains, extending in a north-east direction. The primitive mountains are composed of siliceous porphyry, quartz, and felspar: they are encircled by inferior mountains, producing slate; beyond which, of still lower height, are limestone hills. This arrangement of nature seems to pre-

vail in mountainous countries: at least the same has been observed to be the case among the Alps.

The Prince of Wales is lord of the manor in the neighbourhood of Cader Idris. On its highest peak some artillery-men had lately been employed in raising a small temporary stone pillar, probably for the purpose of the trigonometrical survey which is carrying on through the kingdom.

Having ascended as far as the small lake called Llyn a Gader, it is usual for those who intend to reach the summit of Cader Idris, to quit the direct road. In this pleasant lake we saw a profusion of the Lobelia Dortmanna, and some other aquatic plants.

Passed two cottage females milking their cows at the very foot of the mountain, close by their paternal cottage. On making signs, they handed us a bason of milk, for which, when a pecuniary compliment was offered, though the milk was intended for sale at Dolgellau, our acknowledgment was at first declined with a sweetness of manner that would have been looked for in vain from the polish of fashion. "Never shall I forget the blush, the smile, the diffident look which one of them displayed; they are written on my very heart. There is something peculiarly attractive in the modesty of the young Welsh-women, and the disinterestedness of the natives who live remote from places of public resort, is inexpressibly delightful. At inns, and in towns generally, their original character is obliterated; and they become selfish, venal, and unprincipled as in other places.

During this excursion, we were highly entertained with the conversation of our guide, who walked on with all the alertness of a boy. It seems he had once a large family of sons and daughters, but they were now reduced to two girls by a second marriage: several of his sons had served in his Majesty's navy, and two or three of them died in the West Indies. "I had no end of money," said the old man, "which was due to them; they killed themselves drinking new rum. D—n it," added he, "if I had had the same opportunities, I believe I should have done the same." If age has few enjoyments, its feelings are too obtunded to suffer much: he talked with as much indifference about the loss of his children, as he would of so many sheep.

His account of the jumpers in this neighbourhood was very free, and probably just. "They are a set of *fornicatoring* sons of b——s," said he. It seems they once attempted to exhibit their orgies in Dolgellau, but the great mass of the inhabitants being uninfected with fanaticism, some of the young fellows of the town began jumping and howling with them, particularly with the female devotees, and put them completely out of countenance.

If folly e'er can be abash'd,  
It must be ridicul'd or lash'd.

Our guide talked much of *curocity-men*, as he pronounced it, meaning those who were hunting after wonders; and enumerated among his followers some of the first names in science and literature; among the rest, many years ago, Sir Joseph Banks, and the late Earl of Bristol. From the remarks which the latter made on the appearances which the summit of Cader Idris exhibited, it is evident that he considered some of the productions found there, of volcanic origin, though naturalists in general are of a contrary opinion. Lord Bristol, however, having examined with much attention mount Vesuvius, and being an excellent judge, and a discriminating observer of whatever fell under his notice, must be allowed to bear great weight in decisions of this kind: I have had more than one opportunity of admiring his sagacity, the universality of his knowledge, and the goodness of his heart; and am happy, now he is no more, to give this testimony in his favour. That he was eccentric, cannot be denied; but his taste, and love of virtue will long be acknowledged. Edwards, however, did not only talk of great men whom he had attended, he shewed us written testimonials in his favour from some living *curocity-men* of the highest reputation. He wished, likewise, to procure a certificate from us, and we handed him one, in just terms of commendation, but signed by the most ridiculous names that could be invented. This mark of our approbation made him quite happy, and we parted in perfect good humour, and bade him what we considered as a last adieu.

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FROM DOLGELLAU TO BEDDGELERT.

July 19. **AS** our next stage was pretty long, we agreed to breakfast before we started, and no sooner were we up than we found the guide-general ready to pay his respects to us, and to see us again. He had brought a fine nosegay for Mrs. ———, which was accepted in the spirit it was offered. At parting he held out his hand to me with a “God bless you, I hope we shall meet once more.” Poor old creature! his age, his figure, his vivacity, were all calculated to inspire interest, and the tear stood in my eye as I bade him farewell. May his evening of life be yet long and serene; and may the angel of peace smile on him at his departing hour!

Proceeding on our journey towards Caernarvon, where we purposed to spend the evening of Sunday, we crossed the Aran by a good bridge of seven arches, close to Dolgellau; and turning to the left, soon reached the village of Llanelltyd, amidst trees and corn fields, wherever the rocks would allow the hand of diligent cultivation room to apply. Nature indeed seems forced here into a kind of barren fertility; for except along the vales, there is

not a sufficiency of soil to produce corn, while manure is scarce, and rocks appear scattered over the surface of the ground for many miles together. Llanelltyd, however, is a pleasant situation, and may be considered as the port of Dolgellau, as the Mawddach here will bear vessels of considerable burden.

It should be observed once for all, that in Wales every vale, every dingle, has its brook or its river, and that those streams which have run farthest, do not always give name to the river which falls into the sea. Hence, and from the winding direction of the hills, strangers are often at a loss, without consulting an accurate map, to know what river they are crossing or tracing.

Passing a modern bridge over the Mawddach at Llanelltyd, we took the road to the right, along the base of rocky hills, the river flowing below us; while the cliffs seemed to impend over our heads, and to threaten us with instant destruction. The character of this pass is peculiarly wild and terrific; and the effect is much increased by the river being tossed from one rocky barrier to another across the narrow vale, and sometimes touching the bottom of the unguarded precipice, through the slope of which the road is cut. Amidst these convulsions of nature, in a spot where several defiles in the hills meet, oaks of the greatest luxuriance and beauty cover the bottoms, and rise a considerable way up the sides of the hills. The scene was so unexpected, that it made a strong impression, and attracted more notice than it would otherwise have done. It looked like a consecrated grove of the Druids.

Soon after catch a view of Dolymelynllyn cottage, the property of Mr. Maddocks, but inhabited by Mr. Woodcock. It is partly situated amidst plantations or natural groves of oak, backed by rugged and almost perpendicular rocks; but its distance from any practicable neighbourhood must adapt it alone for those who are very happy in themselves, or for those who are disgusted with and wish to shun the world. A cottage in Wales for a winter residence is almost as appalling to the heart as a solitary cell in a prison! In summer, with agreeable society, it may do very well.

Quit the carriage after crossing a bridge, and ascend on the left by a convenient foot-path, cut through woods and rocks, in order to view the celebrated falls of Dolymelynllyn.

After proceeding some way, and catching a partial view of the cascade, we crossed an alpine bridge thrown over the stream from rock to rock; and pursuing the windings of a rugged path on the right, reach the very top of the rocks from which the river precipitates itself. Here, seated on a mass of stone, we looked down on the cascade, which being parted by an obstructing and projecting rock in the centre, falls in two distinct sheets; but

afterwards concentrating itself, tumbles into a deep and large bason, in one sheet of foam with stunning sound. Near the bottom of the fall, several pedestrian artists from the metropolis happened to have taken their station; and it is probable, from our position, that we assisted to enliven their drawings.

Here the *myrica gale* grows in such abundance, that the air at this season was perfumed by its scent; and had not the length of our day's journey warned us to hasten our departure, we could have spent some hours in this delightful retreat, forgetful of the world and forgotten. Every cascade in Wales has its appropriate features and peculiar scenery: to draughtsmen they are all interesting; but the sight of a few is sufficient for the traveller, and will give him a very good idea of all the rest. No doubt there are several in the more wild and interior parts of the country, which are little noticed and have never been described, which are equally as well worth visiting as those which are taken in routine. A series of drawings and engravings of all the principal cascades in the British isles would be a good speculation.

Resuming our journey, we proceed along the side of a hill, partly covered with wood and partly barren rocks, by a good but unfenced road towards the declivity; an omission which, we had frequently noticed, was too prevalent in the principality, even in situations where the expence could be no object.

Ascend a long acclivity amidst rocks and thickly scattered stones, where the eye was only occasionally relieved by trees or verdure of any kind. Such immense quantities of rocks and stones surrounded us on this elevated road, that it appeared as if Nature had collected materials for erecting a palace, and afterwards desisted from the design. Whole cities might be built from these quarries above ground, if the expression is allowable.

Proceed towards the village of Trawsfynydd, observing on our left Harlech mountain, on one side of which, though concealed from our view, stands the castle of that name, reputed one of the finest ruins in Wales. We lament that it was too much out of the route we had chosen to visit it. Several other mountains of the most rocky and rugged aspect appeared in the circumference. In a drive of several miles, we saw only few patches of oats and rough grass, with houses or rather cots piled up of the shapeless stones of the vicinity. These, however, were "few and far between." Even sheep and cattle were thinly strewed.

Make a short halt at the public-house in Trawsfynydd, where we had more difficulty in finding water for our horses than the trifling refreshments we wanted for ourselves. Welsh only is spoken here. Several females crowded round us to offer stock-

ings for sale. The landlady, though she understood no English, from her being used to see an occasional stranger, acted as a kind of interpreter. She seemed to entertain a very high opinion of her ale, and pressed us to taste it. We had, however, discontinued its use, where porter could possibly be procured, and it was seldom in towns but that acceptable liquor could be had.

Beyond this village, patches of oats, coarse grass lay fit for the scythe and some natural oaks intermixed with rocks and stones, which seem as if they had fallen from heaven in a shower, are seen all around us; while in the distance in front rise stupendous hills, surmounted by Snowdon, not yet divested of his veil of clouds, and fill the mind and the eye with the various masses and forms which they present. Though at a considerable distance, their immense magnitude, and the favourable effects of light and shade, bring them almost immediately under our view.

In the course of this stage, we observed a poor woman dipping a child into a brook strongly tinctured with iron, as was visible from the oozing of the water on the sides of the road. From her dipping it a certain number of times, we concluded she was performing some superstitious rite or observance; but we had no opportunity of satisfying our curiosity in this respect.

The road now makes a determined descent to the vale of Festiniog, and entering defiles amidst woods and rocks, we soon reach the village of Maentwrog, where there is a tolerably good inn; and passing an excellent bridge over the Dwyryd, by a moderate ascent come to Tan-y Bwlch, at whose pleasant inn we stopped to dinner. Here we found two Cambridge gentlemen, who had first fallen in with us at Brecon, and afterwards on several parts of our journey, though pedestrians, arrived before us. They had crossed the mountains by a nearer route.

From the inn, where several ineffectual manœuvres were played off to detain us for the night, as they did not happen to be full of company at this time, we had a delightful view of the vale of Festiniog, which is mentioned by lord Lyttelton in such rapturous terms, and has been described with due praise by Mr. Pratt and others. It is watered by the Dwyryd river and other small streams, which fall from the bounding hills, and unite with the former. At the bottom of the valley, which is only about three miles long and one broad, the Dwyryd receives the tide, and expands into a wide channel called Traeth-Bychan, and flowing through the sandy estuary of Traeth Bach, falls into the bay of Cardigan. In the meadows here some were engaged in cutting, others in making hay; and the enchantment of the spot,

from which all disagreeable objects are excluded, added to the bustle of rustic employment, threw a fascination over the scene, and almost inclined us to loiter beyond the time that we judged it prudent to proceed. Tan-y Bwlch hall, the seat of Mr. Oakley, overlooking the sweet vale of Festiniog, is picturesquely placed, well wooded, and one of the most delightful residences that can be conceived.

This place is eighteen miles from Dolgellau; and at setting out in the morning we had resolved to sleep at Beddgelert, which is between eight and nine miles farther, though charged ten, and probably it is not much less than that distance. Parties, however, were mentioned as having left Tan-y Bwlch before us with the same intention; and we were given to understand, that under such circumstances, it would be impossible to procure lodgings. Perceiving the motive, we were not deterred; and after resting about two hours, we ordered the horses to be got ready, and resumed our tour.

A rapid ascent from Tan-y Bwlch, with oak groves on the left, and a bold acclivity on the other hand, takes us to the top of an eminence, from whence we caught a glimpse of Crickieth castle on one side, and of Snowdon on the other.

The soil for many miles is poor and gravelly, and the rocks appeared from their burnt colour, as if they had borne the action of fire; but chemists ascribe this to the air acting upon the iron, with which they are impregnated. Slate had either disappeared, or had been of such a mixed character, that it was difficult to recognize it; but in this drive it was again discovered of the finest colour and the most beautiful texture.

In the bogs in this alpine tract saw plenty of the Lancastrian asphodel and Dutch myrtle.

Transitions were extremely rapid, which originated from the road being obliged to take a winding direction among the masses of rocks, continually threatening to intercept our progress; but the prevailing character of the country was uniformly the same: naked and lofty mountains in the distance, and in the foreground scattered rocks, sometimes shaded by fern or varied by a few stunted oaks, and frequently producing nothing but the lichens that covered them.

Come in sight of Traeth Mawr, a level track of sea marshes, extending to the vicinity of Pont Aberglasslyn, and forming an irregular outline, according as the mountains advance or recede from the coast. Just as we turn an angle of this track, the scenery becomes inexpressibly grand. Snowdon towers sublime amidst his subject mountains, still capped with clouds; while rocks and precipices, vast, shapeless, and impending over the road in the most frightful manner, fill the mind with awe and wonder.

Yet sterile as this district is, it is not wholly uninhabited. In sheltered recesses among the gigantic rocks, which line the road, and sometimes on their very tops, cottages are erected, and little spots reclaimed for potatoes, the only vegetable on which the Welsh peasantry seem to set any value. Certain it is, however, that the proprietors of the soil, or rather of the rocks, might not only embellish their estates, but enrich their posterity, by dropping acorns in suitable places; as oaks grow spontaneously in many spots equally as unpromising as those under consideration, which still remain a blot on the face of nature, and apparently shut out from her care. Wherever fern and heath grow, there oaks might be expected to thrive. This hint is intended for the proprietors of land!

Enter a narrow rocky pass properly secured towards the declivity; a circumstance which I mention with pleasure, and which we witnessed in many instances in this part of the country. Here oaks began to sprinkle and diversify the rocks; a convincing proof, that they might be reared with advantage in other situations of a similar description.

Hitherto the roads had been tolerably good, and were conducted with much taste; but about three miles from Beddgelert they became so rough, narrow, and steep, that we were all obliged to alight and walk. This neglect is the more culpable, as the materials are excellent, and greater difficulties in many places have been removed than present themselves on the spot I allude to. A single blast of gunpowder would sometimes remove a rock that encroaches too much on the carriage-way, and throwing materials into a hollow which had been taken from a rise, would in many places render those roads excellent, which are now almost impassable.

The *Traeth Mawr* appears now to be hemmed in on every side by grotesque and majestic rocks, amidst which we descend to the *Pont Aberglasslyn*, which unites *Caernarvon* to *Merionethshire*. It consists of a single arch, which springs on both sides from a projecting rock impending over the stream, which latter works its noisy way amidst huge stones and rocks, but without the magnificence of cascades to please the eye, or the uncertain profundity of the *Monach* to appal the heart. But, if the water here has a tamer character than at the *Devil's bridge* in *Cardiganshire*, and if the bridge itself is less sublime, what words can I find to describe the majesty of the accompaniments! Below the bridge is a celebrated salmon-leap, where we saw men standing with spears, to strike at such fishes as might come within their reach. Above it, we contemplate a pass so narrow and so grand, that the mind is awed as we enter it. Rugged perpendicular rocks; about seven or eight hundred feet in height, rise on both sides;

without the smallest verdure to shade their asperities; while the bottom allows only a space for a brawling torrent, and a narrow road cut out of the cliff, and winding to the right of the stream. Along this singular road, and amidst objects the most striking I had ever seen, we drove towards the hotel at Beddgelert, pleasantly situated on the left of the road, where the pass has expanded to a little plain, round which several cottages and farms are scattered, enriched on all sides by rocks and mountains, except where a defile allows a passage towards Bettws and Caernarvon. So formidable indeed is the pass of Pont Aberglasslyn, and so easily would a small number of men oppose an immense host once cooped into this defile, that we were no longer at a loss to account for the resistance the Welsh made in this part of the country to the invaders, who at different periods assailed them.

At this season of the year it would have been a prudent precaution to have forwarded a messenger to secure lodgings at Beddgelert, as there is only one house of accommodation here, and no other nearer than Caernarvon, though this is the grand route of travellers. Once more, however, fortune befriended us, and we found excellent lodgings at the GOAT, an elegant new built house, with the appropriate motto under its sign, PATRIA MEA PETRA; *my country is a rock*.

From hence an excursion is often made to the summit of Snowdon, distant about seven miles, three of which may be taken on horseback. On enquiring, however, we found that the easiest and most advisable point of ascent would be from the Saracen's Head, a small public-house, about five miles off, on the road to Caernarvon, where a guide resides, and the distance to the top of the mountain does not exceed four miles, three of which a horse can travel with safety. This determined our party to adopt that route in preference to the other; and though only one of us had the resolution to think of attempting to behold the sun rising from this prince of Welsh mountains, and who politely yielded to the general wish, all were anxious to devote the morning to the arduous task, and to prepare ourselves for it by rest and refreshments in the morning, before we left the hotel.

The gentlemen whom we had met more than once, were again arrived here before us, and occupied an adjoining parlour. While supper was getting ready, one of them, who was an excellent performer on the German flute, which formed part of his vaticum, went out into the area before the house, and produced some of the sweetest notes that were ever heard in the vale of Beddgelert. The evening was calm, and the surrounding echoes from the hills reverberated the notes so as to form a concert from a single instrument.

At supper we had the company of a gentleman just arrived from Ireland, who was proceeding to Tenby, the place of his residence, and who favoured us with comparative statements of the advantages which South Wales enjoyed over the northern division of the principality. He confirmed, from his own knowledge and observation, several extraordinary customs which exist among the Wallians, recorded by tourists, particularly by Mr. Pratt; and strengthened my conviction of the truth of the opinion I had already formed, that few persons reach longevity in this country; but on the contrary, that great numbers are carried off in early youth by pulmonary consumption. The air here in winter is too sharp for constitutions of any delicacy; and continually climbing precipices and mountains brings on a spitting of blood, which frequently terminates in the most fatal and most melancholy of all human maladies.

The landlord here, who has the merit of paying every possible attention to his guests, and ever waits on them, when the female who usually discharges this office, is otherwise engaged, informed us that Sir Robert Williams, M. P. for the county, a man respected and beloved by all who know him, and with whom I have had the happiness to spend some agreeable hours; as captain of a corps of volunteers, called "the Snowdon Rangers," lately had them reviewed on the top of that mountain, when, to the astonishment of strangers, they performed their manœuvres and evolutions with as much precision and indifference, as if they had been on level ground.

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#### BEDDGELERT AND ITS ENVIRONS.

*July 20.* **H**ITHERTO we had been favoured with such fine weather, that in the course of twelve days, and travelling early and late, we had never once had occasion to unfurl our umbrellas on account of the rain, though we had sometimes done so to shield us from the sun; but this morning, when we got up at an early hour, as had been agreed on, we had the mortification to find that a deep mist hung on the hills, and that there was every indication of a wet day. The night had been excessively hot and sultry; and whether from this cause, or the confined situation of this romantic place, all of us complained of languor and depression of spirits. Finding it impossible to ascend Snowdon with any chance of enjoying its landscapes, we resolved to wait here till we saw how the day would turn out; and while my friends revisited Pont Aberglasslyn, in order to fish for salmon, I walked round the narrow limits of the vale of Beddgelert, and picked up what incidental information my opportunities would allow.

In this little plain is an almost exhausted turbary, but still some peat and turf are dug here. The best land lets at twenty shillings an acre; but the average of the neighbourhood is from half a crown to five shillings, with unlimited right of common on the mountains, which produce little to the nominal proprietor, except where mines have been discovered and worked to advantage. Several attempts have been made to procure copper near Pont Aberglasslyn, but the ore is not reckoned very rich. Similar trials have been made near the very summit of Snowdon, as well as among the other mountains, and not wholly without success; but Anglesea, for the richness and value of its copper, is still unrivalled. It can scarcely be doubted, however, that several valuable metals are concealed in the bowels of these sterile regions. Nothing is made in vain: and where nature has been most unpropitious externally, she often contains hidden treasures, which compensate for her other defects.

Examined the neat little church of Beddgelert, with a single bell in its steeple, as is usual in Wales, except in towns. Tradition says, that it was erected on the spot where Llewellyn raised a tomb to the memory of his favourite grey-hound, which still gives name to the village. The story of this dog savours of the marvellous, and I will not detain my readers to repeat it. Here once stood a monastery, one of the oldest religious houses in Wales; and at no great distance up the vale of Gwy-nant is a lofty rock, called Dinas Emrys, where Vortigern is supposed to have retreated and secured himself, after he found the impolicy of calling in the treacherous Saxons, who were first his auxiliaries and then his masters.

In this perambulation, I had to regret that many of the rocks which surround Beddgelert, which had once been covered with oaks, from the effects of dissipation or a want of taste, are now consigned to the axe. One proprietor, however, is raising new plantations on his estate; and it is to be wished, that others may imitate such a laudable example. We have undoubted evidence, that Snowdonia was once a forest: at present, except in the vales, scarcely a tree is to be seen.

The goats, which are less numerous than we expected to find them, and which generally keep in the most inaccessible parts of the mountains, are said to be very destructive to young trees, by barking them in winter, and browsing them in summer. They sometimes descend during night into the vales, and commit their depredations; hence, though private property, they are proscribed in many places, and killed without mercy. I saw several men with each a goat on his back coming down from the mountains, but could not learn for what purpose they had been

caught. Wherever they abound, they increase the beauty of the landscape; and I would restrain, but not extirpate them.

Purchased a few crystals, &c. which are found pretty plentifully in Snowdonia, of the widow of the late guide from Beddgelert. She had a tolerable collection of crystals, spars, and minerals, picked up by her late husband in his various rambles among the mountains, but none of them arranged, or particularly curious. They serve, however, to amuse loiterers at this solitary place; and a few shillings are not ill expended in purchasing some of them as a memorial of the spot, and as an encouragement to civility and honest industry. A widow with a young family has always claims to attention: and it seems her husband in some measure fell a martyr to his too frequent journeys up Snowdon, which threw him into a decline.

The young women in this part of the country have a peculiarity in wearing black stockings without feet, except a loop passing over the second toe, which keeps them in their place. We observed several females passing and re-passing, with baskets on their backs fastened by a strap over their shoulders, and carrying heavy loads of turf for their winter fuel. In fact, the women perform many of the most laborious offices; while the men, in places where there are neither mines nor manufactures, saunter away their time in idleness, or muddle their brains with ale, a heady pernicious liquor, which seldom agrees with strangers, and which kills many of the natives every year.

The state of the atmosphere still forbidding an attempt to ascend Snowdon, each of us amused ourselves according to our respective tastes; in hopes that when the sun reached the meridian, the day would take some determined character. It did so; for about noon, the rains began to fall in torrents; and we no longer entertained the thought or the wish of quitting our present comfortable quarters. A gentleman, however, who had come to Beddgelert with an intention of ascending Snowdon from thence, was determined not to be disappointed by the weather from his design, though he must have known to a certainty, that he could see nothing more from the summit of the mountain than if he remained quietly in his chamber. In spite, however, of every obstacle of this kind, he set out on foot with an umbrella over his head, accompanied by the reluctant guide; while the rain descended in streams, and the mists floated down to the very foot of the hills. To use his own expression, "he was resolved to proceed, even if it should rain cats and dogs." How far he was gratified, I am unable to conjecture, except from circumstances; but that he received a thorough drenching, and that he will probably in consequence have reason to remember

Snowdon for some time, can be little doubted. Nothing can be more ridiculous than the vanity of having it to say, we have done something, when that something is neither necessary nor useful. To bid defiance to common sense and to the common maxim of the world, merely to excite the wonder of fools, and the laughter or the pity of the wise, is the most contemptible ambition that can actuate the human mind. It appears from incontestible evidence, that of numbers, who at different times have toiled up Snowdon, not one in three have enjoyed a clear and uninterrupted view from its top; and many have with difficulty been able to distinguish the guide, who was walking only a few paces before them.

Making a merit therefore of what we considered as prudence, we not only relinquished the thoughts of an ascent, but also of proceeding to Caernarvon, anxious as we all were to reach that place, in the expectation of finding letters at the post-office. Indeed we were thankful that we had obtained such comfortable lodgings and civil attendants, and resolved to make the best of the advantages which the situation furnished.

The most remarkable incident that fell under our notice in the afternoon of this day, when we were in search of any kind of adventure that would bestow a temporary amusement, was, the arrival of a party, in a post-chaise, of two gentlemen and as many ladies, three of whom were lame: yet all were animated alike with the ambition of hopping up to the top of Snowdon; and because they could not have that satisfaction on account of the rain, they spent their time in social drinking and singing, till they had scarcely among the four a leg to stand on, or a tongue to articulate a word.

We made a sumptuous dinner here, chiefly on salmon, which is sometimes sold so low as three farthings a pound, though the average price is about 4d. Fish indeed is the greatest blessing that belongs to Wales; for meat is as dear as in England, and therefore seldom falls to the lot of the poor. Our charges at Beddgelert were very moderate; and though we regretted being confined where so little was to be seen, we were perfectly satisfied with our entertainment.

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#### FROM BEDDGELERT TO SNOWDON AND CAERNARVON.

July 21. **E**ARLY this morning, the rain continued to descend in torrents; and the streams which we could have passed about four and twenty hours ago without wetting our feet, were now swelled to rivers, while cascades were formed in every ravine and precipice of the hills. Our prospect indeed was sufficiently gloomy, and our plan of operations was again disconcerted; but as what

is violent seldom lasts long, we anticipated fairer weather before noon; and by the time we had breakfasted, we had the satisfaction to see the clouds breaking in all directions, and drawing round the tops of the highest mountains. In some places a fleecy mantle was thrown over the higher slopes, which waved with every breath of wind; and the sun occasionally shooting a gleam through the gloom, gave a new and brilliant contrast to objects.

Under such circumstances we resumed our journey to Caernarvon, keeping along the bases of Snowdon, which in this quarter are detached rocks and massy hills. Some oats and grass were growing near the road; but sterility, which no art of man can conquer, prevailed as far as the eye could reach.

Passed the small lake of Llyn y Cader on the left, environed by grotesque masses of rocks; and soon after turning to the left, enter a narrow vale, and drive along the side of Llyn Cwellyn, a very pretty lake, nearly opposite to the centre of which stands the Saracen's Head, kept by the Snowdon guide.

Here we were induced to stop, though appearances were still unfavourable, in hopes that the mists which still hung thick on Snowdon might clear away as the sun reached the meridian, and allow us at last to ascend the glory of North Wales, with some chance of being gratified by the landscapes it affords. The guide has the command of three small ponies, which we bargained for at 5s. each, nearly their value; and we found that the customary compliment to himself was half-a-guinea more, besides the expence of hiring a servant to hold the horses, when the steepness of the ascent renders it impossible to ride any farther, which is only within half a mile of the mountain's top.

Filled up the interval of expectation in walking along the banks of the lake, which is about a mile long and a quarter of a mile in breadth. It is very deep in some parts, and produces trout and char. The latter we were informed, is caught only in one spot, and for a very few days annually, about the end of December.

A projecting rock in one place backs Llyn Cwellyn in a very grand stile; but the general scenery is naked and uninteresting; at least it appeared so to us, enveloped as distant objects were in moving fogs.

From the Saracen's Head, the ascent to the summit of Snowdon is only four miles; and a road from thence has lately been made to bring down the copper ore on sledges, which is found at a great height in the mountains. These sledges, drawn by two horses, will carry six hundred weight; and we saw an old man of seventy, who is daily employed with a couple of poor animals in this toilsome occupation. The old man seemed asti-

matic, and well he might; for had not his lungs been uncommonly strong, he could not have stood so much climbing for half the time that he appears to have done.

The guide, who was not quite disinterested in his opinion, after being repeatedly appealed to, declared, that he thought the summit of Snowdon, or Y Wyddfa (the conspicuous) would be free from clouds before we reached it; and accordingly, having laid in such a stock of refreshments as the little inn afforded, we set out in a grand cavalcade, full of the wonders we were to behold, though not without a mixture of fear of disappointment. We had scarcely, however, gained the first ascent, when Mrs. --- began to grow faint and giddy; and as I was less enthusiastic than either of the other gentlemen, I requested they would proceed, and give me an accurate account of their expedition, while I engaged to take care of the lady till their return. In a short time, I had the satisfaction to see her perfectly recovered; and as we observed a number of persons pouring from the hills in every direction, and taking their course along the brow of the eminence on which we stood, by way of filling up our time, we resolved to join the train, in hopes that we might see a congregation of Jumpers. A civil old man from Caernarvon, whom we had seen playing the fiddle at the little inn, and who spoke English, now joined us, and informed us, that a meeting was to be held at a near house, which he pointed out, and that the persons assembling were of that fanatical class of Methodists, who occasionally betray the utmost extravagance during their devotions.

Just as we arrived at the place of assembly, which was wretched in the extreme, the preacher was beginning service, surrounded by as many hearers as possibly could be crowded into the hovel, or get near enough to catch the sound of his voice. He delivered a prayer with great fervour and fluency in the Welsh language; then a hymn was sung; and after that another prayer and a hymn preceded the sermon.

Though I scarcely knew a word of what was said, I was pleased with the preacher's manner and the devout deportment of his hearers. He was a venerable looking man, with the general pale complexion of a shoe-maker or taylor; and certainly spoke with an impressiveness, that convinced us he was in earnest himself; while it was evident, by the deep and protracted groans of his audience, that he was capable of exciting a correspondent feeling in others. He held a small bible in his left hand, opened towards the congregation, as if displaying the authority on which he spoke, and their interest in its promises and threats: the right hand he gently waved; and, in short, his whole figure and action were well calculated to command atten-

tion. I no longer wondered at the influence these illiterate teachers acquire over hearers still more illiterate; and as I consider it, "*fas est et ab hoste doceri*," I could wish that the clergy of the established church would imitate the warmth and energy which is so successful among the Methodists. What effects would not result from learning, talents, and animation! To persuade others, we must shew that we are persuaded ourselves. A dull monotony soon becomes tiresome; and if a congregation feel their pastor labouring as at a task, his arguments will have little weight to confirm or to reclaim.

Among these people prayers and psalm-singing appear to constitute the greatest part of the service. This arrangement too is extremely judicious, being well adapted to the class of persons who attend them; most of whom are much less likely to be influenced by argument than by devotional exercises, in which they can join.

I confess I should have been gratified to have had an ocular demonstration of the fanaticism of jumping, with which the service sometimes concludes: the place, however, was too crowded and too small to allow of such an exercise; and for the sake of sound religion and sound sense, I am glad to hear that this practice begins to decline. The followers of Westley, who are certainly the most rational body of Methodists, begin to have the ascendancy over the disciples of Whitfield; and in time they will probably supersede them.

Finding that the service was protracted longer than we wished, we retired a few paces from the meeting, and, seated on a stone, I wrote the subsequent lines, which were inspired by my recent disappointment and by the religious exercises I had been attending.

SNOWDON! thy giddy heights in vain  
With fluttering heart I sought to gain.  
Too proud to sink, averse to soar,  
I love the smooth and level shore;  
Through life would keep the plainest road,  
And only mount to meet my God.

These lines I read to my amiable friend, and she participated very sincerely in the sentiment they expressed.

On returning to the Saracen's Head, we found the old man whom I have mentioned before, playing again on his fiddle to a company of idlers. We could distinguish *Rule Britannia* and *Crazy Jane*; but the tunes were principally Welsh. In England, it would be reckoned a profanation of the sabbath to play or to sing in public; but among those mountaineers, music is never out of season.

In four hours and a half from their setting out, our friends, who had ascended Y Wyddfa returned, amply recompensed, as they thought, for the toil they had undergone. But as one of them favoured me with minutes of his expedition, which were afterwards enlarged by oral communication, I will allow him to speak for himself, sensible that the spectator alone can give a just and vivid description of what must have powerfully struck the fancy.

“ THE ASCENT OF SNOWDON.

“ For the first mile and a half after we began to ascend from the guide's house, we travelled over a boggy turf, extremely swampy, and to a stranger, unsafe. When we advanced so far, that part of the mountain which was then in sight, assumed the decided figure of a cone, and became much more difficult of ascent, so much so, that it could only be effected on horse-back, by proceeding in a zig-zag direction along a beaten track composed of slaty materials, on which we continued climbing for nearly half an hour.

“ By this time, we supposed that we had almost reached the apex of the mountain; but so various are the shapes which this immense object assumes from the different points of view, that the mind is often perplexed and dissatisfied with the deceptions which the eye has witnessed.

“ Though the mists had hitherto been floating round us, our guide prognosticated our final success, and that we should be rewarded for our perseverance, by having a clear view of objects in a short space. His prediction was right: the wind rose, and as we proceeded, lifted up the canopy of clouds by degrees, as if unwilling to disclose at once the wonders which were gradually unfolding themselves to our admiring and astonished organs of sight. In proportion as we advanced, the mists receded; and the point which we had before considered as the termination of our journey, was only the first station that could be seen from below, and lay not very far beyond what our guide very jocularly called the Half-way House.

“ The ground was now covered with a beautiful mossy turf; and for another mile the acclivity was more gentle, till at last we reached one of the most sublime scenes we had ever beheld. On looking towards the south and west, the bay of Caernarvon, the isle of Anglesea, and the Irish sea, bounded by the Wicklow mountains, presented an expansive and finely varied picture to the eye. The isle of Man was likewise dimly discerned in the blue expanse; and the beautiful bay of Cardigan with its indented shores, and all the intervening mountains, lakes, and rivers, were spread out like a map before our enraptured view.

On the east and part of the north quarter, the mists still intercepted the sight of objects; and in a very few minutes, by the rolling of the clouds, all that we had seen before vanished like enchantment. During the short time, however, that we enjoyed the sun, the various effects of light, shadow, and colours produced by the clouds passing over different parts, were beyond all description fine, and gave us a very distinct idea of the figure of various objects.

“ After contemplating the grandeur of the scenery as long as the clouds and mists allowed a distant prospect, the guide invited us to advance a few steps farther, to behold a precipice of nearly five hundred yards, so perpendicular that it could not be approached without terror, at the bottom of which lie the two lakes, known by the names of Llyn Glas and Llyn Llwydaw, the former remarkable for its deep green hue, derived from its being impregnated with copper, some mines of which line its borders. This scene inspired fear more than pleasure; it might be called the sublime of terror; and this sensation was not a little increased by the guide’s recital of an accident which happened near this spot, about two years and a half ago, which I shall relate nearly in his own words.

“ On one side of Snowdon, is a place remarkable for the number of bee-hives kept there; and a man of the name of Howell Williams, whom we afterwards saw, having been promised a jug of honey from one of the owners of these thrifty insects, was on his way to receive it, and about to descend this precipice by the dangerous winding track, which the miners have cut, in order to enable them to bring the ore to the top, for its conveyance to the Caernarvon road. Alas! he had not descended many steps, before the snow, which had lately fallen in great quantities, gave way under his feet, and he was precipitated to the bottom, a distance of not less than four hundred yards, and in several places absolutely perpendicular. Two of this man’s associates happening to pass this way a few minutes after, and who knew his destination, on arriving at the spot, and beholding his traces in the snow, exclaimed ‘ Poor Williams! he must be dashed to pieces.’

“ When the guide had reached so far in his narrative, which froze us with horror, and made us shrink back by an involuntary impulse, a dark cloud enveloped us in its mantle, while the howling of the wind and the hoarse note of the cob, a bird frequenting these alpine heights, all conspired to give an additional impression to the scene.

“ The guide continued his recital, and informed us, that the men descending with caution, in expectation of discovering the

mangled remains of their comrade, to their great astonishment found him on his legs, and in no respect materially injured, except that he had torn his hands, though protected by worsted gloves, by catching at the points of the rocks which fell within his reach, and which assisted to break his fall. So indifferent was he indeed to the singular horrors of his situation and his almost miraculous preservation, that he expressed more concern for the loss of his jug than for the accident that had happened to himself. In fact, nothing but the snow, which occasioned his slipping, could have saved him from destruction.

"We now learned that we had still half a mile to ascend on the margin of this frightful precipice over loose stones, among which we were obliged to clamber, having previously left our horses in the care of an attendant. Another gleam of sunshine visited us, but it was speedily lost in the surrounding vapours; and when we arrived on the apex of the mountain, which is only a few yards across, our vision was limited to a short distance, nor was there any apparent probability that the clouds would disperse: Here we observed a small pile of stones recently thrown up by some artillery-men employed by government; and also examined a rude circular piece of masonry, about twelve feet in diameter, erected as a temporary shelter for those whom curiosity might lead to visit Y Wyddfa.

"The only inconvenience we experienced on this lofty region, was an affection of the muscles of the face from the cold, and this was speedily removed by rubbing them with brandy.

"In a short time we descended to the spot where we had left our Cambrian ponies; and remounting them, we soon reached the Saracen's Head, without any accident or memorable occurrence."

My friends knowing my attachment to botany, brought me some plants which have been frequently noticed as growing on the very summit of Snowdon; and if they were pleased with their expedition, I was not less so with the manner in which I had spent the interval. I should in this place observe, that the perpendicular height of Snowdon above the level of the sea is computed at thirteen hundred yards.

It was nearly five in the afternoon before we left the house of the Snowdon guide on our way to Caernarvon, distant seven miles, where we were to dine; and feeling already the calls of hunger, we were little disposed to loiter by the way, particularly as our horses were fresh.

Near the outlet of Llyn Cwellyn, and fronted by a beetling and shaggy rock of a peculiar character, stands sweetly sheltered in a recess of the opposite hill, an elegant little fishing-box, belonging to Sir Robert Williams, Bart. The accompaniments

of a mill and a cascade, the latter of which appears perfectly natural, though it has received some touches from art, are extremely happy, and render the spot peculiarly attractive.

Beyond this the vale expands, and the hills in the foreground and on the sides begin to sink, a circumstance which filled me with the most pleasing emotions; for I was heartily tired of mountain scenery, and its attendant sterility, which had prevailed for the last hundred miles. To be hemmed in by mountains, and to behold nothing but rocks, torrents, precipices, and cascades in endless succession, may for a short time give pleasure to the stranger, from the mere effect of novelty; but the eye delights to dwell on milder scenes, and to contemplate fertility and beauty.

Pass through the pleasant village of Bettws Garmon; and in this vicinity observe increasing cultivation and the labours of agriculture, which had in a manner been suspended by the frowns of nature, in a great part of our Cambrian tour. The country over which the road now lay, was a succession of eminences and dips, undulating in a very happy stile; and the soil was rocky, but not unproductive. On the left, rose a very picturesque mountain at some distance, near the sea-coast; but in front, the country was champaign and open for many miles, a feature very rare in Welsh landscapes.

The high grounds in Anglesea, which are few in number, and therefore more easily distinguished, begin to appear as we advance; and from one of the eminences in the road, the whole island lay stretched out like a map before us; while the venerable and elegant towers of Caernarvon castle, according to the waving of the ground, sometimes emerged and sometimes retired from our sight.

Cross the little river Seiont, and enter Caernarvon, which stands sufficiently high above the shore, though apparently lower than the country behind. It is situated on the Menai; and independent of its castle, the most beautiful and magnificent ruin that can be imagined, is by far the handsomest town that we had seen in the principality. Nothing can be more lovely than its accompaniments; and were I inclined to retire from the busy world, here above all places in Wales would I fix my residence. The streets, though rather narrow, as is common in fortified towns, are well pitched, and kept tolerably clean: the houses are neat if not generally elegant, and there is an air of fashion and politeness among the inhabitants, whom we found in their Sunday apparel, that marks some little intercourse with the rest of mankind, and some knowledge of genteel life.

Drove to the hotel, an excellent house built by the earl of Uxbridge, just at the extremity of the town towards Bangor,

and commanding, or rather did command some charming views of the sea and of the isle of Anglesea. A row of trees, however, on the opposite side of the road are rapidly rising to intercept this delightful prospect. They were planted, as we were informed from pretty good authority, in party prejudice, and they thrive in spite of public malediction. Every person who stops at this house laments their existence, and would bless the blast that would level them with the ground.

Behind the hotel rises a rock of immense magnitude and height, which appears like a small island in the ocean, as it springs up at once from the plain. Near it stands another of inferior dimensions, but by no means inconsiderable. From the top to the former is a fine bird's eye view of the town, the castle, the Menai, the isle of Anglesea, and on a very clear day, the Wicklow mountains may be faintly discovered; while to the eastward the varied landscape, over the British Alps is no where to be seen to more advantage. Here I found some curious plants; but had not leisure at this time to pursue my enquiries, as the moment when dinner was to be ready was quickly approaching, and which did not come unwished for.

Being recommended to Mr. Wakeman, the master of the hotel, by one of his relations, who resides in a distant county, I soon found myself at home; and entering into conversation about mutual friends, made us forget the distance that divided us. At this place too I had the pleasure of finding a letter, which having some reason to expect, had filled my mind with previous solicitude. A little and tolerably pretty Welsh girl waited on us, and entertained us much by the affected civility and gentility of her manners; she wore silk stockings, which were a good excuse for short petticoats.

In the evening we made a perambulation of the town, and as the weather was fine, it was rather late before we returned to our inn. We walked round the castle, which has been so often described, that repetition becomes vapid; but certainly nothing can be finer than its hexagonal turrets springing from massy towers at the angles. A minute inspection of its beauties, however, was postponed till the morning, and we satisfied ourselves with a general survey.

On the adjoining quay, we found vast quantities of beautiful slates ready for exportation. Ships of three or four hundred tons burden can come up here with the tide; and there is a constant intercourse between this port and Ireland. The terrace walk under the castle walls, along the banks of the Menai, is one of the most beautiful promenades in the kingdom, and it was well filled this evening with genteel people as well as plebeians. Some of the young ladies, for beauty and elegance, would have done

no discredit to Hyde-park; and as it may be fairly presumed they are more innocent than many who tread that fashionable round, I will hope too they are more happy.

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FROM CAERNARVON TO BANGOR FERRY.

*July 22.* **E**ARLY this morning, the sky was overcast and the air cool; but nevertheless I resolved to employ my time before breakfast, in examining the ruins of the ancient Segontium, which lie about half a mile south of the modern Caernarvon. This seems to have been a principal station of the Romans, and had roads connecting with other military posts. It has evidently been of an oblong form, and appears to have occupied about six acres of ground. The fort appertaining to it, and standing at no great distance, is of the same figure, and its area is about an acre. The remaining walls are of great thickness and about twelve feet high. Along them are three parallel rows of circular holes, concerning the use and design of which antiquaries are much divided. At each angle of the walls, a tower has formerly been erected. Except as a vestige of the conquerors of the world, Segontium, however, is little entitled to notice. Roman coins are occasionally found in the vicinity; and according to Matthew of Westminster, Constantius, the father of Constantine the great, was buried here, and his body discovered in 1283, and honourably interred in the neighbouring church. Why a person who died at York, if we can give credit to the best writers, should be interred at Segontium, is difficult to determine, and I leave the story as I found it.

After breakfast, I set out with the intelligent master of the hotel to visit his farm, which lies two miles off on the Bangor road. This object was congenial to my disposition, and more in the line of my pursuits than tracing the remains of antiquity; and I received much gratification from witnessing the judicious system of agriculture which Mr. Wakeman pursues. The vast improvements he has made on his farm by means of draining, irrigation, and marling, by blowing up rocks and levelling, shew what might be effected in this country, if ancient prejudices could be overcome, and a better system adopted. Many of his implements of husbandry are on a peculiar construction, and of his own invention. He shewed me a machine for hoeing turnips, which he had just completed; and it has every appearance of answering the purpose for which it is intended, and will do as much work in six hours with two horses, as six men could do in a long day. Of course, it is needless to observe that he uses the turnip husbandry, though in this, few of his neighbours imitate his example. He plants and digs potatoes by

means of a plough in a very expeditious manner, and raises much larger crops than are usually done by hand, though the expence is at least five-fold.

Land in the immediate vicinity of Caernarvon lets very high; some grass-fields for not less than five pounds an acre. The average of arable, however, does not exceed 12s. or 15s. and some land is as low as half a crown an acre. Tithes run very high, and are commonly let by auction. The consequence of this is obvious: there can neither be a good understanding between the clergyman and his parishoner, nor between each other. If all the tithes in the kingdom were valued, and a corn rent fixed in lieu of them, religion would gain much, and the clergy would lose nothing, except trouble. As for the influence arising from the established mode of payment by tithes, a good man would be ashamed to use it, and a bad man will only find it a source of vexation for himself and others. On the other hand, I cannot approve of making an allotment in land in lieu of tithes, as is frequently done on enclosures. It throws too much of the soil into mortmain, and is inimical to improvements of every kind; unless certain leases were granted, to which I can see no objection, if the bishop, the patron, and the incumbent are all made parties.

On my return, found Lady Mount S—— had joined our party; and we all proceeded to a more particular examination of the castle, one of the noblest works of Edward I. whose statue, grasping a sword or a dagger, for the whole is rather mutilated, stands over the grand and massy entrance, once defended by four portcullises. Edward by his air seems to menace rather than to conciliate; and the following lines, translated from the Welsh, immediately occurred to my mind, as I contemplated the image of this politic but cruel prince.

Where! ye now astonish'd cry—  
Where does mighty Edward lie;  
He that gave these ramparts birth,  
When prostrate Cambria lean'd on earth?  
Here still his image rais'd on high,  
Attracts the thoughtful curious eye;  
But he, long humb'd from a throne,  
Far distant lies beneath a stone.

The figure of the building is an irregular oblong, and the inside is much more shattered than the outside would have led us to conclude. The towers, however, some of which are octagonal and others decagonal, still remain in a great degree of preservation. The Eagle tower is by far the largest and most elegant in this magnificent pile. We ascended it to see the apart-

ment in which tradition says the first prince of Wales, the unhappy Edward II. was born. If it was selected as one of the very worst which the castle probably furnished, there might be some truth in the legend; for instead of being a place fit for the *accouchement* of a great queen, it is at once dark, small, and inconvenient to the last degree. The Eagle tower, however, no doubt, once boasted some splendid apartments, and surely the dutiful, the affectionate Eleanor deserved the very best! From the top of this tower, which has a winding stone staircase, there is a very extensive view over sea and land.

A gallery, which once went round the inside of the castle, at a great height from the ground, now only appears in broken parts on the side next the Seiont, and amidst its fragments we saw a she-goat skipping with her kids, in a manner that would have been frightful to almost any other animal. It put me in mind of a favourite passage in Ossian, and it formed an interesting subject for the pencil.

This vast pile, it is said, was built within a year, chiefly at the expence of the vanquished chieftains, and by the labour of the enslaved peasantry. Five hundred and twenty-two years are since elapsed; and probably another century or two will pass, before it becomes sufficiently picturesque for a ruin.

Having dispatched a messenger in the morning to invite one of the dignitaries of Bangor cathedral, a dear and valued mutual friend, to dine with us at Bangor Ferry, we left Caernarvon about five in the afternoon, and proceeded along one of the finest roads in the kingdom, amidst fields of wheat, barley, oats, and grass, in some places under good management, and which might generally be rendered very productive. The Menai and the level shore of Anglesea attended us on the left; on the right and in front we saw mountains in the distance, among which Carnedd Llewelyn and Penmaen Mawr towered in all their majesty. The former is only sixteen yards lower than the summit of Snowdon; and yet it is scarcely noticed by travellers. So much depends on established and familiar names: what is most popular is not always the most deserving of regard.

Several seats enliven the banks of the Menai on both sides. Among others, Plas Newdd, the elegant and well wooded residence of the Earl of Uxbridge, appears to great advantage on the Anglesea coast. Nearly opposite to this is Moel y Don Ferry. Here part of the army of Edward I. experienced a severe defeat in 1282 from the Welsh, who sallied upon them from the fastnesses of Snowdon, but had not long cause to exult in their success; and near the same spot, or at Llanedwen, it is supposed, that Suetonius Paulinus, the Roman general, first landed, when he terminated the rule and lives of the Druids. Tacitus

gives a very interesting account of this invasion. On this occasion, the Romans forgot their usual liberal policy, of suffering the vanquished to retain their religious rites and ceremonies; for they cut down the consecrated groves, and overturned the altars which had been polluted with human blood. They indeed were probably influenced by the same motives of extermination, which actuated Edward I. when he massacred the bards.

On dreary ARVON's shore they lie,  
Smear'd with gore, and ghastly pale:  
Far, far aloof th' affrighted ravens sail;  
The famish'd eagle screams, and passes by.

But though both the Romans and English secured their triumphs by the means alluded to, the Cambro-Britons were not wholly deprived of revenge on the descendants of their conquerors.

But to proceed: the road gradually diverging from the banks of the Menai, we come to an eminence, and look down on the city of Bangor, about a mile distant, situated under a rocky hill, and watered by a small stream. The tower of the cathedral, which is inferior to many parish churches in England, is the only object that makes any figure at a distance; and except the episcopal palace, which is pleasantly situated, there is very little to attract notice in the place. Yet Bangor was once dignified with the epithet of Great, and is esteemed the oldest episcopal see in Wales, being founded about 516. The town or city consists only of one principal street, and few houses in the place rise above mediocrity. Even the inn, is said to furnish but ordinary accommodations, though it must to many be more agreeable than the bustle at the ferry.

After calling at the post-office, while the carriage proceeded the nearest road to the ferry about a mile off, in passing down the street, I had the pleasure to meet Mr. Canon R. who had accepted our invitation, and was on his way to meet us at dinner.

Finding excellent accommodations at Bangor Ferry, kept by Jackson, we spent the evening in the most sociable and agreeable manner; and much conversation passed on the situation of the people in this part of the principality, and on the state of agriculture in particular. Mr. R. who spoke from experience, gave a very unfavourable account of the farming system in the neighbourhood, and thought the manner of letting and occupation equally bad. He is friendly to large farms, at least larger than the generality here; and indeed when land is too much subdivided, the effects are equally injurious to the occupier, the proprietor, and to the public. A small farmer produces little or no public supply: he is satisfied if he can maintain his family and pay

his rent; whereas a man who possesses some capital is both able and willing to engage in improvements, and in pursuing his private interest, he benefits the community by an increased produce. Of the industry of the labouring poor we heard no very partial praise. Where luxuries are unknown, indolence will necessarily prevail. Man seldom works, but to procure something which his real or artificial wants demand. The former are easily supplied: it is to the latter that great exertions are to be ascribed, in every walk of life.

Here we were entertained by a harper of distinguished talents, and whose superior execution on his native instrument made us despise all that we had hitherto heard. His name is Pritchard; and he not only plays on the harp, but makes harps, and composes and sets music to them. In fact, he was qualified to accompany the ancient bards; and as his fingers flew over the wires of melody, I was ready to exclaim with Kett,

Restrain thy tuneful hand, 'awake no more  
The melting harmony of tuneful strings;  
Thy softest note some lovely image brings  
To life, that torpid lay in memory's store.

That strain was like the nightingale's sad voice,  
Mourning her nestlings she no more can see.  
You strike the trembling chords of ecstasy,  
And ring the knell of my departed joys.  
Yet stay—such plaintive sweetness greets mine ear,  
I listen, even while starts the trembling tear.

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FROM BANGOR FERRY TO BEAUMARIS, AND THROUGH  
BANGOR TO CONWAY.

*July 23.* **W**HEN we set out on this tour, it was our intention to have proceeded as far as Holyhead, and to have visited the principal Druidical remains in Mona, as well as the Parys mountain, so celebrated for its copper mines. Several circumstances, however, conspired to alter our resolution: the time to which we had limited our journey was far spent; and more interesting scenery and objects still invited us than we could expect to find in Anglesea, which, however distinguished in the days of the Druids, has now few charms for strangers, except those parts which lie along the shores of the Menai, which are indeed beautiful and attractive. We therefore held a consultation this morning, and resolved to proceed no farther than Beaumaris and its vicinity, to which object we were to devote the forenoon; while, by an arrangement made with our friend, who lives about two or three miles beyond Bangor, on the road

to Conway, we were to take a passing dinner with him, and get on to Conway to sleep.

The clouds hung very heavy, and there was every indication of squally weather. The air too was extremely cold for the season; and while we were at breakfast, such a violent shower of rain fell, that we began to be apprehensive our intended excursion must be abandoned; but the clouds parting, it was finally resolved on, though the Menai was rough and the tide unfavourable, to take a boat for Beaumaris. Mrs. — prudently declined being of the party, and wished to remain at the ferry, till our return from Anglesea.

Having engaged two boatmen, to whom we were to pay half-a-guinea, we embarked on the Menai, and proceeded up the frith; Great Orme's head, Penmaen Mawr, and other mountains of Caernarvonshire, successively opening to our view. We had not, however, proceeded above three miles, when one of the gentlemen, who had without concern or apprehension looked down from the precipices of Snowdon, began to grow giddy and sick from the swell occasioned by the wind and tide being in opposition; and the currents meeting; and in consequence of this, we thought it advisable to land, and proceed to Beaumaris on foot the remainder of the way, along a new and excellent road, cut at the sole expence of Lord Bulkeley out of the cliffs that form the Anglesea shores of the Menai, and secured towards the sea by a strong stone wall, about five feet high. It is with pleasure I record this instance of public spirit; as it shortens a very circuitous road from Bangor Ferry to Beaumaris, and at the same time renders the communication perfectly safe.

Beaumaris is a neat town, containing about 1600 inhabitants. It stands about six miles from Bangor Ferry, though on either looking up or down the streight, the distance does not appear so great. The church and the old castle are the principal ornaments of the place; but on an eminence behind and closely adjoining, stands Baron Hall, the elegant seat and grounds of Lord Bulkeley, from whence the prospects are very extensive and finely varied.

Isles, towns, the rising hills, the spreading bay,  
The muse delighted, owns the grand display;  
Here Flora smiles, and flowers of every hue  
Their glowing petals spread, and drink the dew;  
For art and nature here their beauties blend,  
And taste and Bulkeley for the palm contend.

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Here earth is loaded with a mass of wall,  
The proud insulting badge of Cambria's fall,  
By haughty Edward rais'd; and ev'ry stone,  
Records a sigh, a murder, or a groan.

*Beaumaris Bay: a Poem.*

The ruins of the castle, the last of the three great fortresses erected by Edward I. to curb the Welsh, stand at the upper end of the town, and make a very picturesque appearance, though the situation is rather low. The stile of building is very fine, and some beautiful specimens of the taste of the age in which it was reared still remain.

The bay before the town is very secure, and has seldom less than seven feet water at the ebb. The town is a corporation, and possesses several valuable privileges, the gift of Edward I. who first raised it into any consequence.

Here Judge Fox of Ireland resides, universally respected and beloved. While we were waiting at the inn, which bears the sign of the Bull's Head, two carriages arrived full of his Irish friends to visit him.

We were informed that it seldom thunders and lightens in this neighbourhood, except about September, and never with any violence. Two smart shocks of an earthquake, however, have been felt within the last twenty years.

Being already fatigued with walking, which was increased by the state of the weather, we engaged a carriage to convey us back to the landing place, opposite Bangor Ferry. Before we could reach that spot, however, another violent storm came on, such as constantly attends thunder; and in crossing the Menai we were completely drenched, and heartily sorry that we had undertaken this expedition under such circumstances. The state of the atmosphere indeed, with previous fatigue, had at this period brought on such a prostration of strength, that I could scarcely walk, my appetite seemed gone, and I could neither sit still, nor move without agitation. In short, from my nervous feelings, I was convinced that a severe thunder-storm was passing, and that I should hear of its being felt in all its fury, within fifty or sixty miles at farthest\*.

Bangor Ferry is a constant passage to Holyhead, and indeed the only mail road. The Menai here is about half a mile wide, and boats are always in readiness to carry over and bring back whatever may be required. The speaking-trumpet is heard almost every half hour in the day, and often in the night. The landing-place on both sides is improving, and the communication is rendered as convenient as possible. On the Anglesea side are stables and other buildings for the convenience of persons arriving from Ireland, before they can be ferried over.

Jackson, the master of the George inn at Bangor Ferry, is a very civil man, but he appears to delegate too much of his power

\* In this conjecture I was not mistaken, as was afterwards proved by the news; apers, which mentioned violent storms in Lancashire and other counties of England.

to others. Much company must necessarily resort to the house; and it is amusing to contemplate the constantly moving scene—the arrival and departure of persons as their route lies for England or Ireland. The grounds round the Ferry-house are laid out with some taste, and are sufficiently fertile; but the opposite shore of Anglesea is rocky and steril. Jackson, however, who has a large farm on the island, raises wheat, barley, oats, and artificial grasses. He has even sown saintfoin, the first ever seen in Anglesea; and its blossoms were as much admired as if it had been the most curious exotic. The seed was brought from Oxfordshire; and it appears likely to thrive very well in this soil, which is not ill adapted for a plant that loves to strike its roots deep among the rocks.

Abundance of corn is raised in the level parts of Anglesea; and, compared with Caernarvonshire, the whole may be considered as a fertile and a champaign country. It seems probable that it was once joined to the continent, if it may be so called; and it has more than once been in contemplation to erect an iron bridge over the narrow channel at Bangor Ferry, an undertaking which I cannot think impracticable.

At Caernarvon and Bangor Ferry we found the charges as high as in the most frequented parts of England; but it must be allowed that the accommodations were correspondent.

As soon as the rain abated, we got ready, by settling our bill and paying the usual taxes on travellers. In this we found some difficulty. In Anglesea they have only Irish shillings, that is pieces of white metal without any stamp, and they pass them off whenever they can find any opportunity; but on the Caernarvon side of the Menai they are so fastidious, as to refuse every piece of coin that has not a head and a tail, as they are called; and before we could satisfy the hostler, who was more nice than others, and we *suspected* his reason for changing so often, we were obliged to produce all the silver which we could collectively muster. He behaved with such impertinence, that he deserved to have been overlooked among our *gratuitants*; but by his manœuvring I apprehend he realized double what we intended for him.

Driving through Bangor, we took the road to Conway. From the extensive bases of Snowdon to Penmaen Mawr, there runs a pretty rich and fertile track of corn and grass land, stretching along the trendings of the Menai; the mountains in the background irregularly retiring and advancing, but never so as to reduce the country to the character of a vale. The vicinity of Bangor in particular is well cultivated, and some elegant villas are scattered round it. The very respectable and learned bishop of the diocese was there at his residence, and kept his first public day for the season, at which the harper, to whose notes we had

listened with so much pleasure last night, was engaged to attend for the entertainment of the expected guests.

Passing through the agreeable village of Llandygai, we proceeded amidst Lord Penrhyn's improvements, who, employing an ample fortune with taste and judgment, has given a new aspect to this neighbourhood; and while he has enriched himself, has promoted the interest of a numerous class of men, who receive his pay, or profit by his speculations. The professional skill of Mr. B. Wyatt, his lordship's agent, a brother of the celebrated architect, and who possesses no small share of kindred genius, has been called into action, to adorn not only a single spot, but a track of several miles round Castle Penrhyn. Mr. Wyatt's own house, called Lime Grove, is built with exquisite taste, and is a perfect model for those who wish to erect small villas. It unites every thing in its exterior that can please the eye; and we were assured that its interior distribution is equally adapted to comfort and convenience. It is sweetly sheltered among groves of trees, and stands on the left, near where Lord Penrhyn's railway crosses the public road. Here we saw the wonderful effects of machinery. By means of an inclined plane, with a suitable apparatus on the top of an eminence, about twenty sledges are drawn up and let down at once; and when they reach the level, two horses are capable of drawing them with ease to the adjoining quay on the Menai, called Port Penrhyn. This railway and its accompaniments cost about 170,000*l.* and the neat profits of the slate quarries, whose exportation it facilitates, cannot on a moderate calculation amount to less than 15,000*l.* a year.

The castle is advantageously situated on a lawn amidst woods, and occupies the site of a palace belonging to Roderic Moelwynog, Prince of Wales, who commenced his reign about the year 720. It is a good specimen of modern Gothic, and has recently received some judicious alterations, under the direction of Mr. Wyatt. The views are richly varied. The fences round the park, are long pieces of fine blue slate nailed to posts and rails, which have a singular though not unpleasant appearance. The church of Llandygai is large, cruciform, and elegant, and appears to belong to the grounds. It contains the monument of the celebrated archbishop Williams, but we did not stop to visit it. Several beautiful buildings, adapted to various purposes, have been erected by Lord Penrhyn in the most chaste and elegant stile; but as it is intended to publish engravings of them, it is needless to particularize them in this place. But it is not only the arts that Lord Penrhyn patronizes: he is a friend to every kind of improvement, and sets an excellent example in the mode of agriculture pursued on his own farm. I never saw finer crops of every kind than on his own private domain.

Passing the bridge over the Ogwen, at Tal y Bont, we made a digression of about half a mile from the road, to dine with our friend the rector of Llanllechid, who resides at Maes y Groes, in this extensive parish, which extends in one direction nearly 15 miles. The worthy incumbent, besides faithfully discharging his multifarious clerical duties, amuses himself with farming; and the management of his lands shews that he is far before the generality of his neighbours, in good husbandry. In the vicinity indeed of Castle Penryhn, as I have just observed, all the modern improvements are adopted; and wheat, barley, turnips, ruta baga, and other crops and roots, under a good system, covered the ground; but except there and round Maes y Groes, the best practice of husbandry is little known, or attended to. It must be owned, however, that potatoes in several parts of Caernarvonshire are cultivated on a large scale, and very improved principle. They are raised on ridges by means of a two-furrow plough, horse-hoed to mould them up, and dug up by the application of another kind of plough, which passing under the roots, throws them on both sides with the same expedition as a horse can walk, while women and children pick up the produce, and put it into baskets.

Limited for time, and the weather still threatening, we stopt little more than two hours with our friend; when resuming our journey, and getting into the regular road, which appeared like a white straight line before us for some miles, we passed through the delightful and romantic village of Aber, near which the mountains began to advance towards the sea, and at last terminate in the abrupt and tremendous cliffs of Penmaen Mawr, which are computed to rise 1550 feet in perpendicular height, above the level of the sea. On a ledge of this cliff, by an excellent but frightful road, though defended by a stone wall about five feet high, we wind round the mountain; while the vast impending rocks above our heads, the roaring of the waves at a great distance below, the howling of the wind, and the beating of the rain, all united to fill the mind with solemnity and awe. In some places rocks of vast magnitude, which have probably fallen from the top, have lodged on some projecting ledge, and appear to be in the very act of taking another bound, to overwhelm whatever comes in their way. Several masses of this description are secured by masonry from proceeding any farther; yet scarcely a season passes without some accident to the bounding wall, though Providence has so ordered, that no lives have been lost of late years. A stone thrown over the precipice into the sea with all our might, seemed to drop at the very foot of the rocks. The protecting wall is not built on a good principle: it ought to be very wide at the base and lean inwards, following the line of the

descent, whereas it is nearly perpendicular. No stranger ever passed this way without fear, notwithstanding all the precautions that have been taken to render it secure; but as the great Irish road is now carried through Capel Cerrig, the pass of Penmaen Mawr will in future be visited by comparatively few. The present road was made in 1772, under the direction of a person of the name of Sylvester, and it is a monument of his talents and perseverance. It forms the most sublime terrace in the British isles.

On reaching the farther side of this awful promontory, we again came in sight of houses and cultivation; and gradually retiring from the sea, enter a defile, where the road is carried by a rapid ascent along the brow of a hill, with a deep and narrow glen below, and beyond it a mouldering perpendicular precipice, so near, that it seems to threaten a fall on its opposite neighbour. Here likewise a boundary wall is raised on the left of the road, or it would be horrible to travel over this space.

Again we enjoy an open view of the surrounding country, which however is naked and steril; and by a pretty gradual descent enter Aber Conway, the venerable towers of whose majestic castle salute the eye at some distance. Passing under a gate-way, some of the arch stones of which seem ready to tumble on the heads of passengers, we drove through the streets to the Harp inn, where we intended to take up our quarters during our stay.

For the last eight miles, it had blown a perfect hurricane, with much rain; and when we arrived at our inn we were wet and uncomfortable to the last degree, as umbrellas were of no use, even could we have held them in such exposed situations. Though in the middle of the dog-days, it was so cold that we immediately ordered fires both in the parlour and the bed-rooms; and as we were all fatigued and exhausted, after a slight supper *pro forma*, we retired to rest, and soon forgot the various toils of the day.

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#### CONWAY AND ITS VICINITY.

*July 24.* **T**HOUGH Conway furnishes little worth notice within its walls, except its castle, we determined to halt here for the day. Its walls, which are from 12 to 15 feet in thickness, are furnished with turrets at regular distances, and still pretty entire: they enclose an area of about a mile and a half, and are founded on the solid rock. In ancient times, Conway must have been a very strong place; and its narrow streets prove that it was once crowded with houses and inhabitants: but though it has still an air of grandeur, the marks of desolation begin to prevail, and spots which were once covered with houses, are now converted into gardens. The whole population does not exceed 900 souls.

The morning was lowering and cold, and the weather, which had been so long propitious to our tour, seemed to be entirely changed. After breakfast, however, each of us was intent on his particular pursuit. The other two gentlemen were anxious to take drawings of the castle; while Mrs. — and myself amused ourselves in perambulating the town, and afterwards taking the external compass of its walls. Within the fortifications, Conway has a confined and a gloomy appearance; but without, there are fine views over the channel, particularly towards Gloddaeth and Diganwy. In fact, the whole environs are picturesque; and several fine seats, occupying the happiest situations, are scattered around. Wood, water, rocks, meadows, and fertile fields, all serve to diversify the scene; nor is it possible to view this scene of bardic imprecation, without calling to mind the following animated lines.

Lo! Conway\* still, in plaintive strain, renews  
The woeful day that hapless Cambria rues;  
When o'er the frowning brow that crowns the flood,  
The hoary bard, with looks of horror stood—  
Struck, deeply struck the sorrows of his lyre,  
And ill's unborn pourtray'd with prophet's fire—  
Fix'd on the flowing stream the frantic stare,  
And gave his tortur'd bosom to despair;  
Then rush'd from life's accumulated woes,  
And in the pitying waters found repose.

*Beaumaris Bay: a Poem.*

The quay, which is approached through one of the town gates, almost opposite to that by which we entered, is sufficiently commodious; but exhibits little of the bustle of business. A few small vessels were lying here taking in slates, and lead and copper ore from some neighbouring mines; but if Conway ever was distinguished for trade, it is now nearly lost.

The tide being out, walked round from the quay to the castle, which bounds the town towards the river, and has two of its sides washed by the tide. It is built on a solid rock, and its position does credit to the military genius of Edward I. by whom it was erected in 1284. It was originally defended by eight large round towers, flanking the sides and the ends, from each of which issued a turret, only half of which are now remaining. The walls are embattled, and are of immense thickness. The lower hemisphere of one of the central towers tumbled down about 70 years ago, from its being undermined; and the upper part still hangs in the most frightful manner, though it will probably re-

\* On a rock whose haughty brow

Frowns o'er old Conway's foaming flood. GRAY.

It is evident, however, that Gray had never seen Conway when he wrote this ode; for the banks of the Conway here are remarkably tame in general.

main in its present state for ages. The fragments on the beach are of massy thickness, and so strongly cemented, that it would be as easy to dig from the solid rock as to separate their parts. Another tower, in excellent preservation, is covered with ivy from the bottom to the very top, and two low towers adjoining are actually crowned with this erratic plant, which produces a charming effect. Painters are therefore enamoured of Conway castle; but its towers and turrets being all circular, and the latter very few, do not please me half so much as the polygonal towers and numerous turrets of Caernarvon.

After inspecting the outside of this magnificent pile, the scene of many memorable exploits, though it does not fall within my design to record them, we proceeded through the town to visit the internal structure, which on this side we approached over a deep trench, where a draw-bridge was formerly placed. Not one of the apartments is entire; yet enough remains to shew what it must have been, when in its glory. The hall is 130 feet long, 32 wide, and 22 high. Some of the Gothic arches which supported the roof still remain, and they appear so light and of such a span, that it is wonderful they have stood so long.

Near the castle, which consists of three courts, bearing different names, and is now the property of the marquis of Hertford, we saw some small but curious remains of what is called the college, with several sculptured arms and antique windows.

The church, once conventual, is large but inelegant. None of the monuments are ancient, and the only modern ones worthy of notice belong to the family of Wynne, who seem to have been more remarkable for their fortune than their taste. On a flat stone in the nave of the church I read the subsequent inscription:

“Here lyeth the body of Nicholas Hookes, of Conway, Gent. who was the forty-first child of his father William Hookes, Esq. by Alice his wife, and father of twenty-seven children; who died the 20th day of March, 1637.”

The font here has every appearance of being ancient: it is composed of black marble curiously carved, and supported on a kind of clustered pilasters, standing on a pedestal.

The town, which is a free borough, and possesses some extensive privileges, contains several antique buildings, mixed with modern architecture. The old mansion, named Plas Mawr, built in the reign of Elizabeth by one of the Wynnes, is reckoned among the curiosities of the place. In front is the date 1585, with the mottoes, *Ανιχεσ Απειχεσ*, *Sustine abstine*, and other fantastic ornaments. The arms or supporters of the earl of Leicester, that *worthy* favourite of the maiden queen, are introduced, no doubt out of compliment to such a distinguished character.

On the whole, a great degree of languor already appears to

spread over the inhabitants, who received their principal support from the grand Irish road passing through the town. The travelling indeed through this place is so much diminished from the opening of the road by Capel Cerrig, that it is probable Conway will not long have occasion for more than one inn. Already the minstrel at our inn had lost some of the strings of his harp, which he seemed in no haste to replace; and we were disappointed in hearing the Prince of Wales's harper, who was then in Conway, for his health. As I was walking along the street with Mrs. —, the landlady of the Bull seemed to watch me with minute attention, and when I had passed, she sent a man to say she wanted to speak with me. Certain that she must have made some mistake, I asked who she took me for; the answer was, "Mr. Davies." Here our interview ended, with an apology for troubling me.

Tired of this uninteresting and gloomy place, in which no more was to be seen, I should have been glad to have proceeded a stage after dinner; but my friends wishing to take some more sketches, I tacitly agreed to pass another night here; and had only to regret that the weather was too unfavourable to allow me to visit Gladdaeth and Diganwy, which, from the best information, would have amply repaid my toil.

Having left our exact route to be determined by events, in order to give it the charm of novelty, and to keep up expectation, we had not yet settled whether we were to visit Denbigh, or proceed direct to Llanrwst. On arguing this point, it was carried unanimously to adopt the latter plan: for though our pursuits were different, it was impossible that any party could have better agreed in the general plan of proceedings. Where there is a mutual respect and wish to oblige, individual predilections will easily bend to the prevailing sentiment.

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FROM CONWAY THROUGH LLANRWST AND KERNIOGE TO  
BALA.

*July 25.* **L**EAVING Conway at six o'clock in the morning, we agreed to reach Llanrwst, distant twelve miles, before breakfast. On passing the gate by which we had entered, we soon began to ascend amidst well cultivated fields, and views of the river Conway, on our left. Taking a retrospect, the town and the castle appeared to the greatest possible advantage; and indeed the situation of Aber Conway is most favourable for making an impression at a distance. On the sides of the hills, along which the road now lay, the soil is gravelly, with a slaty substratum; in the vale, a loamy clay, which tinctures the water of the river, and gives it a brownish hue.

Near the sixth mile-stone, catch the first view of Llanrwst, standing near the middle of a rich vale of the same name, watered by the Conway. Much hay was still uncut, and evidently withering away. The Welsh having no dependence on a latter-math, generally let their grass stand with a view of having the larger crop, till its juices are spent, and it is little better than straw.

Cross several bridges thrown over mountain streams, which form pretty cascades, in different parts of this drive. On the farther side of the river see the abbey, lord Newborough's, sweetly sheltered by trees at the bottom of the hill, but sufficiently high above the Conway. A little farther, on an elevated spot, stands Lady Cuffin's, a neat and picturesque villa.

Approach the Conway, which winds round to meet the road, and passing the pleasant village of Trefrew, where Llewelyn had a palace, and which is still remarkable for a mineral well containing common salt, we came in sight of the beetling cliffs of Gwydir, finely shaded by woods. In this track are some extensive thriving plantations of firs and larches, amidst the naked rocks that cover the acclivity on our right; an additional confirmation of the opinion I had already hazarded, that many of the most forbidding and rugged mountains might be rendered productive, and the natural beauty of the scenery improved. Some lead-mines are worked here, but they do not appear to be very rich.

By a bridge of three light arches, built by Inigo Jones, reputed a native of this place, and certainly of Welsh extraction, we enter Llanrwst, a poor and uninteresting town, and which participates in the decay of Aber Conway, from the diversion of the great road through Capel Cerrig. Here we breakfasted at the Eagle, an indifferent inn, and where the owners shewed all that independent inattention, which we have in numerous instances experienced in Wales.

The harper, like Dickey Gossip, was "a man of many callings." He first cleaned our boots, then rubbed down and fed the horses, and afterwards amused us with his harp, which either was sadly out of tune, or did not own him for a master.

Walked round the church-yard, bounded on one side by the Conway, and noticed several inscriptions recording persons who had lived to advanced ages—one to 88. This is rather unusual in such places as had hitherto fallen under our notice in Wales. The church is an inelegant pile; but adjoining is a chapel built from a design of Inigo Jones in 1633, by Sir Richard Wynne, against one end of which are five brasses, recording as many persons of that family, who were buried here. The stone coffin of Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, removed here from the abbey of Conway, is still shewn as a curiosity.

As we were sauntering about, one person came up to offer us the purchase of some pearls, which are commonly fished up from the Conway; and another wished to be our guide, and in particular to shew us how the bridge vibrated, if a person only stamped against its ballustrade. The pearls were too dear, and not remarkably fine; and we were not such novices as not to understand the principle on which the bridge vibrated; we therefore escaped taxation on this occasion. Heard some psalm-singing as we were walking along the street, and understood that Methodism is very prevalent in Llanrwst.

Mr. Jones, a gentleman of fortune in the place, seeing we were strangers, very civilly addressed us, and entering into conversation, I learned from him some local information. Meadow land in the immediate vicinity of the town, lets as high as three or four guineas per acre; but farms at a little distance, average no more than seven shillings and sixpence. Lord Gwydir, who is one of the largest proprietors in the neighbourhood, is also reputed one of the most indulgent to his tenants.

Taking the road to the right of the river, had a pretty distinct view of Gwydir house, an old, extensive, but inelegant edifice, erected in 1558, near the spot where a memorable battle was fought between the sons of Howel Dda, and the two sons of Edwal Voel, who had usurped the rights of their elder brother; but the event of the conflict confirmed their government. Gwydir house stands at the foot of precipitous, though well wooded rocks, of a singular character. Amidst scenery of this kind we passed a considerable way, and at intervals were struck with naked rocks, which were finely contrasted by the verdant foliage that concealed others from our view. In a word, Gwydir has much reason to boast of its sylvan honours, and of the masses they cover: there is something unique in the features of this domain.

Several neat and pleasant seats are raised on the opposite side of the vale on the banks of the Conway, which receives many tributary streams in its progress, that devolve with vast impetuosity from the mountains.

The road we took from Llanrwst is not the most direct, but it certainly is the most picturesque. A new road is making on the left of the river, and close to its course, which will be a mile or two nearer.

Pass Pont y Pair, near Betws y Coed, where the new road through Capel Cerrig branches off. Immediately above this bridge over the Llugwy, is a pretty little cataract among ledges of rocks, hollowed out into the most fantastic forms, by the incessant action of the water. The cascade of Rhaiadr y Wenol being only about two miles distant from this spot, two of my friends hired horses to visit it, while I proceeded in the carriage with Mrs.

— towards Kernioge Mawr, still distant nine miles, though by the nearest way it is only ten in all from Llanrwst. An air of comfort is diffused over this vicinity, and its picturesque beauty is unquestionably of the first class.

Cross the Conway by a new and lofty bridge, amidst wild rock scenery shaded with trees; and not far from this spot the Conway and the Llwgy, which have for some space been foaming along a declivity of broken rocks, unite their streams, and gradually become tranquil and clear.

Ascend by a precipitous road, properly guarded on one side by a stone wall, and cut out of the rock on the other, where the vale contracts to a deep dell, through which the Conway thunders down with deafening noise, at a great distance below. The scene was so grand, that we halted to examine its component parts at leisure; but so well were the slopes of this pass wooded, that it was difficult to acquire an accurate idea of the whole. At intervals, however, we caught a glimpse of the Conway, roaring over the vast masses of rock which intersected its bed. It derives its principal source from Llyn Conway, a large pool beyond the village of Penmachno; and till its junction with the Llwgy, has every characteristic of a mountain torrent.

As we were ascending the hill, a farmer, who was looking after his sheep that were picking their scanty fare among the rocks, paid us the compliment of the time of day; and on entering into conversation with him, I was informed that land lets in this neighbourhood from one to five shillings an acre, according to its quality; and that the rent of farms on an average is about 30*l.* a year. He pointed out his house, which was pleasantly situated at the head of the glen, and overlooked some of the most picturesque scenery that can be well conceived.

On gaining the summit of the ascent, enter on a track of milder features, amidst woods and cultivation. Observe at a small distance from the road the new inn of Rhyddlan Fair, and Plas Niewedd, the seat of Mr. Humphries, on the right, amidst fine plantations of birch, larch, and oak.

Cross the rocky bed of a mountain torrent which falls into the Conway, and pass on the left Voelas Hall, the fanciful seat of the Honourable C. Finch; and soon after leave, in the same direction, Capel Voelas, which has little to recommend it to attention.

The land now assumes a sterile aspect, producing only oats and coarse grass. In many places the soil is boggy, and yields turf, of which we had an unpleasant evidence at the inn of Kernioge, where the smell of fuel of this description was ready to suffocate us. Before we reached this very ordinary inn, where there is little attention and less accommodation, we passed seven-

ral miserable cottages, the children from which followed us, bawling out, in a whining tone, something which sounded like "a penny to buy shoes." They were, however, all barefooted; and it is probable we mistook the nature of their petition.

As this is the great Irish road, the constant sight of strangers passing and repassing gives the natives a considerable share of assurance, and a habit of mendicity, which we had seldom witnessed in Wales. Among the rest of the road-beggars, was a poor girl, of a masculine size and the most rugged features I ever saw, who had some excuse for the vocation she was pursuing, as she had lost her sight by the small-pox. This wretched creature not being immediately apprized of our passing the hut where she resided, ran after the carriage some way, and never spoke a word till she seized it, as it was going slowly up a hill. At first we supposed she must be insane; but on hearing her melancholy story, she had our pity as well as our alms, to both of which she was too justly entitled. If we understood her right, she had a brother, likewise blind from the same cause. What cause is there for regret that vaccination is not recommended by every public and private authority, and that the children of the poor do not receive it gratuitously! One person properly qualified would be sufficient to attend a whole county; and if he had a moderate salary allowed him for vaccinating the poor, with what the rich would gladly pay, he might derive a comfortable subsistence from his labour. The resident surgeons and apothecaries are generally hostile to the practice, because it cuts off a beneficial branch of their trade.

From Kernioge to Bala, our next intended stage, the only safe road for a carriage is a distance of eighteen miles. By the suggestion, however, of some evil genius, we took the reputed nearest road through the wildest part of Merionethshire, and thus involved ourselves in difficulties which at one period we really thought insurmountable; and at the same time missed seeing the famous citadel of the Druids, whither Caractacus retired after his defeat at Caer Caradoc, situated about half a mile on the left from Cerrig y Druiddion.

It was nearly four o'clock before the other gentlemen returned from Rhaiadr y Wenol; of which they spoke in high terms, as being grand and picturesque. At length having procured some refreshments at Kernioge, we retraced our steps about a mile, and then entered on one of the most execrable roads I had ever seen, though the hopes of its mending, encouraged us to proceed. We mounted a very long and naked hill, from whence we had an extensive view of the Caernarvonshire mountains, and of a dreary and uninteresting country around. Noticed a small lake beyond Kernioge, in an elevated track; and passing a high single stone, whose destination we are unacquainted with, soon began to de-

scend by a road so narrow, that there was barely room for the wheels, and in one place so zig-zag, that not one carriage in a hundred would have found room to turn. On reaching the bottom, through which ran a brook, we saw a few scattered farms, and finding a person who could speak English, and who from his appearance had seen fifty winters pass over his head, I asked him if carriages ever passed this way. "I remember," said he "seeing one about twenty years ago." "Then," rejoined I, "I hope you will never see another."

After watering our horses in the brook, we came to a second ascent, so steep in places, that we were ready to abandon ourselves to the despair of being able to surmount them. But by means of pushing and keeping the carriage from rolling back, we at last joyfully reached the apex of the hill. The scenery from this spot was wild and dreary to an uncommon degree; and only a few straggling cattle and sheep relieved the weary eye, or convinced us that we were near the abodes of men. Even vegetable nature seemed to shrink from such a bleak situation; for not a tree or even a shrub was to be seen within miles.

Fortunately, however, the road now took a determined descent, and was constructed in an improved form; and about five miles from Bala, we began to enter on a track of gradually increasing fertility, which continued with an improving aspect till we came in sight of the river Trowern, a pretty considerable stream, which falls into the Dee\* near Bala. The mountains here assumed a less lofty character than those we had traced in the morning; and the vale on our right became more and more beautiful and rich, the nearer we approached to the end of our stage.

The cottages, however, had a more wild and uncomfortable appearance than those in Caernarvonshire; and instead of being covered with slates and furnished with chimneys, they are miserably thatched, and have the same curious apertures for the smoke to pass, as we had before noticed in Caermarthen and Cardigan-shires.

From oats and coarse grass, which scantily covered the best spots we had hitherto seen in this stage, wheat, barley, and artificial grasses began to appear, particularly as we were winding round a hill which brought us in sight of Bala lake. At last we descended to the town of that name, situated in a beautiful level vale about a mile in breadth, and crossing a fine bridge over the Dee, enjoyed an agreeable view of Mr. Price's seat on the slope of the hill above, amidst delightful plantations of firs, larches, birch, and other trees.

\* The sources of the Dee are not well defined. Some derive them from the lofty Arran; but the name of Dee is not given to this celebrated stream, till it issues out of Bala lake or Pimble-mere.

Drove to the Lion, a large and comfortable house, kept by very civil and attentive people, congratulating ourselves that we had been able to travel a computed distance of twelve or thirteen miles in four hours and a half! Had we taken the more circuitous but regular road, we should have reached the place of our destination long before, and without encountering a single difficulty. Weary with the exertions of this day, we retired to rest soon after dinner, which, however, was not served up till about nine o'clock.

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BALA.—A FISHING EXPEDITION ON ITS LAKE, AND TO CORWEN.

*July 26.* **H**AVING engaged the fisherman belonging to Sir Watkin William Wynne, who claims the sole property of the lake, to attend us on a fishing party at noon, and having obtained the requisite permission to use the boat and nets, a very particular favour, we indulged ourselves in bed till breakfast time, being all of us excessively fatigued, and glad to enjoy prolonged repose.

While at breakfast, we were amused by a Welsh crier proclaiming an auction. He stationed himself by the cross just opposite to the window where we sat, and turning himself in various directions, told his story with much vociferation and action. Soon after, a number of persons began to assemble, and the auctioneer mounting a table under a pent-house in the street, drew a motley group around him, consisting of all ages and of both sexes. He appeared to possess a considerable share of low humour, and certainly did not spare his lungs in the service of his employer. A barrel stood upright by his side, and when he knocked down a lot, he struck with his hammer on its top, which sounded to the circumference of his audience. He spoke chiefly in Welsh, but occasionally threw in a few words in English. On enquiry, I was informed that he did not repeat "once, twice,—once, twice," like the auctioneers in England, but merely named the price that had been offered, and expatiated on the value of the article, in order to get another bidding, as long as any chance remained of an advance being made. One of my friends took a drawing of this scene. The sale consisted of very ordinary household furniture and farming implements.

Bala is a pretty large and clean town. The street is wide, but the houses in general are very low. The young women here commonly go bare-footed. They are extremely well formed, and have none of the marked Welsh physiognomy. Without being beauties, at least such as fell under our notice, we saw more

genteel looking girls here, than in almost any other part of Wales.

At noon the boatman waited on us at the inn, when Mr. and Mrs. — were rowed down the lake, which lies close to the end of the town, and extends about four miles in length and one in breadth; while Mr. — and myself took the Dolgellau road by the side of the water, in order to meet them at Sir Watkin William Wynne's beautiful cottage, built on an eminence near the extremity of the lake. In this walk we observed the whole contour of this fine sheet of water and of its banks. The seat of Sir R. C. Hoare and Sir J. Lister, a joint establishment for the purpose of fishing\*, is advantageously situated on the left bank of the lake near the town, and is sheltered by a pretty high hill. Several farms appear on the same side at intervals; but there is a tameness and a want of variety in the scenery, originating chiefly from the woods that once adorned the banks, being so generally cut down, that scarcely a stick worth half a crown remains. The greatest part of the land in this vicinity is the property of Sir Watkin, as he is familiarly called in North Wales; but I was sorry to observe his domains so commonly stript of wood, which it ought to be the policy of the great Welsh land-owners to plant, instead of cutting down.

In this walk, we met two old women knitting, so loaded with wool under their long blue cloaks and in their aprons, that their picturesque appearance induced my companion to request they would stop till he took a drawing of them. With this they civilly complied, and seemed pleased to see their likenesses, though no attempt was made to flatter their vanity, if they possessed any.

It was my intention to have proceeded about two miles beyond Sir W. W. Wynne's fishing cottage, to observe the wonderful effects of a water-spout, which burst in June 1781, at Llanuchllyn, and carried with it from the mountains into the vale, houses, cattle, rocks, and every thing that lay in the way of its destructive progress; but being already weary from want of health, I left my companion to proceed thither by himself, and seating myself on a rock near the head of the lake, penned part of my journal, in sight of my fishing friends.

One of the fishermen had attended Sir R. C. Hoare, who uses the pencil with much felicity, and is distinguished for his general taste, to almost every remarkable spot in Wales. The proposed new edition of Giraldus Cambrensis, by the ingenious

\* No nets are allowed to be used on Bala lake without the permission of Sir W. W. W. or his agent; but no person is forbid from angling; and we found at the inn some gentlemen from London, who had come hither for no other purpose.

Baronet, will no doubt shew, that he has not taken so much pains, without an object worthy of his talents.

The lake of Bala produces fine trout, perch, the gwyniad, an alpine fish, which runs from one to six pounds weight, and some other species of fish in great abundance. We were all anxious to catch some gwyniads, the *salmo lavaretus* of Linnæus, which seldom can be done by angling; but the civility and attention of Mr. Richards, which reflected honour on his master, enabled us to obtain several at one sweep of the net, and we had them dressed for dinner. This fish is certainly very delicate; but in point of flavour it is inferior to some others of its genus, which the Welsh rivers and lakes produce. It dies, the moment it is taken out of the water.

Poaching in the lake is prevented as much as possible; though, as I have already observed, gentlemen are liberally complimented with the privilege of angling, which brings a considerable resort to the place. Indeed, the lake is the principal attraction at Bala; but though the largest in the principality, it scarcely possesses one interesting feature, except towards the top, where the outline becomes broken and indented. The lakes in Cumberland and Westmoreland, and particularly in Scotland and Ireland, have each some grand discriminating feature; but in Wales they are generally not only of small dimensions, but very tame and insipid in their character.

Grass land near Bala lets as high as three or four guineas an acre: the average rent, however, of the arable does not exceed one guinea in the vales, and on the hills it runs from one shilling to five. Sheep commons are four pence a head. The prevailing soil is gravelly, and produces, with proper management, abundant crops; but agriculture is little studied here, beyond the common routine that has been followed for centuries; the practice of their forefathers is religiously observed by posterity. Exertions, however, are making to introduce a better system; and in spite of prejudices, they will not be wholly lost.

Sailed down Bala lake to the town. It is said that the water of the Dee never mixes with that of the lake. The fact is, the stream which empties itself into the lake, keeps its course down the middle, with a kind of current visible to the eye; but the water of the lake, of necessity, must mix with it as the former rises or falls.

After dinner proceeded to Corwen, distant, by the road we took, about fourteen miles. On leaving Bala, where we had been well entertained and accommodated by the landlady "of the fair skin," for she had the whitest skin we ever saw, and was farther remarkable for constantly wearing spectacles, we had a delightful retrospective view of the peaks of Cader Idris; rising

behind a succession of mountains, each of no mean height. It is no less than 18 miles off, yet its summit appeared as if we could have reached it with ease in an hour.

Following the course of the Dee on our right, we travel through a charming vale, amidst hedge-rows, corn, grass, still waiting for the scythe, and trees of luxuriant growth. The hills on both sides are finely varied, and cultivated a great way up their sides. Snug boxes, farms, and cottages enliven the scene; while the river, tossed alternately from one side of its barrier to another, and the vale, assuming a constantly changing outline, give a variety to the landscape, that keeps the attention ever awake. About the distance of three miles from Bala, we turned to the right, and crossing the Dee by a handsome stone bridge, continued our progress, with the river on our left, amidst the same kind of scenery as before, as far as Corwen. In this stage passed through the pleasing village of Llanvair and Llandrillo, near which last stands Maesmor, the agreeable residence of Bell Lloyd, Esq. We noticed several other gentlemen's seats occupying the happiest situations; but as it began to grow dusk, we had not always distinct views of such as lay remote from the road. Rug, however, the seat of Vaughan Salusbury, deserves to be particularized.

After passing through Llangar, seldom out of sight of the "wizzard Dee," we arrived at Corwen; and as it was between nine and ten at night, we had reason to be pleased, that we could all be accommodated with beds at Owen Glendower's Head, which being the only inn of any consequence, and this place being a regular stage, is frequently full. We had indeed been informed that there were two inns, though we did not recollect their names; and on asking the woman who opened the turnpike-gate, at a little distance from the town, which was the best house—she replied there were only two, the one an inn, and the other a shop. In fact, she spoke truth, though she misconceived the meaning of our question: for, except the inn and the shop, in which latter the post-office, the stamp-office, and probably all the business in the place is concentrated, we did not see another decent dwelling. We supped on some fine trout. Fish indeed is the only fare, that we could lately depend on finding.

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FROM CORWEN TO LLANGOLLEN, VALLE CRUCIS ABBEY,  
AND TO OSWESTRY.

July 27. **H**AVING agreed before we retired to rest, though it was nearly the noon of night, that we were to breakfast at Llangollen, I was up soon after four in the morning, that I might

take the perambulation of the town, before my friends were ready.

Corwen stands at the bottom of a vast rocky ridge of the Berwyn mountains, the most extensive range, though far from being the loftiest, in Wales. In the vale below, flows the Dee, already a considerable river, amidst fertile meads; while the opposite hills have a downy appearance, and present a various front from the difference of distance and elevation.

Here the Welsh, under that able and enterprising leader, Owen Glendower, fixed their rendezvous, when they stopped the invasion of Henry II. in 1161. The place of his encampment may still be distinguished from the church-yard, in the direction of the village of Cwmwyd. On the south side of the church, a considerable edifice, is cut a very rude cross, which is indicated to strangers as the sword of Owen Glendower, whose memory is still dear to the natives, and his exploits mentioned with rapture. The cemetery is large, and contains some rude pillars of stone. The whole town is built upon a rock, and, during the season, it is much resorted to as a fishing station.

By six o'clock, we were all assembled and ready to start; and early as it was, a crowd was gathered round our carriage, as usual, admiring its singular construction. I have not often noticed this circumstance; but it was a source of continual amusement to us in every place through which we passed, because it amused others.

Continued our route along the left bank of the Dee, the vale at first contracting, and the hills rising somewhat abruptly, with the river winding and touching their opposite bases.

On our left pass Llansaufraed, and soon after leave Glyndowery park on our right, the agreeable residence of Captain Salusbury. Near this may be seen the ruins of Owen Glendower's palace; but as they present nothing worth attention, and derive their consequence solely from the fame of that Cambrian hero, we did not stop to visit them. The country in this track is pleasantly diversified with woods and slopes, and several beautiful spots successively open on the banks of the Dee, on each of which the lover of nature would wish to build, and to fix his abode.

As we proceed, catch a distant view of Dinas Bran castle, perched on the summit of a high conical hill, almost opposite to Llangollen. At this point, the hills are sweetly tossed about, and present an interesting variety of features. One of them, rising to a considerable height from the middle of the vale, forces the Dee to the left, while the road takes a winding direction up an opening between its base and the ridge of hills which accom-

pany us on the right. A little beyond, the hills begin to wave in all directions, and several lateral vales open towards the Dee; in one of which, amidst the umbrage of trees, we had a favourable view of the beautiful ruins of Crucis abbey.

The Dee again seems to flow round to meet us, and its bank on the side of our road becomes lofty and precipitous; while the opposite boundary exhibits a variety of the most exquisite charms of nature, embellished by the works of art. Llandysillio hall, and its environs, possess almost unrivalled beauty of situation: wood, water, hills, vales, all contribute to render this situation one of the most delightful that can be conceived.

In fact, within the space of three or four miles, the river serpentine round hills and knolls in a style at once novel and enchanting: its banks are every where fringed with woods; and sometimes it appears from the road in reaches, sometimes makes a sudden bend and partially disappears, but in every form and every turn it is calculated to please. Yet we observed with pain, that in many places the axe was laying waste the sylvan honours of the Dee, and that one of the most enchanting spots on its banks was disfigured by a feeder to the Ellesmere canal.

Descend towards Llangollen, concerning which so much has been said in prose, and sung in verse; and on entering the place, felt how dangerous it is to form lofty expectations, and to give credit to hyperbolical descriptions.

After breakfasting at the sign of the Hand, which, though the first inn, gave us no very favourable impression of the elegance and civility of the place, we dispatched a note to the inhabitants of the far-famed cottage at Llangollen, requesting permission to visit it at a given hour. This was almost immediately answered by a servant, who brought a verbal message of assent, which some of the party construed into disrespect, particularly as the applicant was neither unknown, nor unconnected. Be this as it may, it was unanimously agreed on to pay the first visit to Valle Crucis, or Llan Egwest abbey, distant about two miles; and I am happy to be able to add one more attestation to the universal suffrage in favour of this venerable pile of ruins. Nothing can be more sweet than its sequestered situation, nothing more interesting than its remains, which principally consist of the east and west gable ends of the church, and some of the side walls on the south. This edifice appears to have been about one hundred and eighty feet long, and about thirty-one broad, exclusive of the transept. The windows at the east and west ends, display the finest gothic tracery, and prove what the abbey must have been before its dissolution. It is, indeed, in its present state, incontestably the most beautiful ruin in North Wales,

and was founded by Madoc ap Griffith Maylor, prince of Powis, about the year 1200; who liberally endowed it, and peopled it with Cistercians. Some mutilated inscriptions are still to be seen on the west front, but it is impossible to decypher the names to which they apply. A great number of beautiful ash trees occupy the area of the church, and spread their lofty branches over the mouldering walls. From marks and numbers on many of them, they appear to be devoted to the axe, and though a few might be cut without the least injury to the effect of these venerable ruins, a general fall would strip them of no inconsiderable share of their charms.

The cloister on the south is now converted into a farm-house, which deforms the spot, and is in itself inconvenient. Some of the ancient windows remain, and the arches seem made for endless duration. The dormitory, supported by three rows of groined arches, on single round pillars, is now converted into a hay-loft, and is approached by steps from without. The people who reside here were civil and obliging, but understood very little English.

In a summer-house in the garden, erected for the occasional use of the proprietor of this delightful spot, I sat down to indulge in contemplation, while my friends were engaged in taking drawings of the principal remains. For the happy, this situation presents a thousand charms: as for the miserable, instead of flying from the world, the source of their ills, they must learn to combat with its cares, and amidst its bustle, strive to forget their sufferings and their woes.

Miss Seward thus apostrophises and describes Valle Crucis abbey;

——— On the brink of DEVA's wandering flood,  
Your rich arch glimmering through the tangled glade,  
Your gay hills towering o'er yon night of wood,  
Deep in the vale's recesses as you stand,  
And desolately great, the rising sigh command.

At the distance of less than a quarter of a mile higher up the vale, stands the pillar of Eliseg, a very ancient monument, erected to the memory of Eliseg, the father of Brochmail, prince of Powis, who was slain in the battle of Chester, 607. The ancient inscription is nearly obliterated, but it was copied by Llwyd before it became illegible, and records in Latin, that this stone was raised by Concenn, one of the descendants of Eliseg, in the third degree, who had a seat in this vicinity. This pillar, which is round, and inserted into a massy square pedestal, was originally twelve feet high; but being thrown down in the civil wars, it was broken and lay neglected, till the proprietor of the

land restored what remains of it, and charged it with the subsequent inscription.

Quod hujus veteris monumenti  
Superest  
Diu ex oculis remotum  
et neglectum  
Tandem restituit  
T Lloyd  
de Trevor Hall.  
A. D. 1779.

To this gentleman the site belongs, and we have reason to believe that he is duly sensible of the value of his possession.

The naked lime-stone rocks of Eglwyseg, in parallel strata, are seen from this spot as well as from Llangollen, and disfigure a landscape of extraordinary beauty. The summits of the ruins of Dinas Bran are likewise visible, peeping over an intervening hill. These fragments indeed attracted our notice in various directions; but as we were pressed for time, and the ascent to them is fatiguing, while nothing is left to recompense the adventurer for his pains, we were satisfied with distant views. The hill on which the castle stands is of great height, rising into a conical figure from the surrounding vales. Towards the summit, the acclivity on the only accessible side is intersected by trenches, cut out of the solid rock. This fortress must have been of great strength. It is ascribed to the Britons, and in more modern times became the residence of the lords of Gall. Notwithstanding its elevation, we were told, on indisputable authority, that there are two never failing wells within the area of the castle walls.

Drove to Llandysillio hall, the seat of Mr. Jones, an old-fashioned and apparently neglected house, with gardens in a similar taste, with a rapid descent to the Dee; but so delightful is the situation, that the failure of art is overlooked in the beauties of nature. At a moderate expence, this might be rendered one of the most charming residences in Wales. We wished to have gone over the hanging gardens, but we could not see a single soul round the place. While we were looking about us, an enormous mastiff came out, and gave no small degree of alarm to Mrs. —, as he began to jump upon us, and we knew not whether he was in jest or earnest. The poor fellow, however, was wholly in play, and seemed to take a pleasure in attending us, and to carry an umbrella in his mouth, which we were glad to yield up to him at first, in order to conciliate his favour. He was one of the finest and largest dogs of his species I had ever seen, and of himself was a sufficient security against improper intrusion.

Round this seat are extensive woods of birch, the light elegance of whose foliage, and its white bark, harmonize with the surrounding scenery, and produce the happiest effect. At one

point, the Dee was so confined between rocks, that it was passed by a single plank laid across. Its depth, however, was visible from its boiling and turbulent motion through the chasm.

Return to Llangollen, and after taking some refreshment, proceed to visit the cottage, the residence of Lady E. Butler and Miss Ponsonby, which will be remembered as long as the classical muse of Miss Seward, and the praise of romantic friendship, remain. The ascent to it from the town is rather steep, but very practicable for carriages. It stands on a platform, surrounded by an amphitheatre of hills. The cottage in reality deserves its name. Only two rooms are shewn,—the dining-room and the library. Both are adorned with exquisite drawings of scenes in Wales, and round the chimney-pieces are some family miniatures, which were recognised by one of the party, without applying to the old house-keeper who attended us, and who is herself an original at full length. The dining-room is plain and neat, and the side-board corresponded. The cloth was laid for dinner, and we observed that four persons were intended to partake of it. We saw the interesting owners of the place walking in the grounds, attended by a couple of gentlemen; but it was a transient glance, and we had no wish to intrude.

The library is a very elegant apartment, containing a considerable number of expensive modern books on history, travels, and the picturesque. The windows are of painted glass, in a bow form. From one of them, the tower of Llangollen church alone is visible: the other buildings of the town are wholly hid by plantations and the figure of the ground. Dinas Bran castle and the surrounding hills make a conspicuous figure from the grounds. A gravel walk is drawn round the whole with much taste, which, by its varied direction, and the effect of concealment arising from plantations, gives the idea of a much greater extent than the reality. Indeed, though nature has been very favourable, art has been judiciously called in to heighten her charms, and to veil her defects. By planting, every unpleasant object is excluded, and every beauty brought forward to the view.

It would be deemed the highest degree of scepticism to question whether this is the abode of content, tranquillity, and of sweetly harmonized passions and affections. I will not presume to controvert the prevailing opinion, which I hope may be real; but on several grounds I will observe, that seclusion is not happiness, and that the mind which is too much abstracted from external objects, only finds time and opportunity to prey on itself, to recal every unpleasant incident again and again, and to rivet prejudices which a collision with the world would have wholly effaced.

Llangollen being one of the regular stages on the great Irish road, the inn here seems to be in a continual bustle, at least it

was so while we staid; to such a degree indeed, that we could scarcely find a room, or attention of any kind. It would be a profitable speculation for an individual, and a benefit to the public, to erect another inn. The Boniface of the present would likewise gain in manners, what he might lose in money. Competition is the very soul of trade: I hate all monopolies, and to be driven to Hobson's choice—"that or none."

Llangollen has acquired a kind of celebrity, and those who have an interest in the place, should endeavour to keep up that prejudice in its favour, which has hitherto been gratuitously indulged. The streets are narrow and inconvenient, particularly in the vicinity of the Hall, and the houses in general have nothing to recommend them to notice. The environs indeed are charming, but I cannot bestow a single compliment on the town itself. The bridge of four arches, built on ledges of rocks which cross the bed of the Dee, is by some deemed one of the wonders of Wales. Except when swelled by floods, the river runs wholly through the arch nearest the town.

A manufactory for weaving cotton, the first of the kind in this country, and a patent invention, is established here. It is said to be likely to prove injurious to Manchester; but whatever tends to lessen expence, must ultimately be beneficial to the community at large, and therefore deserves encouragement.

Leaving Llangollen at five o'clock, we proceeded to Oswestry, a stage of twelve miles. As we began to ascend from this low-lying town, we had a delightful retrospect, the hills rising very picturesquely in the circumference, particularly Dinas Bran, and only the tops of the chimneys in Llangollen, and a few scattered villas in the environs, which give the place an air of external gentility, falling under our eye, and mixing in the scene. The whole vale of Llangollen, indeed, is thick-studded with villas and cottages, generally occupying the happiest situations. It commences at the town of the same name, and possesses a high degree of fertility and beauty.

The soil now begins to be calcareous, and lime-stone, instead of schistus, abounds. Much lime, indeed, is burnt along the line of the Ellesmere canal, and the white-washed houses again give a cheerful air and a neat appearance, to the face of the country.

Keep the Dee on our left as before, and about three miles from Llangollen, approach the aqueduct of Pontcysylte, over the river Dee, one of the most stupendous works of art that ever was accomplished by man. The Ellesmere canal, which had run parallel with the farther bank of the river, is here carried over the vale by an aqueduct, supported on 18 massy stone pillars, from 130 to 160 feet in height, and distant from each other at the top, about 45 feet. These spring from the bed of the river and the rocks which line its banks, and extend in length,

measuring by the iron work, upwards of 1000 feet. On the top of the pillars is a trough or water-way, wholly composed of plates of cast iron, about twelve feet in width and five and a half in depth. The inside, over which we walked, as the water was not yet admitted, is carefully pitched; and the manner in which the immense plates are connected and closed by ledges, bolts, and screws on the outside, fills the mind with wonder as it contemplates the ingenuity of man. Mr. Telford was the engineer, and if this were the only work he had produced, it would deservedly give immortality to his name. An embankment of earth extends about 1500 feet on the south side beyond the iron work, and from its height and solidity it would be a remarkable object in any other situation; but here it is little, compared with the grand part of the undertaking. As I looked over the ballustrades of the iron water-way into the bed of the Dee, I felt how little the individual man is, but how great in the aggregate. In ten years this noble work was completed, under the afore-named engineer, and under the immediate superintendence of Mr. Matthew Davidson.\*

\* This magnificent aqueduct was opened Nov. 26, 1805, with great solemnity. The following inscription is engraved upon the south side of the pier, next to the south side of the river :

The nobility and gentry of  
The adjacent counties,  
Having united their efforts with  
The great commercial interests of this country,  
In creating an intercourse and union between  
ENGLAND AND NORTH WALES.  
By a navigable communication of the three rivers  
SEVERN, DEE, AND MERSEY,  
For the mutual benefit of agriculture and trade,  
Caused the first stone of this aqueduct of  
PONTCYSYLTE,  
To be laid on the 25th day of July, 1795;  
When Richard Myddelton, of Chirk, Esq. M. P.  
One of the original patrons of the  
ELLESMERE CANAL,  
Was Lord of this Manor;  
And in the reign of our Sovereign  
GEORGE THE THIRD;  
When the equity of the laws, and  
The security of property,  
Promoted the general welfare of the nation;  
While the arts and sciences flourished  
By his patronage, and  
The conduct of civil life was improved  
By his example.  
The navigation over this aqueduct,  
Was opened 26th of November, 1805.

In the environs of Pontcysylte, the side of the hill opposite to us and the adjacent vale, are so thickly planted with houses, continually increasing, that we should have imagined ourselves in the immediate neighbourhood of some very populous and extensive city.

A mile or two beyond this, we saw another aqueduct of the same canal, but of far inferior dimensions. Indeed, for some miles from Llangollen, interesting objects are continually presenting themselves; among these, Trevor hall, Wynnstay, and Chirk castle ought to be particularized; but the aqueduct of Pontcysylte excites undivided attention, and makes other works of art appear diminutive and common.

Quit the course of the Dee, which had accompanied us for so many miles, and enter a rich champaign, which, contrasted with the mountainous regions, amongst which we had so long been travelling, was equally delightful to the eye and to the heart, as it gave us certain presages that we were approaching England, which is the only desirable country to live in, and from its superior accommodations, the most agreeable to travel in likewise.

Chirk, the last village in Wales on this road, is extremely pleasant, and contains several houses of entertainment for travellers, apparently more comfortable than any in Llangollen. Immediately beyond this, we enter Shropshire, and passing over a continuation of fertile fields on a smooth and level road, drive through the little village of Gobowen, and soon arrive at Oswestry.

In the latter part of this stage, some hills rose in the distance on the right; but the prevailing features of the country were cultivation, riches, and beauty.

The women, though on the very verge of Wales, contrary to the prevailing costume of the principality, began to wear bonnets instead of black beaver hats; and we could perceive that their features were softer and less marked than those of the female mountaineers. The human face seems to partake of the nature of the country. Strong and harsh features mark the natives of elevated tracks, mild and regular, the inhabitants of low and level countries. The former too are generally lean, the latter plump and smooth.

Oswestry is a pretty large and respectable town, containing about 2700 inhabitants. The houses are built in a good style, with brick, covered with blue slates. The general appearance of the place indicates trade and opulence. Considerable quantities of the Welsh woollens are sold here. The church is a fine edifice; and the castle, of which only the remains of the keep are now to be seen, occupies a commanding situation over the town, of which there is a good bird's eye view from its summit.

There are several good inns in Oswestry. We dined and slept at the Cross Keys, and found it comfortable, and the charges moderate. I had some reason to think highly of the honesty of the principal waiter. In the house I lost a pair of gloves, which I believe were picked up by a servant belonging to a carriage which was setting out just as ours arrived; but having been put under the care of the waiter, with other articles of much more consequence, the poor fellow seemed quite distressed, and I was obliged to quiet his mind, by assuring him that no suspicion rested on him.

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FROM OSWESTRY TO MONTGOMERY, THROUGH WELSHPOOL.

*July 28.* **A**NXIOUS to reach Montgomery (which we had fixed as a corresponding station, and where, according to previous arrangements, we hoped to have rested this day,) after breakfast, we were ready to start for Welshpool, distant fifteen miles; but heavy showers of rain kept us reluctantly from proceeding, for upwards of two hours. At length the sky clearing a little, we mounted our vehicle, and travelled over a fertile but picturesque country, producing all kinds of grain in abundance. Noticed several fields of excellent turneps; but except in this kind of crop, which has generally vanquished prejudice, we observed very few of the modern improvements in agriculture. The hay was chiefly carried in this vicinity; and from the late showery weather, the aftermath looked very promising, as indeed it had done in most places where the ground was cleared.

The soil here is a loamy gravel, with much limestone in the hills, of which we saw many quarries on the right of the road, with kilns, and rail-ways to carry the lime to the cut which forms a junction between the Montgomery and Ellesmere canals.

Pass through the village of Pwll-y-cwrw, and between that place and Llanymynach caught a view of the Wrekin, and called to recollection the popular toast in this country. The Wrekin indeed was the only boundary to our prospect over a flat, well-wooded, and fertile vale of many miles, through which the Severn winds its quiet course. In front, but at some miles distance, rose the Long or Breiddyn mountains, precipitous and rocky, which reminded us that we were re-entering Wales. On the top of the highest ridge we saw Rodney's Pillar, at this point a diminutive object, but which was long in view.

At Llanymynach there is an insulated part of Denbighshire; and near the same spot Montgomeryshire and Salop also meet. A shower delayed us here, under the shelter of some trees, and during its continuance, we were amused with the curious inquisitiveness of a man who, having served as a soldier in Ireland,

and imagining that we came from that country, had many questions to ask, and many observations to make. Here too we noticed "a man of many callings," who beat Dicky Gossip hollow, if we may believe his sign, which ran thus: BROUGHTON, MERCER, DRAPER, GROCER, AND IRONMONGER—FUNERALS FURNISHED—DEALER IN HATS, TEA, AND COFFEE, &c.—N. B. NEAT KITCHEN GRATES AND TRAIN OIL.

This is no bad specimen of shop-keeping in Wales, where one person deals in all kinds of commodities, and seldom has more than a sample of each, and frequently the most common articles are not to be procured. Even in a large town, of some note as a bathing-place, and which is likely to take the lead in this respect on the Cambrian shores, a friend of mine assured me, that having had the misfortune to lose his spectacles, he was obliged to send to England for another pair; and till they arrived, was glad, when he wanted to read or write, to borrow the housekeeper's glasses, who was frequently idle till he had done.

Cross three rivers, or branches of the same river, within the space of a few hundred yards, by unsafe and uncertain fords, particularly when the water is high. The last was the Wyrnwy, a river famous for the variety and quantity of its fish: it falls into the Severn at no great distance. Bridges here appear absolutely necessary, but even direction-posts for fording are but thinly scattered. In this whole stage indeed, we had to complain of the execrable badness of the roads, which were scarcely passable in a carriage. Direction-posts, where roads intersect each other, or branch off laterally, are also much wanted, especially where no houses are near to obtain information.

At one place in this stage, being wholly uncertain which of two roads to take, we asked an old woman, which was the road to Pool? "They both lead to Pool." Which is the nearest? "There is little difference." Which do carriages generally take? "Either and both." Which would you recommend? "That which you please." These laconic and unsatisfactory answers she gave with an incivility of manner which we had never before witnessed in Wales; and we were then left to our choice, which accidentally proved right.

Pass through Llandisylllo, a small village, and cross the Montgomery canal at intervals, or drive by its side, the greatest part of this remaining stage.

From the New Quay on the Severn, where there appears much bustle of business, Rodney's Pillar on Moel-y-Golfa, a high peak of the Breiddyn mountains, is seen to great advantage. This was erected at the expence of the neighbouring gentlemen, to commemorate the victory of that gallant officer over Count de Grasse in 1782. It stands upwards of a thousand feet above

the level of the plain, and commands a landscape of great extent and variety. The Breiddyn hills consist principally of a coarse argillaceous schistus, mixed with calcareous spar, and in some places with small rhomboidal chrystals.

At the New Quay, we saw several large barges filled with wood, &c. lying in the Severn, which flowed on our left. Higher up, it is not navigable for vessels of any burden; and at this point, it may still be considered as a moderate stream, though much increased from what we found it in its infancy, at Llanidloes.

From this spot, about four miles to Welshpool, the country becomes more picturesque; and the hills, which are of a moderate elevation, are cultivated a great way up, and formed a kind of semicircle round us, as we advanced to the end of our stage. Thunder showers had overtaken us more than once in this drive, and it was with more than common pleasure we reached the Royal Oak at Welshpool, a very respectable and well-conducted inn.

The town is large and populous, containing nearly 3000 inhabitants. It lies in a fertile vale, about a mile from the banks of the Severn, and though somewhat irregular in its plan, has many good brick houses, covered with slates. The church is a decent modern building, standing on the road-side as we enter from Oswestry; but being built on a declivity, part of the cemetery is nearly as high as the roof. The market-house is the only other public edifice that deserves notice. It is built near the centre of the town, which may be said to consist of four principal streets, though they do not exactly meet at right angles. Much trade is carried on here, particularly in flannels, and an air of opulence pervades the whole.

At the inn, we found a sumptuous dinner, provided by a major of volunteers, for the officers under his command. The preparations had been so ample, that several excellent dishes were spared for our table, which was spread in an adjoining room. Hospitality is proverbial in Wales; and from the specimen before us, we were satisfied that they knew how to conduct public dinners with as much taste and elegance as in England. Not the least noise, however, was heard in the mess-room: all was order and quiet, for not less than four hours after the cloth was removed, though it is probable they were offering their libations to Bacchus, and in fancy hurling the arrows of Mars.

In various parts, indeed, of Wales, we had witnessed the martial spirit of the natives; and on any crisis of danger, I am confident they will not be found to have degenerated from the high character of their ancestors.

That the volunteering system, however, has been carried too far, both in England and Wales, few I believe will deny, who look beyond the surface of things. Volunteers ought to have been limited to such as equipped themselves, and gave their services gratuitously, instead of holding out premiums for idleness and insubordination. What a farce the generality of volunteer corps are, and how impossible it is to enforce discipline by captains, majors, and lieutenant-colonels taken from behind counters, and from low professions, must be evident to every unprejudiced person. I remember seeing a volunteer corps in England, at a place which shall be nameless, commanded by a snuffing, shuffling, poor trapstick-legged fellow of a captain, a hack clerk in an attorney's office, who, on finding fault with his men for not marching in due order, and telling them they should always have an *object* to look at, jeeringly bade him go before them, and then they would be sure of an *object to look at*. A loud laugh attested the wit and the pun of the remark; and poor Captain Spindleshanks could not again hold up his head, for some time.

After dinner, we took a chaise from the inn to Powis Castle, the rain still threatening too much to render walking prudent, though the distance is barely a mile. The park lies close to the town, and is excellently wooded. It contains many picturesque features and striking views. The road is tastefully conducted to the castle, which is seen and lost again in the approach. On reaching it, however, we were much disappointed with the exterior, and the internal parts did not answer our expectations. It is built of a reddish coloured stone, the mortar or cement still more red, and thus the whole edifice appears of brick at a very small distance. It wants both the majesty and magnitude of an ancient castle, and the elegance and comfort of a modern erection. On the ground-floor, the apartments are gloomy to an uncommon degree. The dining-room is so dark, that in dull weather candles appear necessary even in summer; and to heighten the sombre impression it gave us, the hatchments of departed possessors are suspended opposite to its windows. Never was a *memento mori* more conspicuously displayed.

The state bed-room reminded me of "the marble slumbers of the tomb." I should have considered it as a prison, instead of a place of repose. The saloon and the library, however, are really delightful rooms. The landscape from the former may class with the finest in Wales. It embraces an extensive view over the rich woody vale of the Severn, backed by the Breiddyn hills, which displayed their whole contour at once, under the influence of a declining sun. The terrace from below is a noble though an antiquated appendage, and is worthy of any seat.

Visited the gallery, a noble apartment, detached from the mansion, and containing sixty or seventy pictures, some of them by the first masters, among whom we may enumerate Poussin, Claude, Bassano, Vleiger, Canaletti, Cuyp, Carlo Dolce, &c. The Virgin and Child by the last-named artist have great sweetness of composition. Several of the paintings, however, possess no superior merit, and they are not disposed with much taste. They are either too few in number, or the gallery is too large. Three owls by Rubens, the only picture by that great master in the collection, would probably, at a common sale, fetch less than as many Norfolk turkies.

An ancient painting in fresco, from the ruined city of Pompeii, is a great curiosity. In other respects, it is too much injured to allow us to judge of its merit.

In an adjoining closet is a model of an elephant, covered with a coat of mail, composed of small steel plates and chains, a work of great ingenuity and expence. Two Indians, in their proper costume, are seated on his back. This was brought from India by the late Lord Clive, whose picture by Dance is seen in the gallery.

Returning to the inn, we settled our bill; and prepared to proceed to Montgomery, about eight miles farther, before we took up our lodging for the night.

A little way from Welshpool, Powis Castle, on whose history and revolutions I shall refrain from entering, appears to great advantage, and had we not approached it nearer, we should from this point of view have been led to conclude that its dimensions were much superior to what they really are.

The present worthy and noble owner has not resided here for any length of time, since it came into his possession; and who that enjoys such a lovely situation as Walcot, would prefer Powis Castle, notwithstanding its celebrity and its landscapes?

Proceed over a fine level country, surrounded by an amphitheatre of distant hills. Cross the Severn by a commodious bridge, and gaining the summit of a long ascent, look back over the vale we were about to leave with wonder and delight. Sabrina at once adds to its fertility and its beauty.

Pass through the village of Forden, on the right of which caught a view of Nanteribba, the seat of Viscount Hereford; and crossing the Camlet river, by a sweetly undulating road, reach Montgomery, which shewed its ruined castle, and an ancient British fortification on a superior eminence in the same direction, at a considerable distance as we approached.

Much rain had fallen during the course of the day; and the roads in consequence became heavy and unpleasant, though evidently in much better condition, and kept in better repair, than

what we had travelled over in the morning. Though Sunday, when it would be singular in England to see the labour of agriculture carrying on, we noticed, in the course of this drive, a farmer very busily employed in carrying and ricking his hay. No doubt labourers are often worse employed on the day which ought to be devoted to divine service; but still there is an indecency in carrying on secular employments in such a public manner,—at least we felt it such.

In proportion as we had been longer absent from our respective homes, our anxiety to receive letters increased; and immediately on our arrival at Montgomery, we sent to the post-office, and found the expected gratification awaiting us.

The Dragon, the only inn of the place, is ill suited for business, being huddled up in a corner, and difficult to approach; but it is conducted with care and civility, and more on the plan of an English than a Welsh house of entertainment. It has even the appendage of a coffee-room, which appears to be pretty well attended by the inhabitants; at once a proof of their taste and sociability. Several London papers are taken in here, and, by a liberal regulation, they may be read by strangers, when not immediately wanted by subscribers.

#### FROM MONTGOMERY TO BISHOP'S CASTLE.

*July 29.* **W**EARY of the showery and uncertain weather which had for some days attended our progress, and this morning holding no better promise, we had little inducement to rise so early as usual, and accordingly we indulged in bed till after eight. The coffee having a very peculiar flavour, I jocularly asked the waiter if beans did not grow in great quantities round Montgomery: "Yes, Sir," said he, "it is famous for them." "I thought so,—you manufacture them into coffee, do you not?" The poor fellow was confused, and protested we were drinking the best coffee which the town afforded; and I really believe he spoke the truth.

After breakfast, visited the remains of the castle. The ascent from the town is easy, but on the opposite side, the rock on which it is built rises almost perpendicularly from the plain, and renders the approach inaccessible. Though it must have been an august pile, a few mouldering fragments of the keep, and some pieces of broken walls in the circumference, alone attest its former magnificence. The situation is highly commanding, and from this spot we looked over an expanse of rich and well cultivated land, equal to any in England. Scarcely an acre of waste is to be seen. All kinds of corn and pulse are produced here;

and the sheep, cattle, and horses, are of a much larger breed than we had lately observed.

Montgomery castle appears to have been built at an early, but indeterminate period. It was besieged by the Welsh and completely ransacked in 1094, which is the first authentic account that has reached us of this fortress. After various fortunes, it was taken by the parliamentary forces in 1644, and afterwards dismantled. From its materials, many of the present houses in the town have been built.

On the hill which covers this on the south, are the remains of a stupendous British post, the approach to which is strongly guarded by fosses and breast-works. Concerning this, however, history is silent.

From visiting this spot, we proceeded to the church, a large cruciform structure, with a tower and a good ring of bells, seated on an eminence, almost opposite to the castle, and divided from it by a part of the town and the turnpike-road, by which we had entered the place. It contains nothing remarkable, except a monument to the memory of Richard, the son of the first lord Herbert of Cherbury, who died in 1577. It happened to be a visitation and confirmation of the bishop of Hereford, in whose diocese Montgomery lies; and we had thus an opportunity of seeing many of the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages assembled together, and anxiously pressing forward to receive their diocesan's blessing. There was something interesting in the scene, and it reached the heart. As long as impressions of religion are kept alive, some degree of happiness, under every external circumstance, and in every situation, will be felt and enjoyed; but remove the hopes of a better world and the consolations derived from futurity, and this life will immediately lose its value. The happy will have no security; the miserable will be bereft of support.

Little of the Welsh physiognomy was to be observed in this assemblage; but beauty of face and elegance of form were still less conspicuous, than they would have been in an equal number of the natives of several of the English counties.

Montgomery is pleasantly situated in the hollow of an eminence, on the north side of a steep hill. It is clean, and, round the market-place, not inelegant. It is chiefly built of brick, covered with slates; and many pretty cottages occupy the most agreeable spots in the environs, the residences of persons of moderate fortune, who, allured by the former cheapness of living in Wales, have taken up their abodes here\*. In very few ar-

\* Montgomery derives its name from Roger de Montgomery, Earl of Shrewsbury, who, in 1092, entered Powis-land, and took this place, then  
TOUR IN WALES.]

ticles, however, does the advantage of residing in Wales preponderate over England, especially on the line of the great roads; and to give up society and an easy intercourse with the rest of the world, are sacrifices which, in my opinion, are too great to be made for trifling considerations. Economy may be practised any where; and without it, every situation will be nearly the same. In remote situations, indeed, luxuries, and even many comforts, are not to be purchased. This may be a saving to the improvident; but to be able to command, even if we do not wish to enjoy, is natural to man, and he gives up much, when he voluntarily relinquishes the privilege.

About half a mile from the town, stands Lymore lodge, one of the seats of Earl Powis, whose arms appear on the market-house of Montgomery.

For the last three stages we had been attended by men-waiters, a proof that we were leaving the regions of nature and simplicity. The strings of the harp too had ceased to vibrate, which, after hearing Pritchard at Bangor Ferry, were no longer inviting. There are indeed but few good harpers remaining in Wales, and it is probable that in another century, this national music will nearly be lost.

Many horses are bred in Montgomeryshire, and sold to English drovers. It was an observation of the servant who attended us, that almost all the persons who were collected here from 17 parishes, were carried on mares, which not being so salable, are retained for breeding and use. Great numbers of sheep are also kept in this country; the hills being downy and verdant, and extremely well adapted for the pasturage of these useful animals. From their fleeces considerable quantities of flannels are manufactured, which are principally sent to Welshpool, and from thence to Shrewsbury.

Towards noon, the weather clearing up, we set out for Bishop's Castle, distant nine miles. In travelling over this space, we saw much hay lying on the ground, and some still uncut. The crops of corn and pulse looked very luxuriant in this track, and in a few places, we noticed hemp and flax. It should not be concealed, however, that though the lands are naturally fertile, they are ill managed in general; and in one place we observed whole fields devoted to the rearing of thistles, which, if not eradicated, will in time overspread the farms of more careful and industrious managers. Wherever thistles are suffered to grow, it is a proof at once of bad husbandry and low rents. Yet I

called Trefaldwin or Baldwin's Town, from a deputy in the service of William the Conqueror. The county lies in three dioceses, St. Asaph, Bangor, and Hereford, and extends about 40 miles in length by 37 in breadth.

was told that land lets on an average at a guinea an acre; and in the neighbourhood of Bishop's Castle, whole farms, in some situations, are worth 30s. per acre. Pieces of grass-lands near that town fetch four or five guineas; but in giving such a rent, the occupier is guided rather by convenience than by the real value.

Taking a retrospective view of Montgomery, the shattered fragments of its castle in the back ground, and the tower of the church ranging in front amidst lofty trees, which concealed the inferior buildings, formed a highly picturesque scene, which we regretted that we had not leisure to sketch. Some future tourist may perhaps avail himself of this hint.

Passing the Court-House, now converted into a farm, we took the new-made road; but instead of an improvement, we found it worse than the old one could possibly have been. A heavy toll, however, is exacted from travellers before we quit it, about a mile from Bishop's Castle; though in its present state there ought to be a premium for passing this way.

The road during this stage generally runs along the plain, or on the right of the low hills which accompanied our progress. The character of the country was now wholly changed: the vales had become expanded champaigns, and the hills, though presenting an indented and undulating outline, were verdant and cultivated to their very summits.

Bishop's Castle is a borough town, governed by a bailiff and burgesses, who seem inclined to think for themselves in the choice of representatives, or reluctantly submit to influence. It receives its name from its having been formerly a castle or residence of the bishops of Hereford; and an elegant octagonal bowling-green is formed on the site where the episcopal abode once stood. This is an appendage to the Castle Inn, a very comfortable house, and well accustomed.

The town stands on the side of a hill, at the bottom of which rises the church, a stately pile. It was formerly of much greater extent; but being destroyed by a fire, it has never recovered its consequence or population. This accounts for the awkward position of the church, which no doubt was once in the centre of the buildings.

In the vicinity are the extensive plantations and house of Lord Clive, now Earl Powis. On the town-hall are the Herbert arms. This may be a proper compliment to the principal contributor to a public building, but it always strikes me as a mark of vassalage, which it might be politic to conceal.

At this place, I found a pleasing instance of recollection from a servant of the inn, who had many years ago been in my employment. It has always been a leading maxim with me, that

as God only knows where or in what situations persons may meet, it is incumbent on them to be kind, and to behave well to each other. Here I had an illustration of my principle, and a confirmation of its justice. At a distance from home, every attention is dear to the heart of sensibility.

In the evening walked up to the bowling-green, which enjoys a delightful landscape, and found it occupied by a set of loungers, among whom was a gentleman, familiarly stiled *parson* by his associates. The parson seemed a good-natured droll character. He was an athletic, fat, and bulky Cambro-Briton, with much of his native accent; and when he had made a lucky hit, he leaped with the agility of a cow for joy; while “d——n ye, parson! that’s well done!” was vociferated by his play-fellows, and seemed like music to his ears. Tired of exercise, the party at length retired from the scene of action, and enjoyed a refreshing draught of porter, which was ready waiting for them. In this refreshing liquor, it is probable that the losses and winnings of the evening were expended.

After a perambulation of the town, and a visit to the church, we returned, and retired at an early hour to rest.

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FROM BISHOP’S CASTLE THROUGH WALCOT PARK TO  
LUDLOW.

*July 30.* AT one time, we had entertained a design of taking a circuitous route from Bishop’s Castle through Knighton and Presteign in Radnorshire, to Worcester; but on enquiry, we found the roads were unfavourable for a carriage, and, in addition to this inconvenience, we began to be pressed for time. It was therefore finally settled, that we were to proceed directly to Worcester through Ludlow, a town that promised some degree of gratification, from its ancient celebrity, as well as its present character for elegance and beauty.

Accordingly we were up soon after six; and having taken an early breakfast, were in readiness to start before eight; when lo! to our great mortification and disappointment, some repairs to the carriage, which were to have been completed last night, were still unfinished; and we were obliged to wait two hours more before the bungling workmen could finish their job.

The comforts of a carriage indeed are scarcely compensated for, when the numerous inconveniences are taken into the account. The most independent mode of travelling is certainly on foot; but as few have health or strength for an undertaking of this kind, carried to any length, the most pleasant and satisfactory way of making a tour, is undoubtedly on a safe and quiet horse, adapted to the country through which we are to pass.

I would therefore advise persons who are traversing Wales, to purchase a sure-footed Welsh poney as soon as they enter the country, and to perform that part of their journey which lies through England in the regular stages. They may thus gain time for their researches in the principality, and be exempted from the delays and fatigues incident to any other plan of journeying.

Every thing being at last arranged, we set out for Ludlow, distant 17 miles by the regular road, but by the route we took through Walcot Park, not less than 19. For the first time during the last ten days, we had the pleasure of seeing a clear sky and a brilliant sun; and soon entering the delightful domain of Walcot, enjoyed all the beauties of the scenery. This was the residence of Lord Clive before he became heir to the Powis estates, and received the additional honour of that title; and it still is the place where he spends the greatest part of his time. It well deserves the preference he gives it. Extensive woods and plantations decorate the adjacent hills, which at no remote period must have been destitute of wood; and the park, which contains many hundred acres, is likewise replete with sylvan beauties, charmingly diversified by nature, and amply stocked with deer.

A fine sheet of water, resembling a river, is advantageously seen on the left as we approach the mansion, a square brick fabric, with stone corners, and a Doric portico in the front. It stands on a moderate elevation, amidst the most delightful park scenery and agreeably diversified views over a rich and fertile country.

Quitting the park, we regained the turnpike-road; and passing through Basford and Newton-Whettleston, at which last-named place is an excellent inn, erected by Earl Craven, we soon reached Stoke Castle, where we halted to examine its remains.

The castle, as it is called, is situated about a quarter of a mile from the road, and is approached on foot, by crossing the church-yard. I am unacquainted with its early history, nor could the intelligent and civil farmer who occupies the surrounding land, and has the use of the dilapidated apartments, furnish us with any satisfactory information on the subject. It is the property of Lord Craven, who has extensive estates in this vicinity, and who, with a commendable zeal, prevents this interesting ruin from farther spoliation. Judging from appearances, it probably was a family residence about a century or two back. It is moated round in the antique style; and a very curious gate-house, constructed of wooden frame-work, with curious carvings, leads to the door of a large and lofty hall, the whole height of the building. This apartment is destitute of any signs of a fire-place

or outlet for the smoke, which probably found its way through the centre of the roof, now closed. The window-frames are of stone, in the Gothic taste; and at the upper end of this part of the edifice is an octagonal tower, with a winding stair-case to its top, and this alone bears any marks of the castle having been constructed for the purpose of defence or annoyance.

The Castle farm is of great extent; and the occupier has judiciously adopted the modern improvements in agriculture and breeding. He has introduced the Leicestershire breed of sheep, and the Herefordshire black cattle, with great success. A threshing-machine worked by water, an appendage to this farm, with the assistance of four men, will thresh and clean 100 bushels of wheat in eight hours. What a pity that human strength should so generally continue to be exhausted by labouring with a flail, an implement only fit for savages to use, when threshing-machines may now be had on every principle, and at a price suited to any moderate farm!

The soil is here undoubtedly good, and the land lets on an average at upwards of a guinea per acre. A reddish loam, which on fallows has at a distance the appearance of sainfoin, prevails for many miles; and though the country is agreeably diversified with woods, arable hills, dales, and streams, it presents no bold features to arrest the eye or invite particular description.

Cross the small river Oney, the Corve, and the Teme, and approach Ludlow, whose noble castle, majestic even in ruins, and its venerable and stately church, attracted our notice at some distance, more particularly after passing the beautiful seat of dowager Lady Clive at Oakley Park, a sweet and cheerful residence.

The town of Ludlow stands on an eminence, rising towards its centre in every direction; but is surrounded in the distance by still higher ground, with which it seems to connect. It is washed on two sides by the Teme, over which a handsome wooden bridge on brick arches is thrown. The situation is universally and deservedly admired; and the interior gave us a very favourable opinion of the taste and opulence of the inhabitants, who amount to little less than 4000 persons. Indeed many respectable families reside here; and it is impossible to find a more agreeable residence, within the distance of many miles. For centuries, it has been a place of some consequence, and it is not unworthy of its former celebrity.

The castle, still an object of great interest, was long the residence of the Lords Presidents of Wales. The *Mask of Cornus* was composed by Milton for Lord President Bridgewater, and acted here, about the year 1634. Here too the facetious Butler wrote his *Hudibras*. The ruins of this magnificent pile

cannot be contemplated even at this period without admiration; and I was happy to find, that Lord Powis, the lessee of the Prince of Wales, entertains a due sense of the value of his possession, by saving it from wanton dilapidation. Round the castle, the most charming walks are conducted on terraces, one above another.

The church, dedicated to St. Laurence, is a grand and extensive cruciform pile, with the tower springing from the centre. Its chancel is adorned with windows of painted glass, and its cemetery is very large, but apparently crowded with the silent dead.

Ludlow contains four principal streets, which, without meeting at right angles, have all the advantages of that kind of distribution, divested of its formality. The houses are generally built of brick, and tiled, and the streets are clean and well paved. The want of slating, however, is a considerable drawback on the beauty of the place. Some of the old houses are of framework, painted black, with the interstices white, a stile of building still to be seen in many other places, but rapidly disappearing, as repairs and improvements become necessary. The shops make a handsome appearance; and the inns possess superior accommodations. The manufacture of gloves employs many hands; and much business is done in paper-making and tanning. It is not, however, a commercial town, as many of the inhabitants live on their fortunes.

Fatigued, but not satisfied with viewing the beauties of this place, we sat down to dinner at seven o'clock, and afterwards took a perambulation of a part of the town which we had not previously visited. Here we saw two lofty May-poles, hung from within twelve feet of the ground to the top with garlands of various coloured paper, very tastefully disposed; and on enquiring, we learnt that Whitsun sports are annually celebrated with much glee, by the young people of both sexes. Whitsun ales are not unusual in some other parts of the kingdom; but I never before observed such gay poles, which must have required abundant labour and ingenuity to execute and adorn.

In Ludlow, as might reasonably be expected, there are a reading society, a coffee-room, and a respectable bookseller's shop and printing office, conducted by Mr. Procter, who appears to be a man of taste and information. These circumstances gave me a favourable opinion of the internal state of society, as the *toute ensemble* of the place had impressed me with a predilection for its localities. In the vicinity are various seats, which are said to be worth visiting, particularly Downton Castle, the residence of R. P. Knight, one of the representatives for the borough, a gentleman of taste and erudition, though his talents have not always been directed to objects worthy of them.

FROM LUDLOW TO WORCESTER, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF  
THE YOUNG ROSCIUS.

*July 31.* **H**AVING established it as a rule to plan our daily progress over night, and to adhere to it, as far as circumstances would permit, it was agreed on in our conclave, to reach Worcester to dinner, a journey of thirty-two miles, and to make Tenbury our first stage before breakfast, a distance of nine miles.

Being ready before my friends, and hearing the bells ringing for prayers at six o'clock, I went into the church, and inspected its curiosities. The painted glass is in the best style of colouring; but the designs, which never could have possessed much merit, are farther deteriorated by broken panes, whose loss has been supplied by common glass.

The most ancient monument, is that to the memory of Ambrosia Sidney, who died in Ludlow castle in 1574. Several others of more modern date are erected in different parts of this sacred edifice, but not one of them is distinguished for elegance or beauty.

The interior of the church is handsomely fitted up, and is extremely capacious. An elegant organ is erected over the entrance into the chancel. The pillars which support the central tower are of massy size, as such an enormous weight requires.

A few old men and women, perhaps not exceeding twelve in all, composed the congregation. I fear that too frequent service in the church tends to lessen the veneration of the people for this sacred duty. Where prayers are read thrice a day, it is too frequently considered as a routine business, both by the minister and his flock.

Starting from the inn before seven, and leaving the town with some degree of regret, passed on our right Ludford park, the seat of Colonel Charlton, a delightful residence, and, taken with its accompaniments, inferior to few in this vicinity. The whole country is finely wooded and agreeably diversified, but possesses no commanding features.

Near Ashford, for the first time in our tour, observed a hop ground, and soon after several others. The plants looked black and blighted; and it was justly apprehended the crops would be short, and indifferent in quality.

In the orchards, few apples were to be seen; and only a thin

sprinkling of pears. The wheat looked thin: other crops were pretty good. Much hay still lay on the ground, owing to the late showery weather. Observed lime plentifully spread on some fallows. The land, however, did not seem to require rest, were it managed on a judicious system.

Crossed the Teme again, and in one or two places saw the Stourport canal running nearly parallel to the road.

Little Hereford, a village in the county of that name, about six miles from Ludlow, seems to have quarrelled with its church, which stands amidst fields of grass, without a single house near it, which could not have originally been the case. There is something singular in this disunion.

Passed through the village of Burford, in the neighbourhood of which are some handsome villas. The country here has a cultivated aspect.

Reach Tenbury to breakfast. The Swan Inn, where we stopt, stands on the road-side; but the little town lies beyond the bridge over the Teme; and the church, which has a tolerable tower, occupies a station to the westward.

From the windows of the room where we were sitting, observed several washerwomen employed in their vocation, by the side of the Teme, which spreads out here into a kind of ford, and has a gravelly bottom. They dipped the linen and tossed it about in the running water, and then laying it folded, on an inclining block of wood, beat it with flat beetles, repeating this operation till it was cleansed to their satisfaction. A large tub, filled with lye and soap, stood by their side, and out of it they drew the clothes as they were wanted for washing. This operation was something similar to the Welsh washing, already noticed at Treacastle. In England the practice is not so general as it deserves to be; and I mention this for the comfort of those who can avail themselves of a running stream, and thus save their houses from the annoyance which the *ladies* of the *tub* never fail to occasion.

Proceeding on our journey, we had the river Teme on our right for some way; but crossing it at Newnham, soon after deserted its course.

Pass Lydridge, whose church, standing on a bold elevation, attracted our notice some time before we reached it, particularly its lofty spire, an appendage that had rarely met our view, in the preceding part of our tour. In Wales, the churches have seldom more than a steeple sufficient to hold one bell. The superior edifices of this kind are furnished with towers of different forms; but after passing Crickhowell, we do not recollect seeing a single spire, till we came to this place.

Near Stockton, the Malvern hills begin to shew their lofty  
TOUR IN WALES.] U

ridge over the intervening eminences; and as we gained the summit of Abberley hill, we were delighted to look down on the rich and extensive vale of Worcester, and marked the cathedral of that elegant city, proudly towering over the surrounding buildings.

The intense heat of the sun wholly overcame us. I never felt more inconvenience from this cause; and when we reached the Hundred House, the party in general was ready to sink with lassitude and fatigue. Our horses too were quite worn out; and instead of stopping to bait here, which was our original intention, we resolved to dine, and to wait till the cool of the evening; anxious as we were to get to Worcester, where we were given to understand young Roscius was to perform this very evening.

While deliberating what plan we had best pursue, the landlord of the Hundred House, a neat and comfortable inn, informed us, as a matter of curiosity, that young Betty, with his father and mother, a little sister and her nurse, were at that very instant dining in the next room.

This intelligence gratified us extremely; and it was not long before we saw the wonderful boy running about the inn-yard, with all the playful vivacity and indifference natural to his age. His looks spoke intelligence, and his whole appearance was prepossessing, but gave no indications of those extraordinary theatrical talents; which the public voice has long allowed him to possess.

The whole country for many miles round Worcester, was in motion, though he had already played several nights there. Places had been engaged some days before each representation; and there was not the smallest probability that we, as strangers, and who must of necessity arrive after the curtain rose, could have any chance of gaining admission. In this dilemma, I resolved to make a push beyond what ordinary forms would sanction, by writing and sending in a note, stating our situation, and requesting the interest of Roscius, if possible, to get us accommodated with places. I was the rather encouraged to take this step, as I was sure my name could not be unknown to him; and because I felt that all persons who are candidates for public favour, though in different ways, ought to have a mutual alliance, and hence a mutual desire and interest in serving and obliging each other.

Mr. Betty, sen. as spokesman for his son, in the handsomest manner, promised to apply to the manager of the theatre in our behalf, immediately on his arrival; and as his chariot was ready to start, he was sure to be at Worcester, full two hours before us.

We lost no time, however, in following him, that we might

be able to avail ourselves of this introduction, so fortunate and yet so fortuitous.

The Hundred House stands on the Ludlow and Worcester road, where it is crossed by another leading to Kidderminster and Broomyard, in an excellent situation for business. The landlord possesses great urbanity of manners, and a studious desire to oblige. He informed me that the greatest part of the land in this neighbourhood was the property of Lord Foley, and that it let on an average about a guinea per acre, which apparently is very reasonable. Comparing, however, the richness of the soil, a reddish loam embedded in clay, with the thin staple in several counties through which we had passed, we were surprised to find more indifferent crops of wheat here than in any other track we had lately seen. Indeed, throughout the greatest part of the vale of Worcester, the soil is much better adapted to fruit, hops, beans, &c. than to autumnal wheat; but it seems probable that spring wheat would answer very well. We observed another peculiarity in the district through which we were now travelling. In Wales, and on its frontiers, oaks are the prevailing timber, with scarcely an elm to be seen; but here, elms of the largest size and beauty began to embellish the hedge-rows, and to line the road.

From the Hundred House to Worcester is a stage of eleven miles. The only seat we particularly noticed in this drive was Whitley Court, Lord Foley's, which was evidently undergoing great alterations and improvements. We were told that among other suitable additions, a noble library-room was fitting up; an appendage which no man of rank or fortune can now be without, if he possesses, or wishes to be thought to possess, taste or genius; and that the hall and dining-room were likewise completing in the first style of modern elegance.

Whitley is very delightfully situated amidst luxuriant woods and plantations, commanding an extensive landscape over the beautiful and fertile vale of Worcester. The church is a stately pile, but stands so close to the house, that from some points of view it seems to belong to it.

Various other agreeable seats at intervals caught our attention as we approached Worcester, which we entered by a noble bridge over the Severn; here a deep and wide river, compared with what we had seen it before.

On our arrival at the Hop-pole inn, we had the satisfaction to find, that though more than one family had been refused admission for want of room, the landlord was ready to receive and lodge us, in the best manner that circumstances would allow. He did more: he ran to the theatre while we were dressing; and soon returned with the pleasing intelligence, that Mr. Betty had

interested himself in our favour with the manager, and that places were reserved for us in one of the stage-boxes.

The play, which was *Tancred and Sigismunda*, had begun before we entered ; but on being conducted to our box through the crowd, we not only found plenty of room, but at the same instant had the pleasure of seeing the young *Roscius* on the stage in the character of *Tancred*, in a very interesting scene. It is impossible to do justice to his merit as an actor in every particular : suffice it to say, that his performance far exceeded our most sanguine expectations, highly as they had been raised ; and that the contrast between the playful boy of thirteen whom we had so lately seen, and the noble and spirited *Tancred*, was the greatest that could possibly be conceived.

In the more impassioned parts, he rose to all the dignity of tragic art, and in the frantic scene especially, he was terribly great. I confess I did not dare to look at him towards its close ; but I saw the impression he made ; and I never witnessed a more feeling attention in any audience. Every breast was agitated ; and pity, admiration, delight, and horror seemed alternately portrayed in every face.

The most rapturous bursts of applause followed ; and they were the spontaneous and unsophisticated tribute to unrivalled excellence.

I do not pretend to enter into a critical examination of the beauties and defects of Master *Betty's* performance ; but I cannot refrain from remarking, what in my opinion constitutes his principal merit. His action is wholly his own, neither borrowed, nor acquired by study ; but the effect of natural taste, of great susceptibility of heart and promptness of conception. In impassioned scenes his voice is sonorous and commanding, though somewhat hoarse ; but his under tones are the sweetest and most distinct I ever heard. Not a word in his recitation is lost ; not a lapse of memory ever occurs. He appears engaged in a real scene, and is utterly lost to the audience, and to every thing not immediately connected with his part.

Yet no sooner is he off the stage (and we had an opportunity of seeing him behind the scenes,) than he resumes his boyish manner, and is just what he ought to be.

Candour obliges me to observe farther, that in some particular passages the young *Roscius* appears more tame than custom and the general practice of the best actors seem to warrant ; but he never suffers attention to flag ; and before we can justly say that he is negligent, he rises into all the sublimity of tragic pathos.

This transition, which is dictated by nature, is undoubtedly an eminent beauty in his performance. Uniform elevation and

vociferation is not the language of passion. The storm for a moment is hushed, only to collect its force; and the mind, under the influence of strong emotions, in like manner ebbs and flows.

But it is not only on the stage that the young Roscius is entitled to applause. We heard some instances of generosity and feeling which he had shewn at Worcester, a place where his family is not unknown, that would have done credit to the best heart and the amplest fortune.

The house was crowded to an extreme degree; and though the young actor was to receive 100*l.* a night for eight nights, there can be little doubt that the manager put as much more clear profit into his pocket from this engagement.

Notwithstanding we had so much room, the heat was so excessive, that when we retired after the play, we were literally in a bath. Numbers were obliged to withdraw, unable to stand the heat and pressure, and who probably were satisfied with a sight of this phenomenon, without hearing him articulate a sentence.

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#### FROM WORCESTER TO BROADWAY.

*August 1.* **F**ATIGUED with the various exertions of yesterday, we indulged in sleep longer than usual, except Mr. —, one of our friends, who bade us adieu the preceding evening, and early this morning proceeded to rejoin his family at Bath. This diminution of our party was sensibly felt, particularly as it was the prelude to a more general separation, which was speedily to take place.

Before breakfast, made a general perambulation of the always loyal and singularly beautiful city of Worcester. It is certainly one of the best built and most agreeably situated cities in the interior of England. The streets are generally spacious, well paved, and lighted; the shops are elegant, and the houses being built of brick, have an air of the metropolis, without its smoke and polluted atmosphere.

The cathedral is a stately pile, and contains some curious monuments. Perhaps one of the finest, and certainly one of the most expressive pieces of sepulchral sculpture in this kingdom, is that erected to the memory of the pious and mildly firm Bishop Hough, whom neither the blandishments nor the frowns of a bigotted king could deter from the path of rectitude and of duty. I never see his monument, and I have visited it frequently, without increased admiration; it does honour to the taste and talents of Roubilliac.

An altar-tomb is likewise erected here over the remains of the tyrannical but pusillanimous king John. A third monument may be particularized: it is that belonging to Arthur, prince of Wales, the eldest son of Henry VII. whose marriage with Catherine of Arragon, afterwards the queen of his brother Henry VIII. was the accidental cause, and served as a pretext for the reformation began by the latter. In the language of poetry,

Fair freedom hence her radiant banner way'd,  
And love aveng'd a realm by priests enslav'd:  
From Catherine's wrongs a nation's bliss was spread,  
And Luther's light from Henry's lawless bed.

After breakfast, inspected the shew-rooms of Messrs. Barr and Co. china-manufacturers, who, on accidentally learning my name, shewed the most flattering attention, and offered to conduct us over their manufactory. This proof of their civility I was obliged to decline for want of time; but was highly gratified with a sight of some beautiful and costly patterns of tea and table services of china, intended for his Majesty and the princess of Wales. They promise to be equal, if not superior, to any thing of the kind ever produced in this country; and indeed when we witness the perfection that English porcelain has reached, and contemplate the incomparable elegance of the paintings with which it is adorned, it must excite surprise that the rude and grotesque figures on foreign china can any longer please, or find purchasers.

A new pattern of table plates, adorned with shells, beautifully painted in their centre from nature, may be considered as a school in this branch of natural history. It is, indeed, a great advantage to the public, and we hope to the liberal proprietors, that, at this manufactory, coats of arms with mottos, or any other devices or figures, may be had in the finest style of execution. From three to twenty guineas is the price of a common set of tea-equipage.

As we returned from surveying these delightful specimens of art, of which I made a few purchases, we found numbers of people collected near the post-office, in expectation of hearing the rumours confirmed of a victory over the combined fleets of France and Spain, by the squadron under the command of Rear-Admiral Sir Robert Calder. It was not long before the mail arrived, and brought this agreeable intelligence; and if some disappointment was felt that the victory was not complete—for John Bull is never satisfied!—what had been atchieved, under circumstances far from being propitious, was an earnest of more ample success in future on our native element.

The time to which we were limited did not allow us to dine in Worcester, and accordingly we proceeded on our journey towards Pershore, a stage of nine miles, over a continuation of the same rich and agreeable country which we had noticed the day before. The soil, however, which had been a reddish loamy clay for many miles, about the sixth mile-stone changed to gravel, and here the wheat evidently began to mend. There is every reason to believe, as I have observed before, that spring wheat would answer better than lammas, in many parts of this district. The latter runs the risk of being chilled during the winter. For beans, the stiff clayey soil is excellently adapted, as was evident from the luxuriant state of the crops. Hops and fruit trees are also the denizens of the soil.

About eight miles from Worcester, the Malvern hills formed a prominent feature in the landscape for some distance, whenever we took a retrospective view; and, indeed, it was long before their summits were wholly lost. They certainly have a nearer resemblance to the Welsh mountains than any in the midland counties of England; and though no mines have yet been discovered in them, that are thought worth working, I cannot help being impressed with a belief, that they contain in their bowels ores of different kinds. They certainly have a very mineral aspect, and traces of this may be seen in various parts throughout their extent.

Fladbury and Bredon hills serve likewise to diversify the face of this part of the country; but champaign prevails in Worcestershire.

Reach Pershore to dinner. It is a long and not ill-built town, and was formerly famous for its abbey, appertaining to which, a large and elegant church still remains, though of diminished size and splendour to what it was in its original state. Another smaller church, almost contiguous, belongs to the town, which appears populous and flourishing.

Resolving to sleep at Broadway, twelve miles distant, we soon resumed our journey, and crossing the Warwickshire Avon near Pershore, saw nothing particularly worthy of remark till we came in sight of Evesham. Just before we skirted that town, for the road does not run through its centre, the Avon again appeared on our left, meandering through one of the richest and best cultivated tracks in the kingdom,—the vale of Evesham, which, under different names, extends many miles.

Passing through Bengworth, which may be considered as a suburb to the rich and populous borough town of Evesham, once famous for its abbey, the curtains of the day began to close; and the principal object that attracted our notice, was Broadway hill, a massy ridge, at the foot of which stands the town or village of

the same name, containing several inns. It is a long, straggling place; but being situated in a good corn country, it is not wholly destitute of attractions.

Here we took up our lodgings for the night, and after a slight repast, retired to bed.

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#### FROM BROADWAY TO BANBURY AND BRACKLEY.

*August 2.* **T**HIS day, which was to break up the party, and to leave me to pursue my journey to London in other company and by a different mode of travelling, was contemplated by us all with various emotions. My friends expected to rejoin their family at dinner, and to reach their home, in which, to the happy, so many sweets and endearments are centred, and which an occasional absence serves only to increase the more. I participated in their feelings, and wished to check my own.

We were early seated in our carriage, and slowly gaining the summit of Broadway hill, along the side of which the road winds to render the ascent more easy; were gratified with a view of Farnham abbey on our left, the occasional residence of Walsh Porter, Esq. which commands more extensive prospects than any habitable place we had seen even in the romantic regions of Wales. The exquisite taste of the possessor is visible in every accompaniment. Though standing a great way up the brow of the hill, it is sweetly sheltered by plantations, disposed in the happiest style. The form of the building is excellently adapted to the situation; and for a summer residence, no place in the kingdom can be more delightful.

On reaching the sign of the Fish, a tower-looking public-house, on the top of Broadway hill, we looked back with rapture over the vale we were about to leave. As far as the eye could reach, and, indeed, farther than it could distinguish objects, the prospect was gorgeous and unconfined; while distant hills, melting into the remote horizon, gave a back ground and a finish to the scene.

From this spot, drive over a hilly flat, and soon come in sight of Lord Coventry's plantations at Spring hill. Along the road, many trees are planted at intervals, which, considering the poverty of the soil, appear to be in a very thriving state, and will soon assist to clothe the nakedness of this steril track. Nothing, indeed, can be more praise-worthy, or more profitable, than thus to render a spot productive, which yielded little to the proprietor, or to the public. The house itself is embosomed in woods; and though the situation cannot be compared to Crome Abbey, another seat of his lordship near Worcester, it

has the effect of pleasing by contrast; and during the best season of the year, must be sufficiently agreeable.

Descend to the pleasant village of Bourton-on-the-Hill, which overlooks an extensive track of country, towards Oxfordshire. Some handsome seats are erected here, among which, is that in the occupation of Sir John Dashwood King, Baronet, who seems to prefer this spot to his own family residence at West-Wycombe, where art and nature have been exhausted to please.

Reach Morton in Marsh, a stage of eight miles, to breakfast. This is a small market-town in Gloucestershire; but contains little for description. It stands in a flat country, and probably in former times, deserved its appellation; though at present we saw no vestiges of marshes in its vicinity. Here we were detained by the rain for some hours. For some days, thunderstorms had been collecting round us, though hitherto we had generally escaped their influence.

At length, the weather clearing up, we travelled on towards Chipping-Norton, passing the four shire-stone, or pillar, about two miles and a quarter from Morton. This is an obelisk of no great height, erected on the spot where the counties of Gloucester, Worcester, Warwick, and Oxford, meet in a single point. It does not stand very near to any house; yet circumstances and situations may be fancied, in which it would be an acquisition, to have such a facility of escaping from one county to another at a single step.

The greatest part of the way from Worcester to Chipping-Norton, we found the roads excellent and kept in good repair; but by some unaccountable neglect, the mile-stones are frequently laid flat on their sides, or where they stand upright, not one in ten is legible. This is a very unpleasant circumstance to the traveller, who loves to see distances, and who certainly pays liberally by means of turnpikes for every accommodation of this kind.

Again visit Chipping-Norton, a neat town, but bleak and forbidding in its aspect; and about a mile farther, halt at Chapel house, one of the largest and most pleasant inns in this part of the kingdom. It has its pleasure-grounds and bowling-green, and more resembles a gentleman's seat than a house of public entertainment.

Here I bade adieu to Mr. and Mrs.\*\*\*\*\*, in whose society I had spent about a month in the most agreeable manner, and for whom I can never cease to entertain the utmost respect, and to breathe for them and family the most affectionate good wishes.

A young gentleman from Oxford, met me here with a couple of horses, one of which I mounted, with an *independent* behind me, and proceeded towards Banbury. Business and pleasure

indeed called me into Northamptonshire; and in company with my new associate, I was to take the opportunity of visiting the University of Cambridge, before I returned to the metropolis.

During this stage, of about twelve miles between Chapel house and Banbury, I was too much lost in thought to pay great attention to surrounding objects, even had they been more inviting than they really were. We passed through the villages of Swerford, Newington, and Bloxham; the latter is pretty large, and has a church with a lofty spire. The whole track is fertile in corn, but little varied.

Arrived at Banbury to dinner. This is a large and populous borough town, returning one member to the Imperial Parliament, and carrying on a very considerable trade in the manufacture of shags, and webbing for horse-girths. It had formerly a castle, of which scarcely a vestige remains. Here in 1469, the Earl of Warwick, at the head of the Lancastrians, defeated the Yorkists, and took Edward IV. prisoner.

The church is a modern fabric, and in its style of architecture resembles a theatre. It is probably more commodious than the Gothic piles, but it is destitute of that solemn gloom which appears to be suited to a place of religious worship.

The situation of Banbury is low; and though it exhibits the bustle of business, and is peopled by many respectable individuals, there is something forbidding in its general aspect, owing to the narrowness and dirtiness of the streets.

Messrs. Cobb, the inventors of the coloured patent paper, have their mills in this vicinity. Their discovery has been eminently successful, and has tended very much to embellish our libraries and book-cases, at a comparatively small expence.

It should farther be remarked, that Banbury has long been famous for *cakes* and *ale*; which a wag turned into *cakes* and *zeal*, alluding to the number of Dissenters who have always nestled here.

Resolving to ride as far as Brackley, in Northamptonshire, to sleep, we left Banbury pretty early in the afternoon, and passing through Warkworth, and some other insignificant villages, in less than two hours reached Brackley, where we bespoke lodgings for the night at the Crown inn, standing about the middle of the town.

Brackley is agreeably situated on the slope and summit of a moderate eminence. It is an ancient borough town, and contains three churches. As this place, however, does not stand on any great public road, it seems to have little business; and therefore more civility is experienced at the inns than is usual where they are corrupted by much custom. It is a singular fact, but every person may verify it by his own observation, that in

all trades and professions those are most attentive who meet with the smallest encouragement. At a great inn or a great shop, you as frequently meet with insolence as civility. People in middling situations are grateful for every attention; the rich and the prosperous claim your favours as their due.

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FROM BRACKLEY THROUGH NORTHAMPTON, TO CASTLE-ASHBY.

*August 3.* **H**AVING promised to spend some days in Northamptonshire, and our ride to the place of destination being extremely moderate for a summer's day, we breakfasted at Brackley, and afterwards setting out, travelled over a level and well cultivated track, rich in corn and pulse.

About the fifth mile-stone towards Towcester, entered Whittlebury forest, through whose delightful shades we passed by the regular turnpike-road, upwards of two miles. It extends, however, much farther to the right and left; produces some fine timber for the navy, and is pretty well stocked with deer. The Duke of Grafton, who has a lodge here, is hereditary ranger.

Arrivè at Towcester, a tolerably pleasant market-town, standing in a flat fertile country, on the great Chester road, and consequently is a busy thoroughfare. The church is a large and respectable looking pile. Boot and shoe-making is a principal employment in Brackley, Towcester, and in Northampton; perhaps also in other towns of this county.

Just beyond Towcester, passed the park, and had a very distinct view of Easton-Neston, the splendid seat of the Earl of Pomfret. Much taste and expence seem to have been employed in the plantations and approaches; but the lake being almost dry, and the improvements connected with it in a very unfinished state, were considerable drawbacks on the beauty of the scene.

Rode through the picturesque village of Blisworth, famous for its wharf and tunnel on the Grand Junction Canal. In passing through this busy place, saw the sun, moon, and stars at mid-day, on a sign. Travellers are in the habit of seeing wonders, and why should not this be recorded, as well as some others which I have seen in books?

About four miles farther, enter the fine town of Northampton, which, gradually rising from the river Nen, covers the side and the top of a considerable eminence. Put up at the George, a very splendid and well-conducted inn, and soon found some friends, who by engagement were to meet me here. The day was excessively hot and sultry, and I felt extremely fatigued. Nevertheless I bustled round the town, and transacted some

necessary business, after which sat down with a small party to dinner.

In the afternoon, from the window of the room where we were sitting, saw the funeral of the Mayor of Northampton pass. - This gentleman had died a few days ago, as he was going down a dance, on a corporation festivity. The awful occasion was not lost on the spectators. The mutability of all human things seemed sensibly felt by the multitude, and the impression on some will probably not be evanescent.

As I was standing at the window looking at this solemn procession, a friend from London hailed me in the street. To meet acquaintances so unexpectedly is always pleasant. I set this incident down among the agreeables of the day. In company with him, took a walk to Queen's Cross, about a mile from the town. It is one of the monuments of Edward's affection for his beloved Eleanor, and is kept in excellent repair. Its form is octagonal, with numerous statues and sculptures. Perhaps it is the most perfect of all the crosses which were erected by a fond husband to a faithful wife. Round this spot Roman coins are frequently found; from whence some have conjectured it to have been the site of the ancient Eltavon.

Returning, we made a perambulation of Northampton, the scene of many memorable transactions. In 1238, some students withdrawing from Oxford, established an university here, and it is said that their numbers at one time amounted to 15,000; but, with that love of liberty which literature never fails to inspire, taking part in the barons' wars against Henry III. when that prince made himself master of Northampton, he determined to hang every one of them and with difficulty was deterred from his purpose. At length, however, he suffered them to retreat to Oxford; and Northampton ceased to be an university.

The market-place here is extremely spacious and elegant, and the public buildings are corresponding to the wealth and consequence of the place. The church of All Saints is a magnificent fabric, with a portico of eight Ionic columns. But the church of the Holy Sepulchre, a rotundo, is still more admired by architectural antiquarians, as there are only three on the same model in the kingdom.

The town-hall is a noble pile; but what pleased me most was the infirmary, which at a distance would be taken for a palace.

Of the castle there are few vestiges, except some surrounding mounds of earth, in which rabbits burrow in peace. What a change!

About six o'clock started for Castle-Ashby, distant about eight miles by the road we took through Little-Billing. Till

we reached that village, the way was direct and sufficiently easy on horseback ; but afterwards we had to cross fields, and open bridle-gates, by paths intricate to strangers, and which indeed we should not have attempted, had we not been under the guidance of friends well acquainted with the country. The Earl of Northampton has a carriage-road to the county town, considerably better, but more circuitous. Yet it must be confessed, that there is no communication between Castle-Ashby and Northampton that would be thought tolerable in almost any other district of the kingdom. The soil of Northamptonshire is rich and deep, and as materials are scarce, little pains seem to be taken in making or repairing the roads. Good roads, however, I class among the chief comforts of life ; and were I placed in a country like this, I would make many sacrifices to accomplish my object ; which, though difficult, is certainly attainable at no extraordinary expence.

Reach the place of our destination about dusk, and spent some days in the most agreeable and social manner, making occasional excursions in the vicinity, and filling up the domestic hours in friendly conversation.

Castle-Ashby, the princely seat of the Comptons, stands in a rich but level country. It is a square building, inclosing a moderate area, with a beautiful screen on one side, the work of Inigo Jones, who probably gave other touches to the edifice.

The drawing-room is uncommonly spacious, but its ornaments are heavy though expensive. The other apartments are in a more modern taste, and are extremely commodious. They are decorated with many family portraits, as well as of other eminent persons. Pennant discovered here, in a garret, the original picture of that hero, John Talbot, first Earl of Shrewsbury, and his countess. The most valuable painting, however, is that of George Villers, duke of Buckingham, after he was stabbed by Felton. It actually personifies death ; and it is impossible to look at it without the mingled sensations of horror and surprise. Never can I forget the impression which the first sight of this picture made upon me.

The pleasure grounds were laid out by Brown ; but a scarcity of water in dry seasons is a diminution of their beauty. The chace woods are of vast extent, and the most splendid appendage any nobleman can possess.

As a lover of botany, however, I was more pleased with Lady Northampton's green-house or conservatory, than with any other accompaniment belonging to Castle-Ashby. It is of great magnitude, and is filled with the choicest plants that the four quarters of the world can produce.

The amiable manners, the domestic and endearing habits of the Compton family, are well known. Here they divest themselves of pomp; and quitting their own splendid mansion, frequently, nay daily, visit the cottages of poverty, and seek for pleasure in acts of humanity and munificence. What exquisite gratifications do many of our great and noble lose, because they will not study to become good and useful!

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FROM CASTLE-ASHBY, THROUGH BEDFORD, TO  
CAMBRIDGE.

*August 13.* AFTER a pleasant sejour in Northamptonshire, the calls of duty and of business roused me again into action, and early this morning I set out with my Oxford companion towards Cambridge.

We passed through the chace woods of the Earl of Northampton, and fell into the Bedford road at Cold-Bray. The country here is rich and champaign, and no distant objects relieved the eye. Rode through Turvey, near which is an elegant modern house belonging to Mr. Higgins.

Proceed over a continuation of the same country towards Bedford, a stage of 15 miles and upwards from Castle-Ashby. Saw the spire of Bedford church, nearly six miles before we reached that town. Hills of a very moderate height now began to bound the prospect in the distance, and without being picturesque, served to vary the face of the country very agreeably.

Near Bedford the soil is gravelly, and the crops attest its adaptation for corn and pulse. A good system of husbandry seems to be pursued here. Turneps, ruta бага, wheat, barley, with hedge-rows of elms, give a luxuriant appearance to the scene. In winter, great part of this track is flooded by the Ouse; and causeways are raised to allow passengers to travel on foot, when carriages are probably stopped. There is something unpleasant in the idea; man delights in freedom of action and motion; and were I to reside here, and found that I could not ride or walk in any direction I wished, I should be miserable from the thought, though perhaps neither business nor pleasure might call me from home.

Bedford is a large and not inelegant town, built of brick. At our entrance, passed some handsome almshouses, erected near the county jail. The chief employment of the natives is lace-making. A considerable trade is likewise carried on in coals, timber, malt, and corn, by means of the Ouse, which is navigable for large barges.

Halted at the Swan inn, near the bridge over the Ouse.

This river rises at Fritwell, in Oxfordshire, and winding by Buckingham, Stony-Stratford, Newport-Pagnell, and other places, forms here a spacious stream.

Here OUSE, slow winding through a level plain,  
Of spacious meads, with cattle sprinkled o'er,  
Conducts the eye along the sinuous course,  
Delighted.

COWPER'S TASK.

Near Bedford, we observed several instances of the correct taste, the benevolent heart, and the public spirit of the late Mr. Whitbread. Such a man is a blessing to the place with which he is connected. May his son, who possesses far superior public talents, imitate his private virtues!

After refreshing ourselves and horses at Bedford, we proceeded towards St. Neots, a stage of about 12 miles. In the course of this ride we twice crossed the Ouse, first at Bedford, and then at Barford. At the last named place there is an old but spacious bridge, of many arches, raised very high. This district indeed being subject to floods, every attention is paid to that circumstance by cutting ditches, and erecting bridges, wherever a communication is likely to be wanted. More proofs of attention to the accommodation of the public, I never witnessed in any part of the kingdom, and in few places is this more required.

The soil being gravelly, the roads are most excellent, and for many successive miles are so level, that we seemed to be travelling in a park. Hills of moderate elevation, however, generally form the back-ground of the landscape; while the eye, to a great distance, darts over unvarying fertility, even till it is satiated.

Noted some elegant seats in the course of this ride, among others that of the late Sir Gillies Payne, Bart. now Mr. Denne's. At Barford, where there is a coal-wharf, were much diverted by the observations of a bargeman, who seemed indignant against some persons, though we knew not from what cause. Be that as it may, he had evidently adopted the common cant of democrats. Said he to his companion, "the great give to their dogs what is too good for themselves; but as for me, I can live on sheep's heads and *turnets*\*," and adding with an oath, "I have never hurt any poor man." This is the creed and the ruling principle of too many among the lower classes of society. They care not how much they abuse, or rob and injure their superiors, provided they can do it with impunity; but they

\* A provincial term for turneps.

think it a crime to hurt those who are on an equality with themselves.

Travel two or three miles along the great north road, and it well deserves its name, for it is spacious beyond most others I had ever seen. Passed in this space two villages, with several inns or places of accommodation for travellers. Eaton-Sockham indeed is equal in magnitude to many market-towns; its church makes a very handsome appearance. The number of carriages of every description, passing and repassing, put me in mind of the vicinity of London. Here we found by the road-side a plant of the thistle kind, which I had never seen before; but I lost the specimen before reaching Cambridge, and had not an opportunity of ascertaining its species.

About a mile beyond Eaton, again crossed the Ouse, and passed through the straggling and inelegant town of St. Neots, without halting, to which the appearance of the place, even if we had had more leisure, offered few inducements. Yet St. Neots is not worse than many other country towns.

In the course of a few miles, rode through part of three counties, Bedford, Hunts, and Cambridge. Baited at the solitary house called White Hall, about four miles from St. Neots; a distances here are vague, from the want of mile-stones—a neglect the more unaccountable, and more felt by the stranger, than many seemingly more important defects. At this house we found beer of a very superior quality, and the whole of the entertainment was civil and obliging.

A short distance beyond this place, entered on upland downs of great extent, partly enclosed, and partly open. Oats are the principal crop here, and they looked very flourishing.

The sun had already sunk below the horizon; and the moon shone in all her beauty as we came in sight of Cambridge, whose towers and spires were sweetly illumined by her silver beams, at the distance of four miles from that famous University. Cambridge indeed stands in a level rather than a low situation: but except from the Gogmagog hills, it no where appears to more advantage, or can be seen a greater way off, than from this approach.

Ride through its narrow crooked streets, and being recommended to the Hoop inn and tavern, a very central situation, we took up our lodging for the night; and after a slight supper, soon retired to rest, being much fatigued with the heat and the exercise of the day.

## A TOUR OF CAMBRIDGE, AND TO BUNTINGFORD.

Aug. 14. **H**AVING taken an early breakfast, under the guidance of a young but active and intelligent cicerone belonging to the inn, we sallied out to see the lions of Cambridge, as I had done those of Oxford, a few weeks ago. We took our perambulation of the colleges and other objects worth seeing, in the following order, which is probably the most systematic and convenient, from the point of starting, that could have been devised.

St. JOHN'S COLLEGE takes its name from a dissolved priory dedicated to that saint, on the site of which it was built. It was founded and endowed in 1509, by Margaret Countess of Richmond, and now contains 62 fellows, vulgarly called Johnian Hogs, but without any propriety of application, at least in modern times. Nearly 500 members belong to this society, one of the richest and most respectable in the university.

The college itself is a large fabric, of three courts, chiefly built of brick, which gives it an inelegant appearance, if compared with the fine Gothic edifices of hewn stone in the sister university. Appendant to St. John's, however, are extensive and pleasant walks, adjoining those belonging to Trinity College, all of which are liberally open to the public; and being intersected by the Cam, with bridges of communication, are not destitute of attraction, though they command no distant prospects. The Cam indeed, is a torpid river, and the very reverse of crystal; yet poets have metamorphosed it into the Granta, and given it all the attributes of the purest streams. But what cannot the witchery of poesy effect! No one, however, can catch inspiration from such a river as this; and though some of the sweetest muses have sung on its banks, their numbers have flowed rather in spite of the scene, than prompted by its charms.

The garden belonging to the fellows is very pleasant, containing a summer-house, a bowling-green, and agreeable walks, said to have been laid out by the poet Prior.

The library is extremely well furnished with scarce and valuable books and manuscripts; and here too is shewn a leaden scull, part of a complete skeleton found in Newport-Pagnell church. Many a *leaden* scull is still to be seen above ground, and hence the value of this curiosity is less than some are apt to imagine.

This society has had the honour of ranking among its members many eminent men, archbishops, bishops, and literati, whom it would be tedious to particularise, but I cannot pass over the names of Prior, Lister, Bentley, and Taylor.

TRINITY COLLEGE is the pride of Cambridge, and unquestionably superior to any thing in the sister university. It was founded and endowed by Henry VIII. in 1546, and consists of two spacious quadrangles, extending to the river. Over the elegant tower gate-way entrance, stands a statue of Henry VIII. and here formerly was an observatory, in which the immortal Newton pursued the study of the celestial bodies.

The court next the street is considerably the largest; but in point of splendour, is far inferior to Nevill Court, comparatively a modern erection, and measuring 148 feet by 132. The library, which forms the west end of this quadrangle, is a very grand structure, supported by pillars, which form a noble and spacious cloister. Sir Christopher Wren was the architect, and it is worthy of his fame. I will not attempt to describe its external beauties; but I cannot refrain from observing that the interior is probably unrivalled. Even the stately library of Christ Church at Oxford, is far inferior to this. A spacious stair-case of black marble, wainscotted with cedar, conducts to the entrance, when the whole apartment bursts on the eye in full lustre. The window at the south end is painted, and represents, rather whimsically, the presentation of Sir Isaac Newton to George III. with suitable emblems and devices.

The library is floored with marble, and ornamented with marble pedestals, supporting the busts of many illustrious men, most of whom belonged to this college. There are also several original portraits here. The books are numerous and well arranged. Among the curiosities, may be enumerated a quiver of arrows, employed by Richard III. against Henry VII. at the battle of Bosworth; a skeleton of a man in miniature, cut with a knife by a shepherd's boy; an Egyptian mummy in fine preservation; and the dried body of one of the aborigines of the Madeira islands, with a shrivelled and horribly distorted countenance. But what pleased me above all others, was a manuscript in the handwriting of Milton.

Below stairs, is a curious collection of ancient stones and inscriptions from the Picts' wall, a present from Sir John Cotton. Here too is seen the famous Sigeon inscription, a Roman milestone, and some other curiosities of the same kind.

The walks are about a third of a mile in circumference, and are charmingly shaded with chesnuts and lime-trees.

This noble seminary consists of a master, sixty fellows, and sixty-nine scholars. The whole number of members is little

short of six hundred. The eminent men that have belonged to Trinity College are too numerous to mention. Newton, Ray, Dryden, Cowley, Barrow, are among the number.

ST. MARY'S CHURCH, where the university attend divine service, is said to have been a hundred years in finishing. It is a handsome edifice, having a tower adorned with pinnacles and twelve musical bells. The different members of the university have appropriate seats here. At the west end is a spacious organ-loft.

From hence we proceeded to CAIUS COLLEGE, an edifice with two courts, built of stone. This house, called also Gonville and Caius college, and by corruption Keys, was first founded in 1348, and completed about 1557, by the liberality of John Caius, physician to Queen Mary of bloody memory. Here we passed through the gates of HUMILITY, VIRTUE, WISDOM, and HONOUR, which have been thus explained—Humility is the forerunner of virtue, virtue and wisdom join each other, and these ultimately lead to honour.

In the chapel is the monument of the principal founder, with the following quaint inscription, FUI CAIUS. VIVIT POST FUNERA VIRTUS.

The library is small, but not ill stocked with books and manuscripts. The society consists of a master, twenty fellows, and seventy-seven scholars. Harvey, who discovered the circulation of the blood, Sir Thomas Gresham, and many other distinguished characters, received their education here.

The SENATE-HOUSE next attracted our attention. This groupes with the Public Library, King's College Chapel, and some other noble buildings, and forms the most superb *tout ensemble* that Cambridge, or indeed any other place, can exhibit.

The Senate-House is a very elegant pile, built of Portland stone, in the Corinthian order, by Gibbs. The foundation was laid in 1722. The interior is upwards of 100 feet long, 42 broad, and 32 high. The galleries are said to be capable of containing 1000 persons. Still, however, this pile is far inferior to the theatre at Oxford, which is adapted to the same purpose of public solemnities. It is adorned with some fine statues, with appropriate inscriptions.

The PUBLIC SCHOOLS surround a small court, and appear to be extremely convenient. Adjoining to the Philosophy School, is an apartment containing a rich collection of fossils, ores, minerals, and other rarities, the gift of Dr. Woodward, in 1727. In the Law and Physic School, among other paintings, may be seen one of John Nicholson, commonly called Maps, a singular but worthy character.

THE PUBLIC OR UNIVERSITY LIBRARY is a superb building, consisting of four apartments, containing upwards of 90,000 volumes. It occupies the whole quadrangle of apartments over the SCHOOLS, and is ascended by an elegant geometrical staircase.

The east front, or New Library, was rebuilt in a very handsome style in 1775, and adds much to the beauty of the structure.

The vestibule of the library is adorned with the famous statue of Ceres, lately brought from Eleusis by Dr. Clarke. It is of a colossal size; but extremely mutilated, and has few vestiges of any thing human or divine. Yet it is a great curiosity, and is worthy of the station it occupies. Some other pieces of sculpture and ancient inscriptions groupe with it.

In the first room of the Old Library is a copy of Magna Charta on vellum, a painting of the cycle of university officers, and other curiosities.

At the extremity of this room, is a square apartment, ornamented by a dome, containing a variety of valuable manuscripts; among others, a fair copy of the Koran, and a beautiful Persian manuscript, entitled "The Wonders of the Creation," written in the eleventh century of the Christian æra.

In the adjoining wing is an Egyptian mummy, and some beautiful engravings of shells, a present from the king of Denmark, exquisitely coloured from nature by Regenfuss of Copenhagen.

Here too are many specimens of early typography of inestimable value, and some manuscripts of singular rarity, particular one of the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, given to the university by Theodore Beza, and reputed of great antiquity.

On the whole, this library is rich in books, excellently arranged, and under the most liberal conduct. Not only graduates are entitled to have books from it; but under-graduates, by obtaining a note from a privileged person, may be indulged with what they want. Few, comparatively speaking, remain long at our universities after they have taken a bachelor's degree; and if they are to be prohibited, as at Oxford, from access to books in the public library till they graduate, it is afterwards of little use to enjoy that privilege.

From the Library proceeded to CLARE HALL, an elegant modern structure, consisting of one grand court, in the finest style of architecture. This hall, which exactly corresponds with a college in endowments and privileges, as is the case at Cambridge, though not at Oxford, was founded by Dr. Badlow in 1326; but being reduced to ashes a few years after, the building and endowment, on the suggestion of the first founder, were undertaken by

Elizabeth, one of the coheirs of Gilbert Earl of Clare, from which circumstance it received its present name.

The front next the fields consists of two regular rows of pilasters, the lowest Tuscan, the upper Ionic. The stone of which it is built was brought from Ketton, and has a beautiful appearance.

The situation of Clare Hall is one of the finest in Cambridge. It stands on the eastern bank of the Cam, over which an elegant stone bridge is thrown, conducting to a shady walk, terminating in a beautiful lawn. This spot is much resorted to in summer evenings, on account of the variety and beauty of the scenery.

The society consists of a master and nineteen fellows, besides other students, in all about seventy. Of this hall were Tillotson, and the late ingenious, but unprincipled and unfortunate Dr. Dodd.

KING'S COLLEGE is a beautiful stone edifice; but being broken into two parts, loses much of its effect. The old court stands on the north side of the chapel, the new buildings near its west end. The latter is a superb pile; and various plans have been suggested for uniting the parts into a consistent whole.

This magnificent foundation originated from Henry VI. who likewise built and endowed Eton College, a nursery to King's. The society consists of a provost and seventy fellows, besides a number of inferior members.

As for the chapel, it is unique and unrivalled. It is 316 feet long, 84 broad, and 90 feet high, while the corner turrets measure 146 feet from the ground. The roof is executed in stone in an inimitable manner, and the whole interior possesses so much beauty and grandeur, that it would require a volume to do it justice.

Above, around!

Behold where'er this pensile quarry's found,  
Or swelling into vaulted roofs its weight,  
Or shooting columns into Gothic state,  
Where'er this fane extends its lofty frame,  
Behold the monument to HENRY'S name!

The windows of painted glass correspond with the majesty of the building, and represent many portions of scripture history. They are twenty-four in number.

This superb chapel was not finished till the reign of Henry VII. Its architect is generally supposed to have been Nicholas Cloos, a fellow of the college; but one John Wulrich is recorded in an existing instrument, as master mason of the works of King's College.

Some beautiful monuments are erected in the aisles: among

the rest, one to the memory of the Marquis of Blandford, who died here of the small-pox, the eldest and only son of the great Duke of Marlborough. Another, to, the memory of Dr. Glynn Clobery, is deservedly admired for the elegance of its inscription. Of this college were Sir Francis Walsingham, Fuller the martyr, Oughtred the mathematician, and many others distinguished for rank and endowments. The situation of King's is extremely pleasant, for Cambridge. The library contains a choice collection of valuable and scarce books. Here are preserved the colours taken at Manilla, by Sir W. Draper, a member of the society.

Next, pay a visit to TRINITY HALL, originally a hostel for the entertainment of students, but crected into a regular society by Bateman, Bishop of Norwich, about the year 1350. It consists of a master, 12 fellows, and 14 scholars, together with the students, amounting to about 70 members.

This house stands behind the public buildings of the university, on the banks of the Cam, a little north of Clare Hall. It is a very neat edifice, though small; and among many other eminent men, has the honour of producing Tusser, who in his usual quaint manner, calls this "an hall surpassing all."

The BOTANICAL GARDEN next attracted our notice, and it did not disappoint the expectations I had formed of this delightful establishment. It occupys between three and four acres of ground on the south-east of the town, and is replete with a rich variety of plants, arranged according to their classes, English and exotic mixed. In the centre is a large pond for aquatics. The twenty-four classes of Linnæus are still retained here: at Oxford they are reduced to twenty, and I think on just grounds. But it introduces confusion into the science, from botanists not being agreed on this subject. An improvement, not generally adopted, ceases to be useful.

The appendant hot-houses and green-houses are spacious, and rich in curious exotics. Here saw many plants from New Holland; tea, coffee, and bread-fruit trees; a cotton-tree, and many others of equal or superior rarity. That able professor, Mr. Martyn, is now too far advanced in years, to take an active part in the management of this paradise of flowers; but the curator, Mr. Donn, seems to supply his place with great credit to himself, and great benefit to the establishment. Had time permitted, I could have spent days in this charming spot.

From hence proceeded to BENE'T, or CORPUS CHRISTI College, founded in 1351, by the liberality of two guilds in Cambridge. This seminary consists of one quadrangle, which is at once old and inelegant; but we were told that it was intended to rebuild the whole. A master, 12 fellows, and students to the number of about 70 in all, form the society.

The chapel is neat, and over it is the library, which is subject to some severe, not to say illiberal restrictions. It contains many manuscripts of great rarity, chiefly relating to ecclesiastical affairs, and several books of singular curiosity, as well as a pretty large collection of books on general literature. Several bishops, archbishops, and other distinguished characters have been educated here.

CATHERINE HALL, a large brick edifice of one court, opens on one side to Trumpington street, from which it is separated by handsome iron palisadoes, is not destitute of beauty or interest. The lofty elms that line the approach, give it a charm beyond all the rest of its accompaniments.

It was founded by Robert Woodlark in 1475, and now consists of a master, 15 fellows, and 26 scholars. The chapel is of a good size, and not inelegantly fitted up, and the hall and library are of corresponding magnitude and beauty. Hoadley, Sherlock, and many other dignified names have honoured this society.

QUEEN'S COLLEGE was founded and endowed by Margaret of Anjou, the queen of Henry VI. in 1448, during the interval between the first and second civil war between the houses of York and Lancaster.

It is a brick edifice, consisting of two courts, of no great dimensions or beauty. Its grove and gardens, however, are extremely pleasant, and are much frequented by the students. These appendages lie on both sides the river, and are connected by a wooden bridge of one arch, supported by stone abutments. The hall is a large and well proportioned room, and contains some fine portraits.

This society consists of a president, 20 fellows, and 45 scholars, besides students. Erasmus once studied here, and two portraits of this great man belong to the house, one of them supposed to be from the pencil of Holbein.

PEMBROKE HALL consists of two courts, one of brick, the other of stone, but neither of them large or magnificent. It was founded in 1343, by Mary de St. Paul, third wife of the Earl of Pembroke, who was killed at a tilting match on his wedding day, at Woodstock.

The chapel, built from a plan of Sir Christopher Wren, is alone worth notice. It is at once elegant and well-proportioned.

In the inner court is shewn an immense globe, eighteen feet in diameter, invented by Dr. Long, the late master; but it is now out of repair.

This society consists of a master, 16 fellows, and various scholars. It has produced many eminent men, among whom posterity will unquestionably rank the late premier, Mr. Pitt, and the present Bishop of Lincoln.

PETER-HOUSE, or ST. PETERS'S COLLEGE, was founded by Hugh de Balsham, sub-prior of Ely, about the year 1284, and has since been much augmented by numerous benefactors. It is said, that Lady Mary Ramsay offered a sum almost equal to the original endowment, provided the name should be changed to Peter and Mary's College; but the master at that time, with more wit than politeness, observing, "that Peter had been too long a *bachelor* to think of a female companion in his old age," she changed her purpose, and the college lost her intended liberality.

This house consists of two stone courts, and makes rather a handsome appearance. Behind the college are a grove and extensive gardens.

The chapel is a handsome structure, and contains some beautiful painted glass, though much injured in the time of the civil wars. A master, 22 fellows, and 48 scholars constitute the society. To this house belonged Bryan Walton, Cardinal Beaufort, and the poet Gray.

Passed near this, the intended site of DOWNING COLLEGE, which is likely to be a noble foundation, and an ornament to the University\*.

EMANUEL COLLEGE, an elegant pile, consisting of one spacious stone quadrangle, pleasantly situated at the south-east extremity of the town, was founded by Sir Walter Mildmay in 1584. It is a modern edifice, in a fine style of architecture, and, taken with its accompaniments, is inferior to few in the university.

The chapel, the hall, and the library are each worthy of notice; and the gardens are furnished with several convenient and appropriate buildings, besides a bowling-green and a fish-pond.

A master, 15 fellows, and 50 scholars form the society, whose collective numbers are about 150.

Among the learned and eminent men who have been educated here, may deservedly be ranked Archbishop Sancroft, the present Bishop Hurd, Percy, bishop of Dromore, and Dr. Samuel Parr.

CHRIST'S COLLEGE, situated to the north of Emanuel, owes its endowment to Henry VI. and his maternal sister, Margaret Countess of Richmond. It consists of one pretty large stone court, and several detached buildings, in good repair. The gardens are pleasant and well laid out, and here was indicated a mulberry-tree planted by Milton, when a student of this college. To the honour of the society, it is preserved with religious veneration.

\* If I mistake not, the first stone of Downing College has lately been laid; and the masters and professors, with some of the fellows, are already appointed.

ration from all but the decay of nature, which, in spite of care, will soon bring it to the ground.

Christ's College consists of a master, 15 fellows, and 58 scholars. The whole number of members is about 100. It boasts of having produced Milton, Porteus, bishop of London, Paley, and Cudworth.

SIDNEY SUSSEX COLLEGE is a neat pile, composed of two brick courts, which were completed in 1598. This college was founded by Frances Sidney, Countess of Sussex, in 1588; and now consists of a master, 11 fellows, and various scholars and exhibitioners. It stands on the east side of Bridge street, and possessing pretty extensive gardens and pleasure-grounds, is not destitute of attractions and local advantages.

The chapel is spacious and elegantly fitted up. The altarpiece by Pittoni is deservedly admired. The hall is a very elegant apartment; and the library is not ill furnished with books, besides containing some curiosities; among the rest, part of an incrustation of a child's skull, found in Crete, about ten feet beneath the surface of the earth, with the teeth still sound and white. Here is likewise a bust of Cromwell, by Bernini, taken from a cast of Oliver's face after death. In the master's lodge is a fine picture in crayons, by Cooper, of that arch hypocrite, who was educated at this college, and may justly be ranked among its distinguished members. Seth Ward, Sir Roger L'Estrange, and Wollaston, the author of the *Religion of Nature Delineated*, likewise belonged to this society.

JESUS COLLEGE is charmingly situated, at a little distance from the town, on the east, amidst groves and fine meadows. It consists of two brick quadrangles which have a neat, if not an elegant appearance, and was founded by Alcock, Bishop of Ely in 1496. A master, 16 fellows, and 41 scholars and exhibitioners compose the society.

The chapel is large, and is supposed to have belonged to the ancient convent which occupied the same site with Jesus College. In confirmation of this, the tomb of one of the nuns is still to be seen here, with the subsequent inscription:

*Moribus ornata, jacet hic bona Berta Rosata.*

*By virtues guarded, and by manners grac'd,  
Here, here, alas! is fair ROSATA plac'd!*

Among the eminent men who have received part of their education here, may be ranked Cranmer the martyr, David Hartley, and Archbishop Herring.

From hence we proceeded to visit MAGDALEN COLLEGE, which lies detached from the rest of the public edifices on the north side of the river, near what is called Castle End. It consists of two moderate courts, built of stone. On the north-east side of

the second court is an elegant stone edifice, with a cloister in front, consisting of the BIBLIOTHECA PEPYSIANA, and some adjoining apartments for the fellows. The chapel is neat, but not particularly deserving attention. The old library is well-furnished with books; but the new library, founded by Samuel Pepys, secretary to the Admiralty in the reign of Charles II. is the pride of the college, and indeed one of the ornaments of Cambridge. It contains several volumes of scarce and curious prints, among which are the Twelve Cæsars, and their consorts or mothers, from Titian, engraved by Sadeler, a work of rare occurrence, and of considerable value. Here, too, we were shewn many *fac-similes* of eminent characters.

This college has an antique and venerable air. It was founded by Thomas Lord Audley, Chancellor of England, in the year 1542, and has produced many eminent divines. Within the precincts may be seen some entrenchments, which have been ascribed to the Romans.

Having now made a tour of the colleges and public buildings, in our way to the inn, we took a peep at St. Sepulchre's church, which is curious as being a rotundo, of the same kind as that under the same name at Northampton, but of inferior beauty.

Indeed, the churches at Cambridge in general are little entitled to notice as works of architecture; and as far as regards the buildings in the town in general, the streets, and their distribution, I shall pass them over in silence. While Oxford is one of the finest Gothic cities in the world, Cambridge sinks even below mediocrity. I was much amused, however, by the contrast drawn between the two universities by our landlord, who understanding that my companion was an Oxonian, thus displayed his *second-hand* critiques on those illustrious seminaries: "Oxford, Sir," said he, "is like the Farnese Hercules; Cambridge like the Belvidere Apollo. The one is all grandeur and majesty, the other is all light elegance and beauty." As I cannot increase the pomp of this comparison by any remarks of my own, I have faithfully detailed it as I heard it.

Having taken some refreshment, we sallied out again, and went round the town in search of farther curiosities, but found with none worth mentioning. Called at Deighton's, the bookseller, where we met with a civil and intelligent young man in the shop, who furnished me with some literary information relative to the stereotype printing, patronized by the university. A Critical Review lying on the counter, I took it up, and skimmed its contents. "That" said he, "is conducted by a Cambridge man." "Does it sell?" replied I. "It is very likely, it is cleverly done; and see, Sir, how it cuts up!" "Cuts up! that's the business of a butcher." "No, I mean it is very severe." On this, he pointed to a critique on the work of a friend

of mine, so personal and so abusive, that the fellow who could ostensibly acknowledge himself the editor, deserved to be kicked, or pulled by the nose. But the art of criticism is now become contemptible: it is no longer a liberal profession, but a mean and mercenary speculation.

Being the long vacation, few gentlemen of whom I had any knowledge, were now in Cambridge; and my long absence from town not allowing of further delay, having already seen every thing worth notice, we determined to leave Cambridge after dinner, and proceed on our way to the metropolis, as far as circumstances would permit. A thunder storm indeed impended, preceded by heavy dashes of rain; but the sky clearing up about five o'clock in the afternoon, we ordered our horses, and settled our bill, highly pleased with the attention and communicative disposition of the waiter, which would have rendered far inferior accommodation than we met with, agreeable.

We had not proceeded a mile, before a loud clap of thunder warned us that the storm was not yet passed; and in a few minutes after, a sudden and violent shower drenched us to the skin, before we could get any shelter.

Unwilling, however, to return, we proceeded through Trumpington, one of the most pleasant villages in the vicinity of Cambridge. Here the Gogmagog hills, which in some counties would scarcely be noticed, appeared to some advantage on our left; but they are neither picturesque, nor of magnitude sufficient to entitle them to the appellation of hills: they are merely eminences. The soil is gravelly, and the country flat, except in the distance, and towards the Gogmagog ridge. The corn, particularly the wheat, was much laid by the late dashes of rain: the same, indeed, we had observed to be the case in many other parts of our journey, where the soil was deep, and the crops luxuriant.

Beyond Melbourne, began to leave the champaign country, and to ascend over chalky downs, which continued some way beyond Royston, at which last-named place we halted to view the subterraneous chapel, a complete rotundo, cut out of the solid chalk, and running under the street. It is the work of Roisiade, sister to Aubrey de Vere, Earl of Oxford, and widow of Geoffery de Maundeville, the first Earl of Essex, so created in 1144. This singular curiosity was discovered in 1742, and has been particularly described by Stukeley. The sides are covered with the rude representations of saints, martyrs, &c.; and in one corner near the entrance, is shewn the tomb or grave of the lady, whose gloomy devotion consigned her to this spot while alive. But even her ashes could not be secured at this depth from violation; they have been wholly dispersed.

Though many feet below the surface of the ground, this sin

gular chapel is perfectly dry ; and though wholly dark, except from the light of candles, a person fond of contemplation might occasionally spend an hour here, with no unpleasant sensations. It stands in two counties ; as the town itself, once of some consequence, does in three. The Royston crow is an object of some curiosity among naturalists. I asked a woman at the turnpike near the town, if any person kept one. She either did not understand, or was offended at the question. " I am sure, Sir," said she, " I am not a Royston crow, and I do not know any thing about them."

Passed through the large village of Buckland, and reached Buntingford to sleep.

In the yard of the Bell inn, where we took up our quarters, a set of strolling players were at the moment of our arrival performing *Inle and Yarico* with much vociferation, and we heard some tolerable singing. I should have liked to have seen the entertainment, which was to be the *Romp*; but was too wet, tired, and uncomfortable to think of such amusements. We had already travelled twenty miles from Cambridge, from which university to London, there are three roads, out of which we selected the most pleasant, and the most interesting to strangers.

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#### FROM BUNTINGFORD TO LONDON. THE DEVIL AMONG THE TAYLORS.

*August 15.* **H**AVING agreed to reach the metropolis to dinner, we were on horseback soon after five this morning, and proceeding through a sweetly varied and fertile country, reached Hodsdon to breakfast, a stage of fourteen miles. Nothing could be more delightful than this ride: the morning was fine, and the softness of the air, and the mild rays of the sun, threw a lustre over every object that fell under our view.

The soil in Hertfordshire is generally gravelly, and though the landscapes are seldom very extensive, they are uniformly pleasing. Hills, dales, seats, and villages in endless succession, enliven the scene. A good system of husbandry is pursued here; and every thing which the wants of man require, is abundant and choice. There is plenty of water in this track; and if the stinking puddles called Cheshunt Wash and Enfield Wash, are little calculated to embellish the road-side, they are at least convenient for cattle to refresh themselves in.

It was with mingled feelings of pain and admiration, I witnessed the dilapidated state of Waltham Cross, one of the remaining memorials of Edward's affection for his queen. Queen's Cross near Northampton, as I have already remarked, is kept in excellent repair; but Waltham Cross, though eminently beautiful, threatens destruction to whatever falls within its verge. It

is a reflection on the county, and particularly on the residents in its vicinity, that they do not prevent it from becoming a heap of ruins. I am convinced that were a book opened at the inn closely adjoining to this venerable pillar, to receive subscriptions for repairing it, few travellers of any taste would fail to leave their mite.

On the right of Tottenham stands Bruce Castle, which has undergone various revolutions, and fallen into the hands of many possessors. The number of Tottenhams never fails to create confusion, and shews great sterility of invention. Besides the village of that name about five miles from London, we have Tottenham High Cross about a mile nearer the metropolis; and then Tottenham Court, and Tottenham-Court Road, within the precincts of the great mass of collective buildings which go under the general appellation of London.

At Kingsland we entered on the city road, in order to avoid the pavement, and proceeded along what may be called the barriers; for a turnpike is erected at almost every outlet, and there is more trouble in stopping to pay tolls, or to receive or produce tickets, than can be agreeable or necessary in a commercial city, where all are in a bustle, and wish to save time.

After calling on a friend in Tottenham-Court, at whose lodgings we found Count St. Leger, a polite and agreeable emigrant, we proceeded down Holborn, where putting up our horses, we mixed in the busy crowd. The day had been excessively hot; and when I arrived at my house, to which I introduced my Oxford friend, I was quite overcome with fatigue, and the emotions connected with seeing persons and objects endeared to the mind. I therefore was obliged to rest till the fervor of the sun abated; but being solicitous to shew my companion all the attention in my power, I accompanied him in the evening to the Little Theatre in the Hay-market, where the Birth-Day, Catherine and Petruccio, with the Taylors, a Tragedy for Hot Weather, were to be performed, for the benefit of Mr. Dowton. The knights of the thimble, however, had taken it so much in dudgeon, that their craft was to be exposed by the representation of the latter piece, that they had early occupied the galleries and different parts of the house, to the number of six or seven hundred; and when the curtain rose, such a horrible noise from cat-calls, hisses, groans, and howls, (for many of the malcontents had evidently been used to attend funerals in the sister island) burst out at once, that not a single word could be heard, even had not the clapping of the more respectable spectators, in order to encourage the actors, increased the tumult and uproar.

Every attempt was made on the part of the manager and the more favourite actors to allay this ferment, and several concessions, impolitic in my opinion, were proposed to the *venerable* fraternity of the goose; which the rest of the house could by no

means approve of: but all this proved in vain. The actors appeared and disappeared in dumb shew; not a single word of the play was allowed to be heard. At last the Bow-Street officers were obliged to be sent for; and to give effect to their authority, as an immense crowd was already collected round the doors of the theatre, it was judged prudent to call out a large party of the horse-guards, who soon cleared the street, while the constables securing forty or fifty of the most vociferous *Flints*, restored some kind of quiet within doors; and Catherine and Petruchio proceeded with only occasional interruption, till the poor taylor was introduced on the stage, and in contempt of his fraternity, who had given so much disturbance, was acted in the most burlesque manner that could possibly be conceived. This excited fresh uproar for a time, but it gradually died away. The Tragedy for Hot Weather, however, being loudly called for by the boxes, and by all, indeed, who were not in the interest of the taylor, the riot recommenced in all its fury, and it was found necessary to carry off to prison above twenty more of the professors of the art of trimming. This broke the courage of the *Flints*, and they became *Dungs*; but never was there an occasion, on which it might be more truly said that "the Devil was among the Taylors," than what we witnessed.

It was, however, absolutely necessary to teach them, that the public amusements were not to be interrupted, because particular trades or professions may happen to be exposed. All plays must consist of characters taken from life; and there would be an end of scenic representations, were captious *gentry* of the quill, the goose, the cleaver, &c. &c. to unite, and forbid the play that bore hard on their respective vocations. While the individual is safe, the trade or profession is undoubtedly fair game. The clergy alone are spared of all ranks and conditions; and it is out of respect to religion itself, that they are never brought on the stage, except on occasions where they do honour to their profession.

Heartily tired of noise and confusion, and entertaining no very exalted idea of the sense of the taylor, who had they made a party to join in the laugh would have gained some credit, we took a coach and returned to our lodgings, an hour after the noon of night.

And here I shall bid my readers, who have had the good humour to accompany me during this long tour, a cordial, but I hope not a last adieu.

# INDEX.

**A**BERAYRON, picturesque scenery in the vicinity of, 52.—Abergavenny, arrival at, sketch of the town, 35.—Aberglasslyn, description of the Pont, 96.—Aberystwith, sketch of it, and the adjacent country, 56.—Auction in Wales, account of an, 127.

Bala, description of the town and lake, 127.—Banbury, remarks on the town of, 162.—Bangor, sketch of the city and ferry of, 111.—Bathing-machines at Aberystwith, their structure, 64.—Beacon hills reckoned the highest in South Wales, 43.—Beaumaris, excursion to the town of, 113.—Bedgelert, portrait of the country around the vale of, 97.—Bedford, description of the town and its vicinity, 166.—Betty, Master, remarks on his theatrical performances, 155.—Bishop's Castle, account of the town, 147.—Blenheim, description of its beauties, 13.—Blisworth, remarkable for its wharf and tunnel, 163.—Brecon, topography of the country town of, 42.—Bristol, Lord, character of, 89.

Cader Idris, description of the mountain, 82, 87.—Cambridge, arrival at, and description of the lions there, 168, 179.—Cardigan, the bay of, remarks relative to, 54.—Carnarvon, its establishment by Edward I. described, 109.—Castle Ashby and its appendages described, 165.—Cattle, remarks on a sale of in the country, 34.—Cheltenham, vicinity of this celebrated spa, account of its springs, &c. 17.—Civility, Welsh, interesting specimen of, 46.—Clarke, Mrs. sketch of her charity and liberality, 23.—Coldwell, sublime appearance of the cliffs at, 26.—Colleges at Oxford, account of the different, 8.—Conway, the town and castle described, 118.—Coracles, manner of their architecture, use in navigation, &c. 27.—Costume of the women in the neighbourhood of Aberayron, 53.—Coteswolds, beautiful scenery of these hills, 15; remissness of the farmer in agricultural pursuits, 16.—Court-Field, celebrated by the residence there of Henry V. while an infant, 25.—Courtship, manner of conducting it in Wales, 59.—Critics, general remarks on, 179.—Customs, Cambrian, account of some peculiar, 59.

Dallesford, elegant seat of Governor Hastings at, 14.—Dee, its course through the Bala lake, 129.—Devil's bridge, its site, view from it, 67.—Dolgellau, remarks on the town of, 83.—Dolymlynynn, description of the falls of, 90.—Dorchester, its former splendour contrasted with its present decayed state, 7.—Druids, their extermination in England, 110.—Dyfi, source of the river, 78.

Economy, Welsh, specimen of, 41, 49.—Education, public, its superiority over private tuition for public men, 5.—Education at Oxford, causes of its enormous expence, 12.—Edwards, Robert, eccentric character of, 36.—Eliseig, the pillar of, described, 133.—Enesmere canal, its remarkable connection by an aqueduct, 136.—Emancipation, catholic, observations on the, 34.—Escape, account of an extraordinary, 104.—Eton, its foundation and endowment, 5.

Farmers in Gloucestershire, instance of their ignorance, 21.—Fox-hunting, manner of pursuing it in Wales, 62.

Gell, Admiral, character of, 39.—Gloucester, its trade, manufactures, &c. 19.—Gloucester, picturesque appearance of the cottages near, 20.—Goodrich castle, beauty of its site, its importance in former times, 23.—Gwydir house, and its accompaniments, 122.—Gwyniad, mode of catching the, 129.

Hafod, description of that gothic edifice, 68.—Henley, sketch of the town and its vicinity, 6.—Herefordshire, general features of the country, 180.—Hills, grand appearance of them in Wales, 55.—Howard, reprehension of his plans for gloomy and solitary imprisonment, 19.

Inoculation, prejudices against, 161.—Inscriptions, English and Welsh, in the Abererychan cemetery, 48.

Jumpers, remarks relative to the, 38, 101.—Jumpers, see *Methodists*.

Kernioge, dreadful road thence to Bala, 125.—Kew, remarks on the new gothic palace, the botanical garden, &c. 4.—Kyrle, see *Man of Ross*.

Lanarth, description of its vicinity, agricultural remarks, &c. 33.—Land, its value in Wales, 63.—Llampeter,

- view of the country surrounding, 50.  
 —Llaw Egwest abbey, the venerable ruins of, 132.—Llanidloes, appearance of the country near, 76.—Llandysillio hall, delightful situation of, 134.—Llangerrig, view of the country in the neighbourhood of, 74.—Llangollen, sketch of the town and its vicinity, 132.—Llangollen cottage, beautiful appearance of, 135.—Llyn Vat's cave, gloomy situation of, 72.—Lodge park, near Gogerthan, description of, 58.—Ludlow, topographical sketch of, 150.
- Maidenhead**, sketch of the country around, 6.—Man of Ross, the, remarks relative to, 21.—Marlow, remarks on the military college established there, 6.—Mawddach, appearance of the country in the neighbourhood of the river, 90.—Mendicity in different parts of Great Britain, observations on, 54.—Methodists in Wales, account of the, 62.—Mines, observations on those in Cardiganshire, 63.—Monach, its falls described, 87.—Monmouth, excursion to, 22.—Monmouth, its site, topography, view of the surrounding country, 50.—Monmouth castle, the birth-place of Henry V.; its importance in ancient times, 50.—Montgomeryshire, general sketch of, 74.—Mortality, general remarks on, 55.
- Nelson**, Lord, curious anecdote relative to, 28; lines on his death, 29.—New Wear, striking appearance of the country about the, 27.—Northampton, remarks on the town of, 164.
- Oxford**, sketch of the town and university, 7.—Owen Glendower, celebrated for his defeat of the English, 131.
- Penmaen Mawr**, famous on account of its pass, 117.—Penrhyn, Lord, his improvements on his estate, 116.—Plays consisting of characters taken from life, 182.—Plinlimmon, description of the remarkable mountain of, 73.—Pococke, Sir Isaac, his seat near Maidenhead, 5.—Politeness, specimen of modern, 16.—Pontcycylte, celebrated on account of the aqueduct, 136.—Powis castle, its interior not consonant with the exterior, 142.—Products, account of them, their export, &c. 63.
- Queen's Cross**, beauty of the monument, 164.
- Rhaidols**, the vale of, remarks on, 65.  
 —Rodney's Pillar, commemorative of his victory over the French, 140.  
 —Ross, arrival at, topography of the town, &c. 21; excursion to Monmouth, 23.—Royston crow, an object of curiosity among naturalists, 180.—Rumford's philosophical chimnies, remarks on, 19.
- Sea-bathing**, curious custom of the inhabitants of Cardiganshire in, 61.—Schools, public, the best adapted for public men, 5.—Sho, keeping in Wales, specimen of, 140.—Snowdon, grandeur of its appearance, 93; its ascent described, 103.—Stoke castle, short account of, 140.—Stones, druidical, description of some, 55.
- Tan-y Bwlch** and its vicinity described, 93.—Theatre in the Haymarket, disgraceful conduct of the taylor's at the, 181.—Tivy, account of the river, 51.—Tradition, curious, of the people near Llangors-pool, 40.—Troy-house, once the splendid mansion of the Duke of Beaufort, 31.
- Valle Crucis abbey**, see *Llan Egwest abbey*.—Volunteers, Welsh, their review on the top of Mount Snowdon, 96.—Volunteers, general remarks on, 141.
- Wadham college** at Oxford, palpable defect in its establishment, 10.—Walcot park, delightful appearance of, 149.—Wales, miserable accommodations on the road for travellers in, 37.—Wales, price of provisions in, value of land, figure of the inhabitants, &c. 40; manner of the country people going to market, 45.—Wales, remarks on the country, manners of the inhabitants, &c. 75, 80, 84, 86, 98, 124, 138, 141.—Washing, Welsh, singular method of, 44.—Washing in Worcestershire, description of, 153.—Water, its scarcity at Stow in the Wold, 15.—Wedding, ceremonies attending it in Wales, 60.—Welsh, their propensity to inquisitiveness, 46.—Welsh, observations on their persisting in the use of their original tongue, 49.—Windsor Castle, beauty of its site, improvements made there, 4.—Wit, Welsh, ludicrous specimen of, 48.—Worcester, arrival at, and topography of, 154; tour to Oxford, 161.—Wye, appearance of the natives along its banks, 25.—Wye, vale of the, lines on leaving it, 31.

# ANALYSIS

OF A

## NEW WORK OF TRAVELS,

LATELY PUBLISHED IN LONDON.

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*Travels through Italy, in the Years 1804 and 1805; by*  
AUGUSTUS VON KOTZEBUE, *Author of Travels in Siberia*  
*and in France, &c. &c.—Four Volumes 12mo. PHILLIPS,*  
1806.

WE feel much pleasure in being again enabled to lay before our readers the substance of another work, by an author who may with great propriety be designated the Prince of Modern Travellers. There is a degree of versatile liveliness so intimately blended with the narratives of this admirable writer, which other observers of men and manners in vain attempt to imitate; and even the most fastidious taste cannot but be pleased with the brilliancy of his ideas, as well as with the modesty with which he offers his opinions.

The nature of his travels through Italy is sufficiently explained by a single passage in what he calls a substitute for a preface.—“ I have not written,” says he, “ with a view of delivering a dry catalogue of curiosities, nor to display my learning, nor to sport my wit at other’s expence, nor to draw sentimental pictures. Whoever looks for any thing of this kind from me, will be disappointed. I am of opinion that a traveller must follow the current of his humour. If that is lively, the readers will be gratified with seeing his soul reflected in the description. But when an author seats himself formally, and dresses all his thoughts and expressions in affectation, or in any other manner attempts to appear what he is not, it cannot be agreeable to the reader ;  
KOTZEBUE.]                      A

who must feel as uneasy and awkward in reading his book, as if talking with a stammering person."

We agree with this elegant author, who says, that though Italy has been so often described, yet there still remain many things little known, but deserving of notice; and what he professes is, to give a faithful account of things as they appeared to him, without writing to please either the artist or the connoisseur. We will proceed to shew how he has performed his undertaking.

"I took no notes," says he, "of what I saw immediately, and therefore had seldom a tablet in my hand; but I rose every morning long before day-light, and spent two or three hours in transcribing faithfully all I had seen, thought, and felt, in the preceding day. My observations have thus, by degrees, grown to the size of a book. If it is good, it requires no apology: if not, apologies will be of no avail.

"For many years previous to my travels in Italy, I had read nothing on this country; and after having concluded them I wished also to read nothing upon it, that my judgment might not be warped. I flatter myself, therefore, with being able to offer the traveller a book which may serve him as a guide for ten years at least; in which if he finds indeed no deep researches, he will not be misled by parrot-opinions. Whoever, without the bias or prepossessions of artists, shall hereafter visit Rome or Naples, will find a confirmation of this sentiment in his own mind.

"My stay in Italy was certainly short, yet I do not see in what respect this affects the validity of my judgments. The talent of observation is an endowment of nature; whoever does not carry it with him, will never acquire it. Most things are either viewed justly the first time, or never. The truly striking and remarkable is discovered on the first survey; and I may almost say, only on the first. When the eye is once accustomed to objects, the acuteness of investigating them is lost. I have also seen the most famous works of art twice, and even oftener; and yet in every case found my first emotions, and my first judgment, were the most powerful and accurate. For that reason I constantly wished to retain this impression, and commit it to paper within a few hours after."

After perusing some preliminary remarks on travelling, we meet with a subject which must be gratifying to every generous Briton—a just tribute of praise to the noble emperor of Russia.

#### THE EMPEROR ALEXANDER.

Alexander also—(I do not mean the wonderful traveller of old,

who traversed the whole known world in an immense company, and afterwards wanted to build a bridge upwards to the moon; I mean the benignant genius of Russia, to whom, if the inhabitants of the moon knew him, they would willingly make a bridge downwards)—Alexander also travelled, this year, through his German provinces: not indeed, like me, to pluck flowers; but, as he well might, to gather fruits which were beginning to ripen in the sunshine of his goodness. I will not call it mere attachment, but the warmth of passion, which is felt in Eastland and Livonia towards this benevolent sovereign. I relate nothing but what I myself saw. Every eye sparkles, every countenance is unclouded, every tongue is loosed, on the bare mention of his name. He was only a few days in Revel, and yet tears of regret were shed on his departure; and if any thing could still more strongly testify the feeling that glowed in every breast, it was the proposition of the good procurator-general Von Kieseemann, and the unbounded applause with which he was received and carried, “that the anniversary of Alexander’s entrance into that town should be celebrated by a public dinner for the poor.” These are the genuine honours which the heart alone can confer upon princes. Let Alexander’s quiet, beneficent journey through these provinces, he compared with the triumphant procession of *many a disturber of the world*, whose *insolence* and *haughtiness* are excelled by nothing but the *flattery* of a *slavish* and *abject* people. Let the *favourite of Fortune* continue to erect his triumphal arches and pyramids: the poor and distressed who find relief from the bounty of Alexander, will bless with cheerful hearts *him who rules by love*, for ages after those monuments will have crumbled into dust.

If Alexander would procure himself the highest gratification, he should, as the Oriental princes did formerly, mix in disguise with his people: what moments would then await him! Blessed be the mother who bore him: blessed also be the great man, once his instructor, now his friend, who sowed such seeds in such a soil! It will be guessed that I am speaking of La Harpe.

In order to hasten some hours earlier into the arms of his parent, Alexander left his retinue, and threw himself into the light and half-covered carriage of his field-marshal. I saw him arrive thus at Jewe like a common traveller, and unaccompanied by any extraordinary attendance except the love of his people. In the same manner, after a short stay, and notwithstanding the near approach of night, he resumed his journey through desert woods, with the soothing consciousness that public affection would sufficiently protect his useful life. One of the postillions, who by an accident broke his leg, he provided for with humane and even paternal tenderness. He did not depart from the spot till the sur-

geon, who lived at a distance, arrived, and the sufferer was placed properly under his care. That he gave him the requisite pecuniary relief, was little from an emperor; but that, not confining himself to this, he continued as long as was necessary his *personal* assistance (which the great universally think themselves privileged to dispense with), is an admirable feature in the character of a ruler over thirty millions of men.

#### ABOLITION OF VASSALAGE IN EASTLAND AND LIVONIA.

For a long time the press has resounded the praises, and enlarged on the excellencies, of the new constitutions given by the nobility of Eastland and Livonia to their peasants. In this point, as far as regards the amiable disposition of the emperor on the subject, I perfectly agree; but on the performance of his intentions, I believe, in the first instance at least, too much has been said. I will not presume to offer a decisive opinion on this matter; the constitutions are already in the hands of every one, for him to form his own judgment of them. Thus much, however, I cannot conceal: when I left Livonia, the imperial commissioners who were empowered to make known the new regulations, had already begun the execution of this duty; but many peasants, particularly those who had good masters, shewed very little gratitude on the occasion, and *begged to be left in their old state*. This circumstance indeed can scarcely be held to decide the real merit of the plan in question; for an aversion to relinquish old institutions will often make us blind to our real interest. The peasants also had anticipated too much in expecting that the emperor would set them entirely free; nay, they think in fact that this is already the case; but the commissioners, in the number of whom are their masters, have hitherto preserved tranquillity among them. Hence, however, arise misunderstandings, that prove how carefully we ought to proceed in enlightening a blind and infatuated people.

#### ESTABLISHMENT OF JUDICIAL COURTS FOR THE PEASANTS.

The peasants, who, under their former intolerable oppression, were allowed to lodge their complaints with the government, are in future to have for this purpose three judicial courts; the members of all of which, however, are to be taken from among the nobility alone: from the highest of these courts there is no appeal. However upright and noble-minded this class may be, it is surely not right for a whole division of the empire to be thus cut off, as it were, from the monarch. Every access to the throne is debarred them, and they must consequently be entirely at the mercy of their masters. If ever an unjust *esprit de corps* should influence the possessors of this power (from the present generation in-

deed this is not to be feared), what would then become of the poor Eastlanders?

It is true, every lord has erected on his manor a court for the peasants, under the direction of a judge chosen by themselves from their own number: but he himself chooses the president of this court, which leaves his influence over his vassals unimpaired, for they will hence never venture to pronounce any sentence displeasing to him. It is exactly as if a prince should fill the benches of his tribunals with courtiers, and place one of his lords in waiting at their head. However, as I before observed, this constitution is not yet confirmed, and it would be premature now to say more upon it. Were it possible to ensure in the posterity of the present nobility a continuation of the sentiments which now prevail, it would have been fruitless to deliver an opinion on the subject; for, with pleasure I mention it, these are such as can lead us to apprehend very few abuses.

#### SINGULAR STORM.

The Veipus lake, which is less beautiful and less celebrated than that of Geneva, afforded me one day a dreadfully sublime spectacle. As I was passing along the sandy shore, a violent rustling arose in the air, the signal of a storm in the upper regions, that was only audible below: the lake continued undisturbed; but this very stillness, in contrast with the violence raging at a distance over my head, was more awful than if its waves had risen to the height of mountains. On the right hand, over the dark fir wood hung black clouds, whence every now and then issued the thunder. On the left, over the lake a darkness descended from the sky, and like a shroud covered the opposite bank for the distance of a mile. The mews screamed over the tranquil water: and a few small fishing-snacks with slack sails were seen driven on by the oars of the anxious fishermen towards the shore. The dreadful contest now commenced in the elements. On one side the hollow roarings of the thunder resounded in the deep thicket, while on the other it was heard rolling over the darkened coast. Not a single hut was to be perceived far and wide; only a fishing net here and there, spread out. The lightning was more and more rapidly overtaken by the thunder. Not a drop of rain fell; and all was stillness on the level surface, but the rustling sound did not abate over head. On a sudden, a flash struck down into the water; its lengthened beams, as it touched the surface, darted forth innumerable sparks, and resembled a descending rocket. This seemed to be the signal for a torrent of hail, which in a few moments spread over the surface of the ground an icy cover, many inches thick. The stones were of the size of beans. My carriage was obliged to stop; the postillion

leaped from the horses; the servants hastened down from the box; and all crept for shelter between the wheels. But the hail beat the horses so violently that they would not stand still; which compelled the servants to come from this retreat, and hold the restless animals, exposed to all the rigour of the storm. The little light of which the clouds had not already deprived us, was perfectly obscured by the hail; and from my seat in the coach I could scarcely distinguish the horses. This darkness was interrupted only by the frequent flashes of lightning; the pale glimmer of which would present to our view the icy appearance of the ground, and add a horror to the intervening claps of thunder. As there were no other objects to attract the lightning, I expected every moment to see either the men or the horses fall, or myself to suffer the death of Romulus. Seven or eight minutes (lengthened, by the terrors of the mind, into hours) were dragged out in this agonizing condition. At length the storm retreated further into the wood; ourselves and our horses began again to resume our spirits; and soon nothing remained from this terrible spectacle, but the singular enjoyment which the mind of man experiences on surveying the traces of past danger. We now discovered pools of water in the road; cart-ruts full of hail-stones; the wet wing bereft of its power to fly; a few steps from me, on a decayed tree, an eagle (for there are many in this part), which admitted reluctantly the approach of a human being, probably from the storm having thus impeded its flight; at a distance a scattered flock, around which the wolf was stealing, as the thief profits by the fire to plunder the terrified inhabitants. The sun broke forth, and light and order returned.

At the next stage nothing was known of this dreadful storm. My carriage alone bore marks of it to this distance; for the hail which had collected on its top, was not melted away in the space of an hour and a half.

The university at Dorpat next attracts the attention of our traveller, and he enters at some length into the advantages of the education received there, but which it appears are dearly paid for.

The flourishing town of Riga is well worthy of notice. There, according to our author, not only are mercantile enterprises and the fine arts encouraged to the utmost extent, but actions of generosity are performed which effectually ridicule the modern spirit of vain liberality. We shall give a few incidents which the author has recorded as facts.

A respectable and universally esteemed civil officer had the misfortune to be robbed of the public money to the amount, if I mistake not, of eight thousand rubles. It was early in the morning when he discovered the theft; and at noon the whole sum was sent to him, which had been collected together among

a number of persons who stood in no closer connection with him than that of acquaintance and esteem. I am satisfied that no commentary could give any force to the simple narration of such a fact.

A physician who had been indefatigable in his attendance on the hospitals and public institutions for the poor, died of a disorder which he caught in the performance of his duty. His funeral, which was solemnized by an excellent oration from the minister, was the most affecting scene imaginable. All the numerous poor whom he had assisted, being assembled in the church, received his bier with sobs and heartfelt lamentations; their tears flowed into his grave, and their blessings afforded to his name the tribute of the sweetest incense. He left a young widow pregnant, and a scanty provision for her. A considerable merchant (I regret that I am obliged to conceal his name) begged to stand godfather to the future child. Before its birth he made the orphan a present of four thousand dollars (800*l.*), upon a condition which did his understanding as much honour as his heart: the capital and interest were to accumulate till the child should reach the age at which the father died (I believe about forty), so that a reliance on this support should not produce neglect of the ordinary means for providing a subsistence; but at that age the gift was to take effect; or if the heir should die before that time, the whole to go among the other brothers and sisters. The latter was unfortunately the case. The generosity and beneficence of this good man did not rest satisfied here. He heard that the widow had thoughts of laying down her equipage; and knowing that she had been accustomed to this convenience, he immediately settled upon her an annuity of five hundred dollars, on condition of her retaining her carriage as usual.

After enumerating various inconveniencies and dangers to which travellers by post are subjected, he says, from all these inconveniencies and dangers nothing is to be feared with a *veturino*. It goes indeed slower, and often very slow, while the extra-posts shoot by us rapidly; but the mules keep an even pace, and moreover the step of these animals is extremely sure,—an important circumstance in a journey where the road carries us every instant up and down hill, by the edge of precipices undefended with walls, and over rocks that throw the carriage from side to side. Horses move the quicker for being beaten; but the mule keeps his pace the more steadily. I have been astonished at the steep rocks which we have so often driven down without locking the wheel. Not a single instance has ever been known of a mule's missing his footing. Their driver very frequently falls asleep, and still they go with equal security. The *veturinoes* carry a

shrill-sounding bell, which is heard at a considerable distance without attracting the robbers, who indeed seem to be under a sort of silent compact of forbearance with them. The *veturino* also provides every accommodation for the traveller. He takes him to the best and safest houses for lodging; he even settles his bills for him, and protects him against imposition. If any accident happens to the carriage, he has it expeditiously and effectually repaired: in short, he acts in every respect for the traveller.

Then follow, some remarks on the journey from Riga to Berlin, through West Prussia. M. Kotzebue points out the few curiosities worthy of notice at Memel; but of Berlin he avowedly says little or nothing. On reaching Altenbnrg, he gives the following account of the

#### COSTUME OF THE PEASANTS.

The Altenburg peasants, in their costume, retain the wide breeches and little round hats of many centuries ago. May the simplicity of their manners have maintained an equal stability with their fashions! The dress of the men is very striking; but with respect to the women, it is impossible to refrain from laughter when we see them for the first time. They wear at least half-a-dozen petticoats, and these are not so long as the gauze apron of a Parisian dancer; even the naked knee is generally visible. With all this their feet are so large, that one would suppose they had been modelled from those of the Colossus of Rhodes.

On reaching Nurenberg, he justly deprecates the horrid dungeons for the

#### CONFINEMENT OF PRISONERS.

The mighty Prussian eagle almost touches Nurenberg with his wings: for we perceive him very close to the gate of this free Hans town, which I think would do well to build him a nest in the middle of its market-place; as then the detestable holes beneath the walls of the senate-house would certainly disappear in an instant, over which, with their iron grates, we stumble. Yet whoever goes carefully, and consequently does not stumble, will nevertheless, like me, be roused by the pestilential vapour that issues from them, to notice these horrible dungeons. "Good heavens!" cried I, "whence comes this stench?" I was answered, "Under us are the prisons, which extend as far as the Sebaldus church." "Sacred Howard!" I exclaimed, "what a shuddering would have seized thee here!" "Oh!" said my guide, "the prisoners are in no bad condition: they have good eating and drinking."—"But *no air*!"—"That they are accustomed to."—"Then I wish the whole Nurenberg senate

were confined here; and had their delicate partridges, and truffles boiled in champaign, every day given them through an opening, to be instantly closed again."

At the town house of Nurenberg, he saw an interesting curiosity. Its ceiling, he observes, represents, in finely preserved stucco work, a German tournament of the fourteenth century. The figures, of which many hundreds are to be seen, are all as large as life; and the whole gives a very clear idea of this favourite representation among our forefathers. The musicians go first. Then follow the knights who were to exhibit, on whose shield and helmet are distinctly painted their respective arms. Each is attended by a footman, who holds a staff in his hand, and has likewise the arms of his knight delineated on his breast. Further on, the combatants are tilting against each other, and break their lances: some of the horsemen lose their stirrups; and others are falling, wounded, to the ground. Great multitudes of spectators, among whom are many fine ladies, appear above in the balconies, enjoying with eagerness the entertainment. This representation gave me so much pleasure, that I suffered from it, in my neck, the whole evening; and was almost induced to envy the proud who carry their heads so high that they can conveniently sake a view of it without any exertion.

At Augsburg he indulges in the following strain of pleasantry at the expence of the

#### GERMAN HAIR-DRESSERS.

For many years past the hair-dressers have complained of their art not being honoured according to its dignity. Queues are cut off without any ceremony; or a small rat's tail, at the most, is alone suffered to remain. All the rest must be bristles; even the animating powder is dispensed with; and instead of being indebted to the comb, as formerly, for the captivating lock, we are seen, like cats or flies, with our hands up to our heads whenever we are afraid the bristles are not sufficiently elevated. The flowing wig, at once that boast of the art, and noble ornament of our ancestors, is banished: and we must look back with a melancholy regret to the times when a courtier borrowed the gravity of a judge from this appendage.

These allegations of the honourable fraternity of peruque-makers are certainly well founded. It is now with our hair as with our philosophy; each has experienced a discouraging change: once the *former* had much *pudding*, and the latter much bombast; but by degrees every thing has been so cut away from both, as to leave them shapeless masses, without a name. The complainants may, however, console themselves with having some

place of refuge, where at least they will not starve amidst the universal desolation that has spread over their trade; but I do not recollect that philosophers have the advantage of any corner of the earth where their systems will be adopted without opposition. Augsburg is the resort for genuine peruke-makers of the old school; where every honest member, who is shocked by the conversion of hair into bristles, will find a retreat from the horrors that have assailed him in this innovating age. Here he will find reverend sirs with their monstrous wigs, which display a thousand locks dropping in so many curls; and, more than this, the *friseur*, who in his native place served only mortals, may here aspire to the glory of exercising his art upon deities. The Holy Ghost is the only person of the Trinity who appears at Augsburg unadorned with a curled wig. It is a real luxury to enter any one of the churches here, it matters not which, and behold the Virgin Mary dressed in brocades, with a wig flowing down her shoulders; and in her arms the child Jesus, no less decorated with a well-powdered peruke. Even in the representation of God the Father, the locks fall from his head upon the globe which he holds. In short, no peruke-maker will ever enter a church at Augsburg without shedding tears of joy.

#### SPIRITUAL WEDDING.

The night overtook me, says our author, as I reached Ichwabmunschen, between Augsburg and Inspruk; where my ears were immediately saluted with the sounds of mirth, proceeding from the post-house. The door was decorated with flowers; and over it hung a golden chalice, such as is used in the administration of the sacrament, and from within resounded the voices of several persons singing a ballad.

"Here is probably a wedding," said I on alighting. "Yes," replied the spruce servant-maid; adding at the same time, that we must travel further, for to-day there was no lodging for us in the house. "Is it the daughter of the landlord, who has been married?" I asked.—"No, sir; but at the wedding a minister has been saying his first mass."—"But I heard a merry ballad."—"Above stairs is an entertainment; if you will walk up, you will be welcome." I did not want a second invitation. I found a great table, in the form of a horse-shoe, surrounded by decent citizens, with their wives and daughters. The bridegroom had the post of honour, at the upper end: a corner of the table was occupied by the musicians, who scraped upon a couple of violins with all their might. Six or seven elderly clergymen were also present, and others came in while I staid. Below I had thought the dinner was going on in full career, for in the kitchen the cook-

ing over a blazing fire denoted great preparations for a feast: but I found at present only cakes and wine before the guests; the preparations below were for a supper. The attention of the whole company was so fixed upon the music, or so perfectly drowned in the juice of the grape, that we stood unperceived auditors and spectators. Besides the ballad which I mentioned, the singers roared out many others of the same kind, but by no means less merry, and forming a striking contrast with the reverend character of a part of the company. The male guests, dressed partly in black and partly in colours, laughed immoderately. The ladies were a little more reserved: they only simpered. To my regret, the odious sound of the post-horn called me too soon to my carriage: I proceeded on my journey, however, not a little pleased with having been present at a *spiritual* wedding.

#### COMPARISON BETWEEN THE TYROL AND SWITZERLAND.

As few travellers seem to have properly estimated the beauties of the charming Tyrolean mountains, we are the more inclined to give in detail the observations of Kotzebue on that delightful country.

Why, says he, do our travelling world visit only Switzerland; or so few of them make Tyrol an object of their journey? Why do our travel-writers say so much exclusively upon Switzerland; and why do we so seldom read any thing on Tyrol? I also have seen Switzerland; and although only superficially, I must boldly declare that the beauties of Tyrol appear to me in no degree inferior.

The only objects which I missed were cataracts, which in Tyrol indeed are but sparingly distributed; yet even without these, I venture to affirm that the varied romantic and captivating scenes of Tyrol will leave a more pleasing impression on the mind than the continually mountainous Switzerland. In the peculiar sense in which, after extracting from a sentimental author the best passages, we entitle the compilation his "*Beauties*," I may with equal propriety call the road between Fuesen and Rieti a "*Beauty of Nature*;" for she appears to have here collected together her finest and most exalted objects from the whole world, and concentrated them all within a narrow space. Let every traveller, however, arrange his journey so as to pass this road by day-light, or he will capriciously deprive himself of the sweetest sensations. On descending the hill from Lermos to Nassereit, let him alight, and walk slowly. The rugged rocks, which threaten to crush him; the purling springs; the lakes of a heavenly green tint; the larch wood; the shrubberies of barberry trees; the old ruined castle, on an isolated eminence in the

middle of the dark lake ; the glorious Lech, at one time foaming and rushing into a narrow bed of rock, then tranquilly and majestically rolling through the blooming plain :—No ! I have many times declared that I would never enter into description of scenery ; but whoever has a taste for the truly sublime may believe me, that on this journey tears will more than once involuntarily start into his eyes.

In Switzerland we must submit to be drawn along by what they please to call horses, but which in their pace rather resemble snails. Our time and our money suffer equally in that land of slowness. We must content ourselves with carriers, for there are no posts. In Tyrol, on the contrary, we trot on briskly through the country, with lively post-horses ; and talk or sleep, stop or go further, as we please. Tyrol too claims one great preference over Switzerland, in having all its beauties by the road-side ; we have no occasion, as in that country, to deviate to the right and left, and to climb on our hands and knees, in order to catch a charm of Nature ; for she here offers herself at once to our view, and meets us with the utmost friendliness and majesty combined. Nor can any where but in Tyrol be found such a fascinating contrast between the wildest objects of nature and the most charming images of human industry. Behold yonder the rough rocks, appearing to bound heaven and earth ! A convulsion of the elements has surely tossed these masses so capriciously together. While the roaring stream rushes from within them, they bend down upon it as if they would block up its road, and it throws its foam at them with scorn.—But near this scene stands a small quiet hut, embosomed in vines. The bleating cows graze around it ; and a cheerful infant bends carelessly over the raging flood, and draws up a pitcherful of water. One is tempted anxiously to call to him not to fall : he would not understand it ; for he sees, and consequently fears no danger.

This is the universal picture : as the feather floats on the waves, so do the sons of industry and health here skim the surface of the fertile earth, and seem to sport with the horrors that surround them. Large fields sown with Turkish corn spread a golden carpet over the valley, and reward most abundantly the labour of the husbandman ; and as soon as this is cleared off, the heads of colewort planted between sprout forth. I repeat it, a more strikingly variegated scene than what Tyrol presents, is not to be found.

## CHARACTER OF THE TYROLESE.

But what are the richest gifts of nature, if these do not leave the nation upon which they are bestowed, good and cheerful? This too is the case here. A people more honest and more faithful to God and to their sovereign do not exist. They are not a little proud of their last general summons to arms; and with justice; for it prevented the French from penetrating the mountains, by putting the weight of genuine patriotism into the scale against revolutionary liberty and fraternity, and by thus giving an irresistible turn to the balance. The Tyrolese are fond of recalling dangerous and honourable epochs, and endeavour by every means to eternize the remembrance of them in their houses. Indeed they are attached to all kinds of memorials that concern themselves, particularly of perilous exploits. Thus we find, for example, on the road that leads in its whole course over steep mountains, figures erected, representing that here one was surprised by robbers, there another was in danger of being drowned, and a third was dragged down the rocks by the affrighted horses. By the timely assistance of a saint, to whom the unfortunate persons sent up a momentary supplication, they were saved; and in the fulness of their gratitude have marked the place where these wonders were performed. I like this custom very much; though at first the horrible figures sometimes inspire terror into the mind of travellers. But what have the upright Tyrolese to do with the timid traveller? Are they not in their own country? And who shall refuse or envy them the privilege of recalling to their memory, by substantial images, the dangers which they have surmounted? for in fact this is one of the sweetest of human feelings.

After noticing the abundance and cheapness of provisions, our author thus continues: What greater recommendations can we have for a journey of pleasure?—Here are a grand country, enchanting scenery, roads in capital repair, good horses, ready obliging post-keepers, civil postillions, convenient lodging, delicious food, excellent wine, prompt attendance, and a moderate bill. I have no hesitation in advising sickly ladies especially to restore their health and spirits in the mountains of Tyrol. At the distance of five hours ride from Inspruk, there are also glaciers of monstrous extent; which have been visited by many strangers, particularly Englishmen. They have been depicted to me as singularly remarkable. The highest mountain lies towards Graubund, and is called the Oertler: it is said to be 13,000 feet high. Many of the Tyrolese will make it a rival of

Mount Blanc; which however, as is known, is above 14,000 feet.

#### IMPERIAL MUNIFICENCE!!!

A peasant named Peter Honig has, merely by the aid of his genius, executed an excellent detailed map of Tyrol; and also a pair of fine globes, which are seen in a castle not far from Inspruk. Maria Theresa recompensed him *munificently*: she gave him a *florin daily*, out of which sum he was obliged to pay for assistance! A great honour also was conferred on him after his death; by having his body dug out of the ground, and removed into the church; which, however, was merely a common village edifice.

#### POPENSIITIES OF THE TYROLESE FOR HUNTING, AND PUNISHMENT OF POACHERS.

The Tyrolese are universally passionate lovers of the chase. Before I had proceeded so far as Inspruk, I was told that the liberty of hunting is not expressly allowed them as a right; but that, from their assistance having been much wanted in times of danger, the practice is connived at, in order to reward them for their good behaviour: and that in fact the chase is now no longer rented, the natural consequence of which is, that the quantity of game is daily decreasing. The conduct of the government in this instance appeared to me very commendable and prudent; in not forgetting these faithful services, but rewarding them in the manner the most agreeable to the people, and least expensive to themselves. But in Inspruk I heard a different account. I was here told that it was not till the daring enemy had found in the passes of the Tyrol mountains the limits of their victories, and the courageous fidelity of the sharp-shooters (who were never soldiers) had served as a bulwark for the trembling capital, that this privilege was temporally suffered; but that now again every unlicensed hunter is deemed a poacher, and when seized is invariably made a soldier. However, the practice is grown into a passion with them, more violent than that of the gamester. Neither threats nor punishments are capable of deterring them from it. One who had been many times caught in the fact declared aloud, "And if I knew that the next tree would be my gallows, I must notwithstanding hunt." Gain cannot be the principal inducement here, for them to risk their liberty; for a goat, when shot, weighs only fifty or sixty pounds at the utmost, and sells together with the skin (which is of use only in autumn) but for ten or twelve florins. It is for this that the hunter exposes himself to a thousand dangers, and beside, to ignominy and

a severe punishment. For this he spends the coldest winter nights on the cliffs, buries himself in the snow, and sacrifices his hours of sleep. Provided with a scanty store of victuals, he ranges for many days the desert mountains around; and in spite of hunger and thirst, and every other hardship, pursues this way of life as his highest enjoyment. But when he has gained his poor plunder, he is still exposed to great danger and trouble in the sale of it; unless he happens to be near the monastery at Wiltan, where he may find friends in the clergy there, who love to be provided, all the year round, with game at a cheap rate. The inns at Inspruk are also good customers to such of them as will carry them their prey in the middle of the night.

One of these sportsmen alone seldom or never shoots a goat; they are obliged to go in company, and surround the animals. A herd of goats has always a sentinel planted at a distance. On the point of a rock, presenting no more space than can be covered by the hand closed, the goat stands; and when at a distance he perceives the human form, he makes a loud whistling sound, and in an instant the whole herd vanish. Besides these goats, there are also deer, and (still more numerous) bears, wolves, foxes, and badgers.

The poachers wear masks, or by some other means render their faces undistinguishable. If they perceive a gamekeeper at a distance, they beckon to him with their hands to depart in haste; calling to him at the same time, "Go, or we will make you." If he does not obey, they level their firelocks at him; and if he still refuses to return, they fire: this, however, is in extreme cases only; and when they see no other means of saving themselves. If a gamekeeper recognizes one of them in these excursions, and informs against him, he must himself afterwards guard against their revenge. Of this there have been some melancholy instances. A poacher who, in consequence of these practices, had been obliged for many years to serve in a distant regiment, was at length discharged, and returned to his country. He immediately began climbing the mountains again in search of game, met his informer, and shot him dead. I am not prepared to decide whether the government would do better in yielding to this unconquerable propensity; and whether a people who, in case of urgency, must defend their frontiers, should be allowed to train themselves up for war with men, by a constant pursuit of wild beasts. Would the Tyrolese have defended themselves more bravely against the French, if, instead of such share of military discipline as they may have at the time possessed, they were nothing but native poachers?

Between Zelt and Inspruk stands a grotto on a steep rock, at so great a distance that the eye can scarcely discern a crucifix which is erected there. To this spot the emperor Maximilian is said to have strayed after the chase, and to have been led down by an angel. A real event appears to be the foundation of this tradition; and I can never blame any one for believing that nothing but the hand of Providence could have conducted a person down these rugged rocks.

#### EXPERTNESS OF THE TYROLESE MARKSMEN.

When I was at Inspruk, the baptismal day of the emperor was celebrated there. The citizens amused themselves by firing at a mark; and I had occasion to admire the celebrated dexterity of the sharp-shooters. Too much is not said of them; of ten or twelve shots eight at least entered the bull's-eye. Not a single one missed the target. The man whose business was, after every shot, to mark the place where the ball had struck, was also so certain of no one's shooting wide of the mark, that he often continued standing near it during the firings. He must indeed have been as well satisfied of the sobriety as of the dexterity of his countrymen.

#### SINGULAR APPEARANCE OF THE TOWN OF INSPRUK.

Before I leave Inspruk, I cannot help expressing the wish of seeing the town at a time when the inhabitants are drying their linen after washing. In most houses there are for this purpose, on the roofs, a sort of balconies; which at any time present a singular spectacle; but when all the linen is hung out, and happens to be moved by the wind just at the instant of the traveller first catching the view of Inspruk at a distance, he must surely imagine it to be a sailing town.

#### TYROLEAN FEMALES.

In this part of Tyrol is to be seen a charming national physiognomy in the fair sex; oval faces, fine dark eyes, and a white skin: they are all as much alike as sisters. It is a pity only that their clumsy dress disfigures their personal attractions. At every inn we now find the charges regulated, which is a laudable custom. The classification of the meals, however, made me smile. The first grand division is, into meat days and fasting days. Then there are gentlemen's meals, drivers' meals, and wedding dinners: in the latter a singular arrangement is made, that the ladies shall pay eight cruizers (four pence) less than the men; this is, however, very reasonable, and the principle should be the same every where, for certainly they eat and drink less. In these parts the custom begins which prevails through all Italy, of not ironing, but merely washing the linen.

The French penetrated as far as Mitterwald: here they met, in the bravery of the Tyrolese, an insurmountable obstacle to their progress.—The post-master of this town presented us with a melancholy example of misfortune. He was once wealthy, and blessed in his wife and family. The *magnanimous* French robbed him of every thing, and levelled two of his houses with the ground. His wife lost her reason at these disasters, and wandered about the fields till he was obliged to put her into confinement. The enemy were scarcely repulsed, when a contagious disorder broke out among the horses, and carried off thirty-six of his. When I was there, his wife was indeed so far recovered, that she could take some share in the domestic business, but she was still melancholy. I think that the mind capable of bearing so much misery must be either very strong or very weak.

The road between Brixon and Botzen is extremely romantic. On the right are seen rugged rocks; on the left steep precipices; and below, the rapid stream of the Eisach, which I might almost call a cataract of many miles long. Yet the rude soil is very often diversified by little fruitful spots, and millions of gourds sprout up from the crevices of the rocks.—Vines are here particularly well cultivated. The Tyrol wine is very good and cheap.

#### RIDICULOUS PIETY.

Crucifixes are to be seen, by hundreds, on the road side. The pious have adorned them with decorations of all sorts. In some places the Saviour has nosegays of flowers between his feet; in others, the Turkish corn descends from his arms. Here and there even a vine is planted by the side of the crucifix; which is so completely encircled by it from top to bottom, that we should suppose the figure a representation of Bacchus. In how many degrading situations does superstition place the object of its adoration! The crucifix sometimes stands on the brink of a fountain; and in the side which was opened by the spear, a tin pipe is fixed, which continually spouts out water.

With similar remarks on every thing worthy of notice, and often on subjects which perhaps all other travellers would deem insignificant, our interesting author leads us with him to Vienna and Florence. His observations on the Apennines are however more trite than we expected to find them; and what he does say on those great wonders of nature, is only to shew his decided opinion, that the prospects in the Tyrol are far superior in beauty and sublimity.

On arriving at Bologna he visited the Academy of Sciences, from whose records he abstracted a correct account of the

## AERIAL VOYAGE OF ZAMBECCARI.

This account we shall lay before our readers ; as it is in many respects entitled to attention, while it will be deemed the more interesting, because none but trivial and flimsy statements have yet appeared of that extraordinary adventure.

After passing many well-deserved compliments on the daring aeronaut, whom he calls "the man of steel," M. Kotzebue thus describes his excursion :

On the 21st of August, at midnight, on the discharge of three cannons, the balloon was brought out of the church Delle Acque (where it had been prepared) to the nearest meadow. It was thirty Bolognese feet (something more than five-and-thirty Parisian feet) in diameter. A circular lamp with spirits of wine was inserted ; which had twenty-four holes round it, all provided with covers to open or shut quickly, as was necessary to increase or deaden the flame. The weight of the whole machine, together with the two travellers and their equipage, amounted to 810 Bolognese pounds, to which must be reckoned as much ballast as was requisite. At three in the morning the process of filling was begun. From sixteen tuns, which stood in a circle round two great vats filled with water, the gas was secreted, and ascended pure into the balloon. The management of the chemical apparatus went forward smoothly. It was previously determined to fill two-thirds of the balloon. In the space of an hour it began to move ; and the prescribed measure of filling would have been soon effected, if frequent interruptions had not occurred.

At six in the morning, three reports of cannon called all the spectators out of the city. They flocked in immense crowds to the spot. Those provided with tickets of admittance filled the inclosure, and the populace climbed the hills around. The spectacle was grand and impressive. Every eye was fixed on the aerial adventurers, who were preparing for their perilous flight with the most tranquil precaution.

The chemical operations being now completed, the car was laden and the ballast taken in. At half after ten Zambeccari and Andreoli entered the car. At first they tried the effect of the rudders. They threw out five-and-twenty pounds weight, and then mounted as high as fifty feet (being yet held by a rope). At this height they moved the rudder, and the machine followed with much regularity the motion of the rudder in a descending direction, thus overpowering the weight of twenty-five pounds.

A second experiment was now made. The twenty-five pounds thrown out were again taken in, and five pounds additional ; consequently the whole weight now exceeded the ascending force by five pounds. Not more than two small lighted flames were

requisite, to swell the balloon visibly; and the air thus rarefied raised it slowly the length of the cord. But as soon as the effect of the two flames was destroyed by the covers, the balloon relaxed again, and sunk down gently.

The third trial consisted in lighting six small flames, the effect of which was so much the more rapid. The balloon however did not sink the instant the flames were extinguished; but kept its height for about two minutes longer, which time appeared necessary to bring its temperature into equilibrium with the circumambient air. It descended with a gentle and uniform motion as before.

After these experiments, the adventurers disposed themselves for their departure. They first examined the weight of the whole machine, and satisfied themselves that a preponderance of a few pounds would give it an inclination downwards. Eight more flames were now lighted, the cord was slackened, and the ascent instantly commenced, at ten minutes before eleven. The barometer stood at 27 Parisian inches 7 lines: Reaumur's thermometer, at 17. 33. It blew a gentle western breeze. The thunder of the mountain of St. Michael saluted the aerial voyagers six times. The ascension was so gradual and regular, that the shaking of the car by the agitation of the air on firing the cannon was very visible. A few scattered clouds passed along the sky; the day was calm; the wind very still, rather changeable at different heights, but the most so on the earth. As this last circumstance prevented the balloon from removing to any great distance in its direction, it remained almost always in the view of the spectators. From the tops of all the hills, and from the steeples, the eager eye pursued it to the very time of its falling. The ascending motion was very various, accordingly as the balloon cut through different degrees of the atmosphere. At first it went southward, then westward, at length northward, and in this direction it went off for Bologna. The aeronauts made constant manœuvres, which afforded them the following observations:

1. The above-mentioned art of changing the temperature of the balloon at pleasure, entirely fulfilled their expectations. By a single additional flame they in a moment hastened the ascension; or, on the contrary, retarded it by applying the covers. While they kept a settled number of flames burning, the balloon was also kept at a regular height; but the instant a single cover was applied, it began to sink again:

2. On extinguishing the flames, the new effect was not so rapid as on kindling them. A minute would pass in the former case before the rising of the balloon ceased, and it inclined to fall again by degrees:

3. They observed a peculiarity in the above respect, once or

twice. When the balloon was at rest, it began sometimes to rise backward, without any change in the fire. This anomaly Zambecari ascribed to the different temperature of the surrounding atmosphere; which was perhaps occasioned by the sun's beams, or their reflection in the clouds:

4. This trifle excepted, it was perfectly easy for them to guide the vertical motion; and to raise or let themselves down at pleasure, or to remain at any particular height. An experiment they made in our sight, by descending from a great elevation to five hundred feet only above the earth, and then soaring aloft again to their former distance:

5. During the whole journey, the height indicated by the state of the barometer perfectly accorded with the notices given by what Zambecari calls his anemometrical scale of movements. The least height of the barometer was twenty Parisian inches; consequently the balloon did not rise above 6998 Bolognese feet. The least height of the thermometer was nine degrees:-

6. The balloon once cut through a cloud, not very thick, which suddenly dissolved. Neither by the approach of clouds, nor by touching them, are any sensible marks of electricity to be found in them. The cloud therefore was probably dispersed by the pressure of the balloon acting upon it; at least, the travellers perceived no traces of moisture as they passed through it.

At one in the afternoon the balloon hovered over cape d'Argine; a stage on the road to Ferrara, six miles from Bologna. A breeze carried it north-west. The travellers in the beginning were not displeased with this: but, on the one hand, the wind was too weak to drive them to a great distance; and, on the other hand, the powers of two men were scarcely sufficient for governing the balloon, and at the same time making the necessary observations. To moderate or strengthen the fire of the lamp according to the necessity of circumstances; to observe the barometer and thermometer, as well as the compass; to examine the situation of the balloon at every movement, these were the anxious difficulties of the travellers, who by the slightest error might be brought into danger. Zambecari resolved therefore on descending; and in this operation the balloon obeyed once more, to their greatest astonishment, the will of its conductors. Thousands of spectators were witnesses of it; and, at the request of the Academy of Sciences, the police had it committed to formal testimony.

As the balloon approached the earth, it hovered over a foggy land, which appeared to the adventurers to be a rice-field. In an instant they lighted up two flames; and, on rising again, perceiving a field at a distance of two hundred yards, that presented no obstacle, they let themselves sink. The anchor, with a cable of seventy feet, was now thrown out, and seized an elm-branch.

The inhabitants ran to it with shouts and acclamations, and received the strangers with cordiality.

But shipwreck awaited them in the very port. The balloon descended in a crooked drection; part of it yielding to the weight, and part to the force of the wind. No sooner had the anchor fastened, than the cable became entangled; and the car received a blow, which inclined the balloon so much sideways, that the inflammable spirits were spilt. The flame spread immediately about the car, which was unfortunately wet with what had thus run over. Enveloped in flame, and confused by the suddenness of the danger, the travellers had not the presence of mind to increase the ascending power instantly to the necessary degree for preventing a further inclination downwards. The balloon fell with its whole weight to the earth; and this new and violent shock caused a still greater overflow of the spirits that fed the flame already raging. To this was added the calamity of the fire reaching a bottle containing about thirty pounds of spirits, which suddenly kindled with a loud report. The considerable diminution of the weight occasioned the machine to rebound upwards with great vehemence, while the anchor still kept it from an ascent. The fall, the shock, and the rebound, were the work of a moment. The entangled cord threatened to break the rudder in pieces. Two men climbed up the ropes, and tried in this manner to hold the balloon. In the mean time the adventurers, surrounded by fire in the air, cried out to those below to pull the ropes. Their clothes and instruments, the net, and the ropes of the car, all were on fire. Zambeccari poured a bottle of water over his head, and by that means succeeded so far as to extinguish the fire immediately around him. His companion, in order to save himself, quickly climbed down by the cable; but, from his haste, and the violent shaking, he lost his hold, was tossed against some object, and fell very heavily to the ground. As the balloon had in this manner suddenly lost so much weight, it shook about and drove upwards with a violence that was no longer to be restrained. The two men who had climbed up to it, and had been terrified by Andreoli's fall, could no longer resist the violent agitation of the cords, and were flung backwards. At that instant the machine rose with a frightful rapidity. The tottering of the car caused by the shock still continued; it might be easily perceived, and appeared to all the spectators to forebode no good. As long as the eye could follow Zambeccari, he was seen occupied in freeing his clothes from the fire, and in extinguishing or throwing out as well as he could every thing burning which surrounded him. But the balloon was soon entirely out of sight; it mounted to an astonishing height, and was driven north-westward. This whole catastrophe was the work of three minutes.

In spite of the equilibrium being thus destroyed, which had been sought for with so much diligence, Zambecari did not lose his courage; but what resources could even genius and industry offer him in so desperate a situation? He hovered about at such a monstrous height, that, in his own language, the clouds appeared to him like an abyss. How high he really went, he could not possibly ascertain, as his barometer was broken by the fall; but his hands, which were already in a bad condition, suffered the severest cold. However, he did not rise quite so high as might reasonably have been expected. He looked about him; and concluded from the laxity of the lower part of the machine, that it admitted of a greater expansion. A bladder filled with air which he had still in reserve, gave him moreover a tolerably accurate measure for the expansion of the balloon at that time, which had even at this dreadful height some folds. These marks satisfied him of the danger of any sudden fall by the sides of the balloon coming together.

While he was thus suspended between hope and fear, a gale caught the balloon, and carried it rapidly over the Adriatic sea. At two in the afternoon he was perceived in those quarters, but at so great a distance that it was not possible to distinguish objects. By degrees the balloon descended into the sea, at the distance of about twenty-five miles from the Italian coast. A part of the car sunk into the water, and Zambecari himself stood with half his body immersed. Hoping to reach the shore, or to meet with some vessel, he cast his anxious looks around, but perceived only sky and water. Still his courage did not forsake him: he thought that he could not be far from the coast; and the wind, which blew favourably for that quarter, would, he expected, carry him thither. But after he had waited a long time, and no coast appeared in the horizon, he wished, by climbing up the rope so as to have his whole body out of the water, to secure himself at least against sleep or stupefaction; and for that purpose drew the cable after him, which hung on his left side in the sea. But how great was his astonishment, to find that the anchor had caught at the bottom, and consequently prevented the balloon from moving! He instantly saw the necessity of cutting the cable: but by what means was he to affect this? he had no instruments, nor even the use of his hands; for his right hand was frozen, and the left shattered. Necessity prompted his invention: he broke the lens of a telescope, seized the cord with his teeth, and sawed it through; which, from its being wet and made of silk, was the more practicable. At length he succeeded in getting his machine afloat: a fair wind drove it towards the Italian coast; and Zambecari did the utmost in his power, by using his arm as a rudder to help it forward.

After proceeding nearly fifteen miles in this manner, he met seven fishing smacks that had run out from Magnavacca. The first four, as soon as they perceived the singular machine on the water, were struck with a panic, and instantly made away from it. Fortunately the three others were less fearful. They however approached very slowly and cautiously; but when they perceived the object distinctly, one of them spread his sails, and made all possible haste towards it.

It was indeed now become absolutely necessary that something should be done for his preservation: he had been standing already four hours in the water; the car continued to sink deeper, and the water literally reached to his neck. The fishermen did their utmost; but the act of saving him was attended not merely with trouble, but with danger. They in vain tried to retain the balloon; which, as soon as it was lightened, rose up with great vehemence, and took a direction first towards Comachio, and afterwards to the Levant.

The hospitable fishermen used every means in their power to refresh their guest. Notwithstanding the fatigues which he had undergone, his vigorous mind still maintained its energy. He spent a tolerable tranquil night on board the bark; and the next morning he reached Magnavacca, and proceeded thence to Comachio, where the delegate of the prefecture received him with the greatest kindness.

In the mean time how anxious a solicitude did his uncertain destiny excite in every breast at Bologna! Even this, however, was scarcely equalled by the tumult of exultation with which Zambeccari was received there on his return. It was the triumph of philosophy. The only diminution of this unbounded joy, was the unfortunately critical state of his health. It was feared that he would lose his right hand; but he has fortunately escaped with the loss of two fingers of it: and let us hope that the happy result of this dreadful event will be, the future completion of this experiment to govern the balloon at pleasure.

#### THE DEVIL'S CONFESSION.

A church with tapestry hangings is a rarity: whoever has a mind to see this, let him visit the Dominican church, which is very whimsically hung with yellow and red striped silk. The monks of the convent belonging to it have an excellent apothecary's shop; by which, from the careful preparation of the medicines, and their cheapness, much good is effected. It is, to be sure, ridiculous for monks to feed female vanity as they do here, by the manufacture of all sorts of washes, pomatums, perfumes, &c. Whoever travels to Rome, ought to provide himself with an excellent vinegar to be had here: in the pestiferous Campag-

na Romana he will find it necessary. The miracles of St. Dominic are painted on the cloisters of the monastery: among which the most remarkable is his having obliged the devil, who had robbed the church, to restore the plunder; and afterwards forced him into the confessional, where he confessed *all his sins* to the saint.

As the public and celebrated buildings in Florence, with their contents, have been already described by modern travellers, we are inclined to pass over the remarks upon them by Kotzebue, which are mostly superficial, in order to gain room for his more interesting accounts of the manners and customs of the present inhabitants of Italy.

At Florence he attended some miserable operas and pantomimes at the principal theatre, called *della Vergola*, an account of which he concludes with the following summary:

Though the Italian theatres are very cheap for persons who sit in the pit, they are extremely expensive to those who possess the boxes. In the first place, the rent of the box itself is very high; but when this is paid, they have not yet the right of entering, but merely of possessing the key, which is of no use without a ticket of admittance. Nay, in many places, (as in Rome) they must also pay for a servant to stand outside the box-door. At length, when they are admitted and take their seats, the chairs are so hard that it is impossible to sit on them; and, in order to be better accommodated, cushions must be hired of the box-keepers, who keep them for that purpose. Hence, after having called for ices and refreshments for the lady, it is common to have laid out five Dutch ducats (2l. 10s. 6d. sterling), only for the evening's entertainment; and on the first and second nights of the season, the expence is still greater.

On his arrival at Rome, the first object that received his admiration, was

#### THE COLISEUM.

I am not, says he, singular, in preferring the majestic ruins of the great amphitheatre called Coliseum, to the proud church of St. Peter; though I confess that I should do so even if I were to stand alone. Immediately on my arrival in Rome, I hastened to that fallen memorial of national greatness, and left much longer unseen the papal majesty that was still existing in all its splendour. I took the precaution of not walking, but of riding thither in a carriage; and of not looking about me till I alighted. I now turned my eyes around, and was perfectly dazzled by the immensity of the object. I must be pardoned any bold expression; whoever can speak coolly or sentimentally on such a subject, for him I do not write

A sweet and gently-moving astonishment is the first sensation that seizes the beholder ; and soon afterwards the grand spectacle swims before him as a cloud, for a tear involuntarily obscures his sight. He is waked out of this reverie by an object much less agréable. The following inscription puts him in mind of the cruelty of the heathens to the primitive christians, by making them fight with beasts : “ Defiled by the impure worship of heathens : purified by the blood of martyrs.”

I shall not attempt to give any adequate idea of this sublime building. My pen is so unequal to the task, that I should disgrace it. I shall therefore give only a humble description of it. —It is above sixteen hundred feet in circumference : four rows of pillars rise one above another ; the lowest is now sunk deep into the earth. Yet I am not disposed to charge Annian with any exaggeration when he says, “ The human eye scarcely measures its height.” He has indeed spoken a little poetically here ; but whom will not this subject inspire with a poetical warmth ?

I almost thank the Jews, for letting themselves be taken prisoners, to be employed in the erection of this vast edifice. Thirty thousand of them are said to have worked at it ; and they have not discredited their forefathers the builders of Solomon’s temple, by their performance. A pond, or small lake, belonging to Nero’s *golden house*, occupied the spot ; till Vespasian, by the advice of some creative genius, whose name his ungrateful fellow-citizens have not retained, dedicated it to the admiration of posterity. The inside was capable of containing eighty thousand spectators ; and when Titus introduced the first combats of that sort, not less than five thousand wild beasts fought here : Dio Cassius says, nine thousand. At the conclusion of that spectacle, the whole place was put under water, and two fleets, (denominated a Corcyrian and a Corinthian) represented a naval engagement. To render the vapour from such a multitude of persons less noxious, sweet-scented water, and frequently wine mixed with saffron, was rained down from a grated work above, on the heads of the people. The fair sex met with but little politeness here ; for their place was fixed quite behind the benches, and all of them who would sit were obliged to carry their own chairs with them. To the vestal virgins alone a post of honour was assigned. The religion of the christians naturally prevented them from attending games which were dedicated to pagan deities. The buffoon Nero once combated here with a lion ; which, however, he very judiciously caused to be previously tamed.

The successor of the noble Titus acknowledged the high value of this memorial ; Antoninus Pius was careful of its preservation ; and Heliogabalus, who generally spent his time in eating cocks’ combs and pheasants’ tongues, repaired it after a great fire.

Even the rude Goths did it no damage ; but the christians, from an excess of zeal, were not contented to leave it to decay with time. Pope Paul II. had as much of it levelled as was necessary to furnish materials for building the palace of St. Mark ; the cardinal Riario followed this pernicious example for the construction of the present chancery, as it is called ; and Paul the Third finally erected the palace of Farnese on its ruins. Notwithstanding all these dilapidations, there still exists enough of it to inspire us with awe. The most immense masses appear fastened to and upon one another without any mortar or cement ; and these alone, from their structure, are calculated for a duration of many thousand years. Occasionally, where the destroyers have not effectually attained their object, the half-loosened masses appear to be held in the air by some invisible power ; for the wide interstices among them leave no other support than their joints, which seem every moment as if about to yield unavoidably to the superior force of gravitation. "They will fall ;" "they must fall ;" "they are falling ;" is and has been the language of all beholders during the vast periods within the memory of man through which this edifice has thus hung together in the air.

Inside, the mixture of heathenish and popish memorials is very striking. On the walls of Vespasian, pots of holy water are hanging ; and instead of the fine altar on which the sacrifices were made previous to the combats, a crucifix is seen with these words written on it : "Whoever approaches this crucifix with a contrite heart, shall receive a hundred days dispensation from his sins."

A man (I believe his name is Carluccio) has received permission for having the foundation of the Coliseum dug up. The work is actually begun. I have looked down, and found the under-ground structure as admirable as that which stands above. Interesting discoveries may be here expected. I saw an old and perfectly brown human bone lying in the pit, probably the sacred remains of some martyr. It might be expected that in Rome this old bone would be taken out with great solemnity, and preserved as a wonder-working relic in some church.

In his account of the antiquities of Rome, we meet with nothing but what is of inferior interest to the passages which we are about to extract. His remarks certainly refresh one's memory as to the origin of the celebrated buildings, and the characters under whose dominion they were constructed ; and hence his book will be a valuable acquisition to future travellers in Italy, particularly amateurs of the arts. But says he, there is another class of readers who may also, in travelling to Rome, be eager to see *all* the wonderful things : I mean the pious catholics. For them here is also ample gratification. It was here, in the *Via*

*Sacra*, that Simon the magician ventured to rival St. Peter by the power of his sorcery; and, as a just punishment, was precipitated down headlong by the devil.—Here too pope Sylvester curbed a dragon, and indeed in the easiest manner imaginable; for with his seal, on which of course the cross was stamped, he closed the jaws of the monster as expeditiously as we seal a letter. Hence arose the church of St. Mary the Deliverer, in which this miracle is still to be seen painted.—The faithful will be greatly pleased with observing the temple of Remus converted into the church of St. Cosmo and St. Damian. They need also have no scruples at passing through the heathenish door of brass between two Corinthian columns of porphyry, for pope Adrian the First has purified it by his blessing. In the inside there are all sorts of pious pictures to be admired.—A new triumph awaits the good believer at the temple of Antoninus, now sacred to St. Laurence: for his edification, he finds the saint here broiling on the gridiron, painted by Peter of Cortona; and also an altar-piece by Dominichio, which may have been very fine before it was retouched by an unskilful pencil.—A delicious treat is prepared for him when he steps into the church of St. Theodore, formerly the temple of Romulus. Instead of the wolf of metal, which was the object of veneration formerly as the nurse of the twin founders of the Roman state, he may contemplate a picture of the martyr Julian of Baciccio; may view St. Theodore in the flames, painted by Zuccari; and may bring his epileptic children to be miraculously cured. The temple of Saturn (or, as others think it is, the palace of Paulus Emilius) is converted into a church of St. Adrian; in which is to be seen a picture of St. Peter Nolasco, who performed the meritorious action (in 1334) of erecting the order of monks *del Riscato*. Meritorious it may indeed be termed, when we consider the object of this order; for they were bound to ransom christian slaves from the Turkish captivity. This picture is said to be the master-piece of Guercino.—The church of St. Luke was also erected on the ruins of heathenism, in the temple of Mars. It is one of the oldest in Rome; and was formerly dedicated to St. Martina, a name perfectly unknown to me: but pope Sixtus the Fifth presented it to the academy of painters, who rebuilt it according to the sketches of Peter of Cortona, and naturally dedicated it to St. Luke, who is universally known to have been a painter. A statue of St. Martina by Menghino, and the magnificent subterraneous arch of the church, are worth seeing.

From Rome M. Kotzebue proceeded to Gaeta, and thence to Naples. On reaching the former place, he experienced the most delightful sensations at

## CICERO'S VILLA.

When I arrived, says he, at the haven of Gaeta, some hours of day-light yet remained, which I resolved to spend in a walk. The beautifully warm weather (on the twenty-seventh of October) enticed me out of doors, and the golden fruits of a lemon and orange grove drew me to a garden situated by the sea. I went, and found the door locked. A poor man received us in a friendly way: he was the occupier of this villa. We wandered, I may truly say, as if in Elysium, under the loaded trees; and took up a lemon here and there, which the wind had shaken off. When the man observed that the surrounding luxuriance of nature was a novelty to us, he plucked a fine double fruit from an orange-tree, and presented it to my wife with a good-natured gallantry. Thus we reached the extremity of the garden, which ran far into the sea; and where, on the rugged acclivity of a rock, a table and benches of stone invited to repose, observation, and enjoyment. A little hut stood close by; at the door of which a young woman, surrounded by children, was busy about a basket of olives. From the survey of these charming scenes nothing could have attracted our attention but the many ruins scattered round the garden, in which at first sight the old Roman architecture was manifest. Arched passages and walls, and deep vaults, were every where overgrown and covered with shrubs. But a bath in particular caught my eye, from its perfect state of preservation. The stone steps which led downwards were not destroyed, but only damaged a little by the weather; and even the pipes through which the water ran into the cistern were still partly open. We stood immersed in contemplation, scarcely hearing the narrative of our loquacious host, whose vulgar Neapolitan dialect rendered him very unintelligible, when suddenly the name of Cicero caught my ear. The blood thrilled in my veins. We now listened attentively, and what a sensation did we experience when we learnt that we had been walking in Cicero's garden, and eaten of its fruits! Every thing now seemed to assume a new aspect; every broken wall received a splendour in our eyes, and the grove became sacred to us. Here Cicero bathed; here he wandered; on that rocky point he sat, and perhaps wrote a chapter of his "Offices," which would alone be sufficient to immortalize his memory. Alas! here too it was that the murderers found him, and sacrificed him to the sanguinary ambition of the triumvirate.

This exquisite spot, with all the fruits and ruins, was let for forty-five ducats (23*l*.) Cicero's villa for forty-five ducats!—But I think I hear some cautious criticizing antiquarian exclaim, "Was it in reality Cicero's villa? That Cicero had a villa here, is indeed certain; for the haven of Gaeta (called Mola) is built

on the ruins of the town Formiæ, within the walls of which the *Formianum* of the philosopher was situated. But on which spot? Meyer places it in a lemon-grove before the town: and many inhabitants on being asked, will direct you to that; while many, on the other hand, know nothing of the matter."—Yet the unsuspecting declaration of our host, who spoke of it merely in a casual manner, proves at least that vulgar tradition agrees that the place where I stood is the venerable spot. Add to this its delightful situation, which seems perfectly suited for the residence of a Cicero; on the left hand the castle rising as it were out of the waves of the sea, strait before it the island of Ischia, and on the right hand Vesuvius. No! till the contrary can be clearly proved to me, I will never abandon the delightful persuasion of having passed over Cicero's villa.

#### ACCOUNT OF NAPLES.

At Naples every thing is different from what any inhabitant of a more northern climate conceives of a town.—I may describe Naples, says our author, as one large house, with a vast number of inhabitants; and the particular houses as mere chambers,—for, sleeping excepted, every thing passes in the streets that is in other countries done within doors. All artisans and mechanics not merely have open stalls, but they carry out their tables and whatever else they want for their trade, and work in the public streets; so that we see and hear knocking, hammering, sowing, weaving, filing, planing, frizzing, shaving, and a thousand other processes, the whole day. The eating-house-keeper plucks and roasts chickens, and boils and fries fish, in the street: while his hungry customers stop, and gratify their appetites. To quench their thirst they need only go a few steps further to one of the numerous water-sellers, who have their stalls also in the street. These last stalls are so singular as to deserve a particular description; but to make the subject very clear, I am afraid will not be in my power.

Before the table where the man stands to serve his customers, four painted and gilt stakes are fixed up at the corners, joined on the top by cross bars; and the extremity of these bars towards the street is decorated in various manners, some of which would elsewhere be thought rather licentious, but are here passed with indifference. They bear also the images of saints; and have a couple of small flags on both sides, with spaces filled up with bouquets of lemons nailed on. The first sight of this puts us in mind of the Chinese. The tapster has on each side of him a long cask in the form of a drum; through the middle of which an iron rod runs, so that it may be inclined upwards or downwards as he pleases. These casks contain fine clear

water and ice. The fore part of the table is covered with glasses and lemons. Round such booths there are always customers, more or fewer; but they are sometimes so numerous as to inclose it in a double or triple circle. The extraordinary ease with which the sellers dispatch this crowd, is truly admirable. They tip their casks to the right and to the left, fill the glass, squeeze a little lemon-juice into it, give it to the person, take the money, and lay some of it out again, &c. all in an instant. In observing them for a long time, they appear almost a sort of machine worked by springs. In hot weather the crowd is said to be indescribable, notwithstanding the immense number of these booths. They are lighted in the evening by eight, ten, or twelve lamps each. The price of this beverage is one of the smallest copper coins. It has a pretty appearance to see the chystal water pearly in the glass, and the ice cooling it. There is also much cleanliness observed, which is a thing very unusual in other matters: the seller rinses the glasses always beforehand. Besides these men with booths, here are many water sellers who cry about their commodity the whole day, and have in like manner a constant supply of clean glasses.

Eating and drinking are the first and most important concern of the populace. In Naples this is so carefully provided for, that we cannot go ten paces without meeting with some arrangements fitted to supply these two necessities in a moment. Here stand great kettles full of dressed maccaroni, with cheese scattered over it, and the surface decorated with small pieces of golden apple, as it is called. The ability of consuming a great portion of this article must be learnt from the Neapolitans; for as the maccaronies are an ell in length, they must be held by the thumb and fore-finger, with the neck bent back and the mouth stretched open, and thus let down into the throat. Strangers usually cut them in pieces with a knife and fork, and then eat them with spoons; but this is quite against the national custom. The maccaronies are here very simply prepared, with broth and cheese; and taste incomparably better than those which I have found in other places. They are here, however, as through all Italy, generally too little boiled: the rice, peeled grain, &c. are all hard, and scarcely eatable by a foreigner.—I once stopped as a taylor's wife was boiling her maccaroni in the street. She had turned a mortar upside down, and placed a pot on it that held a fire of burning sticks: over this flame stood her kettle. When the water began to boil, she seized a parcel of maccaronies, thrust them to the bottom of the pot, and kept them down till they were rendered flexible by the hot water: she then let the whole swim about. I looked at my watch. She left the victuals to boil up, for five minutes, poured off the water, put to it broth, and cheese

upon it, and the dinner was then ready. In the mean time a neighbour had risen from his seat of work, and, without asking permission, lighted his pipe at the little fire; the whole apparatus was also threatened for a moment with total destruction by a hog and a loaded ass. It is truly entertaining to witness this medley of scenes in the street.

Epicures sometimes mix livers of chickens with their maccheroni, which render it delicious in the extreme. But I have confined myself at present to the populace, who have also other favourite dishes besides this grand national one. Among these must be reckoned beans and peas, which are in like manner boiled in great kettles that invite the passengers to turn aside; and also Turkish corn, the ears of which are boiled in water just as they grow, without any preparation. This last is indeed the most common diet, and in the least repute; but it must be very nutritive, and I have frequently seen beggars devouring it eagerly. Not only the grains of it are eaten, but the meat likewise that encircles them, which is softened by boiling.

A second very rich source of nutriment is found in the endless number and variety of sea-fish; which are sold and consumed in the streets either boiled, roasted, or raw. I cannot describe all the grotesque forms they present. Some shell-fish are in the form of a horse-chesnut, with prickles; and others look like knife-handles of agate. Both sorts were eaten raw, and I think it must require some courage for consuming the latter when eaten in the following manner: their shells are first squeezed from the back part, when they immediately put out their heads and half their bodies in a manner somewhat similar to snails, and twist themselves about like leeches, which they very much resemble in form but not in colour. When held to a plate, they attach themselves to it with their heads, which then become broader. Two small eyes are clearly to be distinguished on the head. Whoever is disposed to eat this fish, must bite directly into its head, as soon as that part comes out of the shell; and holding it fast in this manner, draw out the whole body. I confess that I have never been able to overcome my aversion for performing such an operation. Some, however, stew them in their shells like oysters; in which state I have attempted to taste them, but found their flesh of a very sickly sweet.—The oysters here are also in immense numbers; but they are very small, and their taste is by no means fine. The fishermen have a custom of opening them, and putting four or five into one shell to make a mouthful; but this practice is neither cleanly nor inviting.

It is usual for these men to sit with their stock (called *sea-fruit*) for sale on the beach; where fashionable companies assemble on the summer evenings to eat fish, sitting down to small tables

which they find ready spread. The fisherman has then his variety of *sea-fruit* set out for shew, from which every one may suit his fancy. But as the space used for this purpose is not very large, it is necessary to order a table before-hand to prevent a disappointment.

Vegetables and fruit of every kind are, it appears, abundant at Naples, nor do the populace want for what they conceive greater luxuries. Under my window, observes our traveller, for example, stands a man with a table before him, to one corner of which a pole is fastened, with a thick iron nail of about six feet long projecting from it. The man kneads on his table a dough of maize flour, and sweetens it plentifully with black honey. He then pulls out the dough, which at this time looks very black, into a long roll; seizes the ends with his two hands, and strikes it with all his force over the thick rail till it becomes first yellow, and by degrees perfectly white. He now cuts it into small pieces, throws it into a pan with boiling oil, and in a few minutes the delicious substance is fried. The rabble catch up every morsel with avidity; and a number of greedy customers commonly surround the stall, watching the whole process with eager expectation till it is finished. A stranger might indeed find some difficulty in making an instantaneous trial of this dish; but he need only go a few paces further to the booth of a gingerbread-maker, and he will at all times find excellent little cakes filled partly with fruit and partly with *ricotta*, which I can assure him from experience would not disgrace a princely table. *Ricotta* is a sort of curds, or soft cheese; which is sold in small baskets with vine-leaves put over them.

It is well known that cheese is an article of importance with the Italians in general; but all sorts of Neapolitan cheese are good for nothing. Some are very sharp-tasted; but most of them are quite insipid. The commonest are in the form of a small round pilgrim's flask; and are hung on pack-thread, in which manner the whole booth is usually garnished with them. On cutting into this sort, it looks exactly as if it lay enclosed in a bladder, for it has a tolerably thick skin over it resembling that membrane. The inside is very tough, and has no taste. The buffalo cheeses are very similar to these, and will stretch like leather.

#### MONKISH IMPOSITION.

A custom, which I have met with no where else, is the manner of selling milk. The cow is led by its owner from house to house; and whoever wants milk sends out a servant, who milks from the cow before the door as much as the family has occasion for.

Besides these cows, there are also a number of calves that wander about the city, but for a very different purpose. They belong to the monks of St. Francis; who not only, in idleness, get their own bellies filled by the people, but also commit the protection of this live stock to their good-nature. For that purpose nothing more is necessary, than to put a small square board on the forehead of the calf, with the figure of St Francis painted on it. Provided with this, the animals walk about uncontrouled, devour as much as they can, and sleep where they choose, without any one venturing to prevent them. On the contrary, if one of them should happen to enter a great house, and lie down there to sleep, the occupier thinks it a fortunate omen.—It is incredible to what a height the monks carry their impudence here; which is in fact exceeded by nothing but the stupidity of the people.

From some subsequent observations we collect, that at Naples meat is good and cheap, as is bread; but that the wine is bad, and of a sickly taste.

#### ITALIAN BEGGARS.

Speaking of the fine buildings in the streets of Toledo, our author says, were all the streets of Naples like this one, and the grand buildings doubled in number and magnificence, it would still deserve the name of a wretched city as long as it is crowded with beggars, whose number defies all calculation. I feel it indeed a fruitless task for my pen to attempt a description of the scenes I have witnessed; and I lay it down in despair. But no: what I can tell, is as much as need be known of human misery. As we step out of our house, twenty hats and open hands are stretched out towards us. We cannot take ten steps in the street without meeting a beggar, who crosses our path, and with groans and piteous exclamations solicits our mite. Women, often dressed in black silk and veiled, obtrude themselves impudently upon us. Cripples of all sorts suddenly hold their stump of an arm or a leg close to our eyes. Noseless faces, devoured by disease, grin at us. Children quite naked, nay, not unfrequently even men, are to be seen lying and moaning in the dirt. A dropsical man sits by a wall, and shews us his monstrous belly. Consumptive mothers lie by the road side, with naked children in their laps, who are compelled to be continually crying aloud. If we go to church, we must pass between a dozen such deplorable objects at the door; and, when we enter, as many more fall down on their knees before us. Even in our dwelling we are not free from the painful spectacle. If we open the balcony-door, the sighs re-echo in our ear from below. Monks intrude themselves into our chamber, and beg of us while they offer

us a plate of fruit; and the king's gardener will do the same under the pretext of giving us a singular fruit purloined from the royal hot-houses.

On taking a view of all these horrors, one cannot restrain a smile of bitter contempt at the proud Neapolitan proverb: "You must see Naples, and die." Some years ago an attempt was made to abolish the system of beggary; and for this purpose a command was issued for taking up all beggars, and carrying them to the great poor-house, which is large enough to hold many thousands. But the maintenance of so many people when brought together, was a small circumstance, which had been overlooked. Much, no doubt, had been calculated on the charitable and voluntary contributions of the Neapolitans; which in the beginning, indeed, were very liberal. But this scheme experienced the fate of all similar projects, founded only on the precarious support of individuals; for nothing wearies so soon as charity. The contributions fell off. The unfortunate wretches were shut up by five-hundreds in large halls, without victuals or occupation: diseases gained ground among them: one ran away after another, without obstruction: the beggars were no where apprehended; and every thing returned to its former state.

#### PUBLIC LECTURES.

The streets of Naples abound in vagabonds, who exert themselves in the most singular ways to speculate on the credulity of the populace. Among the latter description, says M. Kotzebue, I observed two men advanced in years, but still stout and robust in appearance. Their miserably patched but not ragged clothes, pronounced them to be in the first order of beggars. They erected a square for themselves, of a single and sometimes of a double row of benches, pretty wide from each other; they then seat themselves with a manuscript in their hands, and wait usually but a short time for a numerous assembly. I have often found fifty or sixty round them: their audience consists of skippers, servants, mechanics, and lazaronies. These last commonly plant themselves in the middle of the square, on the bare ground. Those who cannot procure a place on the benches, form a circle standing. The manuscript, which is so irresistibly alluring, is always the history of a certain prince Rinaldo, who is a great favourite with the Neapolitans. This prince was of course a hero; who overcame robbers, monsters, giants, and Amazons, and was also occasionally gallant to the ladies. The most remarkable circumstance to a stranger is, that all these wonderful things are detailed by singing: the melody of this song is very monotonous and something

similar to a recitative. The singers or readers accompany their narrative with the most vehement gesticulations, which often affect the nearest by-standers in no very gentle manner; who, to the great entertainment of the other auditors, have to sustain pretty hard blows. When a combat for life and death is to be described (as is commonly the case in every page of this murderous history), the speaker brings the scene home to the senses of the audience by a pantomime in the best manner possible: he draws his sword with the left hand, holds his book as a shield to his breast, plunges and cuts at the enemy, is wounded, writhes and twists his face in a comical manner, or sings and laughs triumphantly. It is sometimes difficult to say which is the most worthy of observation; the grimace of the reader, or the air of astonishment in the hearers; who, with fixed looks and open mouths, hang on his lips. Most of them, at least, are extremely attentive and serious, though there are indeed some bolder and shrewder spirits who allow themselves the liberty of a jest, or otherwise attempt to sport their clumsy wit. The reader often stops in his song to explain what was said; and this he does with so much circumlocution and loquacity, as pretty clearly manifests the very low estimation in which he holds the understandings of his audience. This continues many hours, till he or they are tired. The former is most frequently the case, for the company is always changing by individuals leaving or joining it. During the readings, he casts a glance round, by which with the greatest celerity he sees whether there are among his hearers some who can and will give him any thing. When he perceives that there are, he directly (without interrupting his narrative) offers a hat to a lazarone sitting near him; who, knowing what this means, takes the hat, and goes round the circle with it. No one is compelled to throw any thing in, and therefore most of them give a nod as a sign to be passed over. The amount of such a collection never exceeded a few halfpence as far as I could observe, and from these the reader gives one to his collector. At last, when the poem is concluded (which is shewn by the man's shutting his book and rising), the whole assembly is dispersed on all sides with the quickness of lightning. As the reciter attends daily in the same place, this small sum will in general serve for his subsistence.

Another peculiarity in Naples consists in the street-preachers. A flag is seen flying in one of the streets, and behind it a crucifix is carried, which is followed by the venerable divine in his robes. He approaches the Mole, looks for a place that he thinks suitable, gives a signal, and the flag is planted at some paces from him. He himself mounts the first stone he meets

with, or a bench fetched from the nearest booth for his use. The people immediately assemble round him with their hats off. I have heard one of them speak actually very well; his arguments were perfectly adapted to the narrow conceptions of his audience, and he indulged himself in no jesting. Every one who was not disposed to listen, went past with his hat off. These ministers have a very great influence on the lower orders; and it is said that the government make use of them to produce any particular spirit among the populace. Sometime ago one of these men lived here, who if I mistake not was called father Rocco. He was much esteemed at court; and had a carriage kept for him, so that he could go expeditiously from one end of the city to the other when necessity required it. He was more feared than beloved by the people, for he was a furious zealot. He was once offended at seeing a puppet-show with Punch and his wife more numerous than his pulpit; from which he jumped down in haste, and driving the shewman from the spot with his cross, took his place. This man has, however, done much good, and brought about many beneficial regulations by his influence and indefatigable efforts. Among other things the public are indebted to him for many lamps which burn before holy images in the streets; and as the city has no other lights, it is unquestionably a very great benefit.

Lecturing and preaching are here infectuous: the youth also ape the practice. A boy of about twelve or thirteen years of age goes about in priest's clothes, and preaches under the balconies for a farthing or two when desired. On such occasions he very emphatically exhorts all wild children; but his sermon generally concludes with battles between him and the low boys in the street.

I must not forget mentioning a man who daily pursues his trade on the Mole. He has a commanding figure, is dressed like an Hungarian hussar, and also wears some medals about him. His name sounds very grand, being *Mauri Guerra Gamba Curta*. He professes himself a Prussian; and declares that his family has been provided with a balsam for five hundred years, which was invented by their ancestor at that period. When he stands on his stage displaying and extolling his medicines, he produces by the firm and positive tone with which he speaks, the same effect as I have heard observed in the auditors of the modern philosophers from a similar cause. "My good Neapolitans," he exclaims, "I know there are excellent physicians and surgeons here, and that I am but a worm compared with them; but by the grace of God," (here he takes off his hat, as do also the by-standers,) "by the grace of God, I possess a balsam

which heals the deepest wounds in a moment. Do you think that I wish to be taken at my word? By no means. Observe!" He now takes off his coat, shews his naked arm, draws his sabre, makes an incision in his flesh, and lets the blood gush out plentifully; he then pours in a few drops of his balsam, and invites the hearers to come the next day and view the wonderful effect of his balsam. "Here," he continues, "is a water against the scurvy; and if all your teeth were so loose as to be shaken by the wind like the hair of your head, you need only wash your mouth with this, and they will directly stand as fast as palisadoes in a fortification. This water is, as it were, the *cardinal* among my medicines; this salve, on the contrary, the *pope* himself." Here the hat is taken off again, and indeed somewhat lower than on the mention of God. "If you have an eruption, let it be ever so bad, rub yourselves with this salve to-day, and to-morrow or the day after, adieu to your complaint! Do you think that I would cheat you of your money? Far from it: I labour merely for the honour of God. This medicine costs me four carolines (6s. 6d. sterling), and I give it to you for one only. Yes, I give it to you *gratis*; there! take it; I desire nothing for it. Try it before hand, and then come and bear testimony whether Gamba Curta has spoken true or not." I was once actually witness to his refusing money of a well-drest man, who could not prevail on him to accept it without the most urgent entreaties. "Trust me not," he would often say at the close of his harangue: "inquire about me; go into the palace of his excellency General so-and-so, and ask what I have been in his regiment. Perhaps only a common hussar. But I have cured the whole regiment of all possible diseases. When death sat on the lips, and there was no one to help more, then honest Gamba Curta was called for; it was known that he let nobody die." Thus did the man pour a torrent of eloquence that was inexhaustible. Had he been born in some other parts of Europe, he would surely have formed a new epoch in the philosophy of the day; but here his merits are grown rather stale and out of date. A year ago he is said to have had a great crowd after him; and even now he is not without a considerable number of followers: but he often cuts his arm in vain, and roars himself hoarse for hours to no purpose; we seldom see a hand with a copper coin stretched out to buy his miraculous specifics. At present the trade of a surgeon who, to the no small grievance of signior Gamba Curta, has taken up his station very near him, appears more productive. This man has at the the same time a little puppet-shew of Punchinello, by which he attracts great crowds of spectators. When the circle appears large enough, he steps forth from behind the curtain, and harangues

with less sublimity than his rival, but in softer and more persuasive accents.

#### NEAPOLITAN FUNERALS.

A funeral train is passing. How!—do not living men bury the dead here? Is every corpse consigned to the grave by spirits? The question is pardonable, for every one surrounding the coffin is muffled up in white from head to foot, without excepting even the face; a few small holes only being cut out for their eyes. When twenty or thirty such spectres, moving along in a dark night with torches in their hands, and muttering to themselves, precede a splendid coffin of crimson velvet, which also goes onward without any visible force to carry or draw it, the scene will startle any one who is not grown familiar with it from custom. This, however, must soon be the case with those who live at Naples, where similar scenes are passing daily. There are many pious brotherhoods whose duty it is, among other things, to inter the dead. Why this masquerade is used for the purpose, I have not been able to learn: but imagine it may arise from pride; for I am assured that many young people of quality are among the followers, who would not wish to be seen by the populace in performing such a menial office. The cause of the coffin's motion not being perceived, is, that the richly-embroidered pall hangs down to the ground, and conceals the bearers completely under it. It is not improbable also, that when the bier reaches the place of interment, some of the persons under it may be drawn out almost in a state of suffocation; for the thick velvet pall, that is heavily worked with gold, can never admit sufficient air for a free respiration. It is worthy of remark, that this coffin so grandly adorned, is a mere shell for the purpose of parade, and serves for repeated funerals.—Of the brotherhoods which I have just mentioned, there are several descriptions that differ in their colours. Another train, for example, which I saw, were muffled in red; and thus had the appearance of bloody spectres. All, however, wear the image of a saint on their breast, like the badge of an order. On certain days they wander singly through the streets, and collect money to pray for the souls in purgatory; on which occasion they do not speak, but shake the money-bag at the ears of passengers.

I once saw also a genteel funeral, as it is called. The coffin and pall were of blue velvet, with embroidery no less rich than the former; and the coffin was followed by thirty or forty ragged fellows, carrying flags with the arms of the deceased. For this magnificent parade the very first lazaroni were taken that came in the way; who walked in procession, not by two and two, but eight and eight. The contrast of their squalid appearance

with the magnificence of the other parts of the ceremony, was truly comical. The eye looked in vain for relief in a variety of colours at least, but perceived only the same arms incessantly multiplied. Indeed, the love of pompous heraldry is an hereditary disorder among the ancient nobility.

#### THE HOST.

Another striking spectacle in the streets is, when the Host is carried by priests to dying persons. We should, if possible, see this in an open place; for in the narrow streets it produces much less effect, I suppose. I live in the Largo del Castello, a very large square, which is covered from morning till night with buyers, sellers, animals, carriages, popular exhibitions, and spectators. Close by me is a puppet-shew, at the entrance of which the owner stands and entertains the people with his droll remarks. Some steps further is a fish-market, and directly opposite to me the main-guard-house. I do not exaggerate when I say that upwards of two thousand persons (besides the cattle) are usually assembled in this place. Suddenly the procession I have just mentioned appears: colours flying before announce it to the eye; and the perpetual tingling of little bells, to the ear. It is surrounded by finely dressed priests, and often also by a military guard of honour; and clouds of frankincense ascend into the air before them. All the pious whose road leads this way, consider it a duty to follow the train; which, like a snow-ball, thus enlarges in its progress. The shewman is directly silent; even the fish-women are perfectly still, not a sound escapes: all hats fly off, and thousands fall on their knees, beat their breasts, and cross themselves. The guards shoulder their arms, and a solemn tune is played as long as the procession is in sight. In the night the spectacle is still grander. At every balcony (and let it be remembered, that there is no window without a balcony) a light suddenly appears, and the darkness is converted as it were by magic, into broad day; for every story is illuminated: and below in the street a number of rockets are lighted, which with a whizzing and loud report, salute the solemn procession. As I pursue it into the next street, the sight varies in its singularity. At one moment all is perfect darkness; and the next, as the procession enters, the whole street on both sides assumes a brilliant aspect: and thus the light appears to fly from house to house, and from balcony to balcony in the most rapid succession, till in the same order it by degrees vanishes again, and every thing returns to its former darkness. I have frequently put the question to myself, whence comes it that this spectacle should fill me (who am a heretic) with a sort of awe, since I esteem the greatest of all absurdities to believe,

that God can be carried in a box in the streets? I know not how to answer this, otherwise than by the observation, that most things affect our weak minds, which occupy and influence such a vast multitude of people at the same time. Who, for example, feels much pleasure in seeing a single soldier exercise only for a few minutes? But put twenty thousand soldiers in a row, and it amuses us for hours.

PARTICULARS RELATIVE TO MOUNT VESUVIUS, AT THE  
ERUPTION OF 1804.

After a few more particulars relative to the Neapolitans, our author entertains us with an account of the present state of Mount Vesuvius, which he visited with his friends. His arrival was shortly after the eruption of 1804, and the lava was hardly cool. The description of the whole scene is extremely interesting, but by far too long for our purpose. Company who visit the mountain travel on asses. In approaching towards the summit they were obliged to pass over a fiery crust, scarcely hardened enough to bear them. The heat, says Kotzebue, penetrated through the soles of our shoes, and was even plainly felt on our cheeks. The lava had various crevices, which all smoked; and when we put a stick into them, the flame immediately burst out. It was too hot and dangerous to stay long here; yet as we were only about fifty steps from the crater, one of my companions wished to go further on, over the thinly covered sea of flames. But this was impossible; we were obliged to return the same way, and wind round the colder masses of lava. I was the first of our company; and followed my guide, who led me to the top by a footpath of ashes.

Here I stood on a narrow spot of mountain; separated by a smoking cavity, at the utmost ten paces in breadth, from a similar one, which served as the border of the crater. How shall I find words to delineate all that I saw and heard? Yet the simplest description is fitted to the sublimest objects. From the middle of the crater ascended the sulphureous yellow cone which the eruption of the present year has formed: on the other side of it, a thick smoke perpetually arose from the abyss opened during the preceding night. The side of the crater opposite to me, which rose considerably higher than that on which I stood, afforded a singular aspect; for it was covered with little pillars of smoke, that broke forth from it and appeared almost like extinguished lights. The air over the crater was actually embodied: it was very clearly to be seen in a trembling motion. It boiled and roared dreadfully below, like the most violent hurricane; but sometimes (and this made the strong-

est impression on me) a sudden deadly stillness ensued for some moments, after which the roaring recommenced with double vehemence, and the smoke burst forth in thicker and blacker clouds. It was as if the spirit of the mountain had suddenly tried to stop the gulf, but the flames indignantly refused to endure the confinement. As far as my eye reached, the volcano had spread its horribly gaudy carpet: the yellow sulphur, the black dross, the dazzling white salt, the grey pumice-stone, the moss-green copper, the metal spangles, all seemed collected together to form this infernal mosaic floor. The lesser opening smoked close before me in several places: and where the smoke broke out, small stones were loosened every now and then from the sloping wall, and rolled down; the only noise which, besides the roaring of the mountain, met the ear.

I did not contemplate this awful and sublime spectacle without emotions of terror, but I felt as if enchained to the spot. Two of my companions had ventured to press still nearer, over the rugged points of lava and burning crevices, and through clouds of sulphureous vapour. They did not, however, observe any thing more than I did, except a greater portion of the sulphureous cone. The most remarkable object they met with was, a *lady* (the duchess Lelia Torre) walking on this dangerous spot. Her husband, who was making scientific observations on the mountain for the purpose of publication, stood near me, very much occupied with his experiments; and appeared as perfectly at his ease as if he had been at home in his study.

Full of the sensations inspired by the sublimest spectacle of nature, and happy at having accomplished our object, we commenced our journey back. This is usually represented by travellers as very easy and commodious. For my part, I confess it was more difficult to me than the ascent. It is indeed more expeditious; for at every step voluntarily taken, we slip downwards two paces further: but the knees soon begin to totter; and on reaching again the crumbled lava, the progress is very painful. I was obliged to hold my guide by the collar, to prevent my falling, twenty times. We at length, however, reached our asses in perfect safety; richly laden with the plunder of the mountain, and accompanied by its hollow groans.

But before I mount my beast, let me say a few words on the general subject of this pilgrimage; which is described by some travellers as very painful, and by others as very easy. It is neither. Whoever, indeed, does not concern himself about human torture, may render it even convenient to himself: he need only do as the hereditary prince of this place lately did, who had two stout fellows to draw him along by his arms; while two others pushed him behind, so that he went up easily enough. Or

he may cause himself to be carried in a sedan chair by eight men (as the princess did); and may then read a novel on his way. But it is not every one's talent to be able to derive enjoyment from ease thus purchased by the excessive exertions of others. I confess that the ascending would be a mere trifle for any one accustomed to climbing, if the whole path did not consist of ashes: this alone makes it fatiguing. Yet if a lady ever ventures up (and many have already ventured) at a time when the mountain rages as now, I should pronounce her to be a female of tolerably stout nerves.

The last eruption of Vésuvius was very *gallant*. The ladies formed parties by hundreds for Torre dell Annunciata, directly opposite the mouth from which the lava flowed. There they walked composedly to the foot of the mountain, stood on the border of the fiery current, wantonly jumped over its narrow arms backward and forward, and actually placed themselves before the stream, and waited its coming: all this was unattended with danger; as it rolled on very slowly, or rather drove its great scaly waves deliberately over one another, till they lost their equilibrium by being piled up, and rushed down again like a cataract—which afforded full time for escaping in safety.

On the 22d of November, while our author was on the spot, a new eruption took place, which he witnessed from his window, and which he describes in *glowing* terms. The contrast must be truly singular to an inhabitant of any other part of the world; for even during the overflow of the lava, the people who live in the vicinity of the mountain are totally careless of the awful event, excepting at the very spot over which the fiery current flows.

The progress of the lava has generally been misconceived. Kotzebue gives some information on that subject which will be new to many of our readers. I drove, says he, through the town (Torre del Greco); trade and bustle were every where to be seen, though many were occupied with packing up. The horrid vestiges of the former streams of lava were visible in all parts, where ten years before it had spread its desolation. At the end of the town, near the villa of the archbishop of Naples, I was desired to alight and ascend among the high walls of the vineyards. Many, impelled by a similar curiosity, had already arrived at this spot, where I found the carriages standing. I never traversed a piece of ground with greater impatience, than I did this footpath between the vineyards. The walls were so high that I could not see Vésuvius lying before me; and yet the smoke driving over, convinced me that I was very near the burning lava. I was a full quarter of an hour mounting the gentle acclivity, at the top of which a treble chain of eager spectators encircled the

smoke. I hastened up to it; and stood seven or eight paces from the lava, which came rolling towards us.

To speak of taking one's station exactly before a stream of fire, and suffering it to flow up to us, sounds more terrible than it really is. The word *flow* is not proper in application to the lava; at least, except when it is in the crater. As soon as it comes in contact with the external air, it thickens directly, and gathers a scaly case around it. The mass itself indeed continues to glow; but instead of flowing, it is only pushed slowly onwards; the crust that covers it, and its own density, preventing any stream like that of a liquid. This impulse is principally effected by the gentle declivity of the ground; which is, however, so trifling, that the eye would not discern it, if the interior motion did not occasion the crust to break, and throw its scaly fragments upon the yet-untouched ground. The lava which thus rolled towards us through the fine vineyards, was from three to four feet high: the fire, glowing like a red hot-iron, was to be seen only under the crust. It threw its dross before it, much in the manner of a billow that casts its foam onwards, and itself follows close behind. Just as I stepped up, the fire had reached a fig-tree; which crackled, and flamed up like a torch. The vineyards for the space of a mile and half were already converted into ashes, and the flowery earth into a sea of dross: before the lava, however, one luxurious tract still lay; the nearest vines of which, singed and curled up, inclined towards their destroyer, just as we are told some little birds are charmed into the jaws of the rattlesnake. The proprietors themselves of the vineyards hewed down as fast as possible, with many sighs, the vines they had nurtured with so much care; and tore out the stakes, in order to save at least the wood. A pretty house to the right was only three or four paces distant from the lava, yet it was thought that a full hour would elapse before the terrible slow stream would consume it. The people were still anxiously occupied in saving wine-casks out of the cellar, while the approaching fire was already heating the walls of the building. Others, whose property was already desolated, only cast melancholy looks towards the spot that had but a short time before contained their hope and support, but which now had not even a shrub to distinguish it from the surrounding devastation. The stream of lava had divided itself, as usual, into several currents, between which, small elevated islands were now and then saved from the universal ruin. The breadth between the two currents that bordered the desolation, might be about two English miles. The sheet of lava before which I stood, moved somewhat slower on account of the decreased slope of the ground; but at the same time two currents to the right and the left, which had got considerably the start of the others, threatened to inclose me. This

circumstance, though not so dangerous in itself as terrifying to the imagination, determined me to make a retreat of a mile on a road which was now soon to vanish for many centuries from the surface of the earth.—The lava takes its course again in a straight line to Torre del Greco, but rather higher upwards than it went ten years ago. Should it reach the road, the villa of the bishop will be the first of its objects. But I have still my doubts whether it will push itself so far, for it appears that the rage of the volcano has subsided. It is true, fresh lava continues gushing from the abyss; yet not so abundantly as to drive forward the sheets already distant with sufficient force. These will, if no new eruption succeeds, soon gradually cool till they become firm.

The people informed our author that an hundred acres of cultivated land had been destroyed by the eruption of the 21st of November, and that the lava was only stopped by the appearance of the Queen, who fixed up a wax image of the Virgin, and thus prevented its progress! The Queen, however, told our author that the report was false; and added, that she would rather raise than degrade her people.

I must not omit, says Kotzebue, in this place a laughable anecdote, to which several of my friends were eye-witnesses.—When on the twenty-second of this month the lava threatened to overwhelm the vineyards, the image of St. Januarius was carried in procession in Torre del Greco (as is often the case on such occasions), and placed before the lava; on which the people began to kneel, and pray that the saint would be so good as to stop the progress of the flood, which however soon rolled nearer. The saint was placed a little further back; and the petitions were renewed for his favours, which would only cost him a nod or a wink. But finding all their prayers fruitless, and that the lava continued to proceed nearer, they began to abuse the unkind saint, calling him "*Vecchio ladro*" (an old rascal), "*birbone! birbante! scelerato!*" In short, they gave him every degrading appellation that indignation could dictate. This disburdening of their hearts in mere words was not sufficient: from abuse they proceeded to blows; and St. Januarius was heartily cudgelled, particularly by an old woman.

In fact, this former patron of Naples has suffered astonishingly in his credit for condescending to let his blood flow in the presence of the French; a crime which in the eyes of the Neapolitans is unpardonable. Upon that occasion they called him a Jacobin, and it is even said that he was prosecuted for the charge. In the latter case I should like very much to get a sight of the proceedings, if it were possible. Another saint, Anthony, has profited by the levity of his colleague, and has acquired in a dextrous manner the confidence of the people: so that his influence

is much greater now than that of the treacherous guardian. If the latter wishes to restore his lost credit, he must embrace the moment when the volcano rages the most furiously, and suddenly reduce it to silence by his presence, as he did on a preceding occasion. By such means he would probably do the physicians a much greater favour than those inhabiting and tilling the foot of the mountain; for, according to a late learned treatise on this subject, Naples is said to be indebted for its pure and healthy climate only to the occasional eruptions of the mountain. Should it ever remain silent for any unusual number of years, it has been observed, that not only many disorders would creep in, but these would take a most serious hold upon the inhabitants. This observation may be well-founded; for a monstrous quantity of electricity must be collecting in the air by the effusion of the flames from Vesuvius for weeks and months. Not a single day has passed since my arrival here, in which we have not had heat-lightning, often attended by thunder. The air we breathe is pregnant with electrical particles.

A considerable portion of the work is now devoted to a description of the residences of the late royal families of Naples, Caserta, Portici, and Favourite; as well as to lake Avernus, and Baria. Those who wish to see a description of the newly-acquired domains of *Prince Joseph* will find it in *Kotzebue's travels*. On the place last mentioned he makes the following remarks.

The difficulties of climbing up and down the sea-shore were amply compensated; partly by the romantic prospect, and partly by having nothing but the ruins of Baia to contemplate. We ascended, and saw them on the right hand as far as the sea, and in the sea itself. To the left, they stood by the side of us; and our clothes sometimes touched the walls of houses which had now only sufficient left just to announce their former existence. This then was the ancient city to which a companion of Ulysses gave his name; which, for the security of its haven, the purity of its air, and the number of its warm springs, allured so many strangers and even foreigners to its walls; where the richest Romans built the most splendid seats; of which Horace sung, that no place in the world excelled it in beauty; which Seneca describes as so charming and luxurious; which Clodius reproached Cicero for inhabiting, as an unfit residence for a philosopher; and which Propertius refused his Cynthia to visit; as dangerous to the innocence of young girls! Of all this voluptuous splendour nothing remains but rubbish and ruins: the creatures of the nineteenth century creep about them; and, while speaking of their own transitory state, act as if it were not so.

The abundance of warm springs in this country is even now

very evident, for in many places the water rises in the foot-path. Among all these ruins stands, on the back of a hill, a monument erected under the present government; which, to the shame of our modern architects, is in just as ruinous a state already, as Baia after three thousand years.

#### THE RUINS OF POMPEII.

Our author paid a visit to the excavated parts of this celebrated city; and the painful emotions which he then experienced, were so great, that he finds it impossible to express them. The digging has been continued for a number of years, and none but detached accounts of the discoveries have been published; M. Kotzebue's observations on this subject must therefore be acceptable.

It is known that Pompeii was the celebrated place that Seneca and Tacitus called "the famous Campanian town." In their time it was surrounded by the sea, and a forest of masts stood in the now vanished haven. Our traveller entered at the great gate at which was formerly the mart of luxuries, and proceeded up an elevated path for foot passengers, which runs by the side of the houses. This, he observes, is supposed to have been the main street of Pompeii: which, however, I very much doubt; for the houses on both sides, with the exception of some few, were evidently the habitations of common citizens, and were small and provided with booths. The street itself too is narrow; two carriages only could go abreast: it is also very uncertain whether it ran through the whole town; for from the spot where the moderns discontinued digging, to that where they recommenced (and where the same street is supposed to be found again), a wide tract is covered with vineyards, which may very well occupy the place of the most splendid streets and markets still concealed underneath. But without wishing to investigate what the envious bosom of the ashes still conceals, let us dwell for a time on what lies before us: and eternal be the memory of the vintner who, as he was about to plant trees fifty years ago, gave, by the first stroke of the spade into the earth, the signal for the resurrection of a town!

We will stay a moment before this booth in which liquors were sold. We feel disposed to call for the master of the house: he appears only to be absent for a time on business, perhaps to fill his casks again which stood in these niches; for the marble table bears the very marks of the cups left by the drinkers who are just departed. Is no one coming? Well then, we will go into the next house.—The tenant here has had a salutation of black stone inlaid in his threshold: we are therefore welcome, and may without hesitation satisfy our curiosity. On entering the habi-

tations, we are struck at the first glance with the strangeness of their construction. The middle of the house forms a square something like the cross-passages of a cloister, often surrounded by pillars; cleanly, and paved with party-coloured pretty mosaic. In the middle is a cooling well; and on both sides are little chambers, about ten or twelve feet square, but high, and painted a fine red or yellow. The floor is of mosaic; and the door is made generally to serve as a window, there being but one apartment which receives light through a thick blue glass. Many of these rooms are supposed to have been bed-chambers, because there is an elevated broad step on which the bed may have stood, and some of the pictures appear most appropriate to a sleeping-room. Others are supposed to have been dressing-rooms, because on the walls a Venus is being decorated by the Graces, and all sorts of little flasks and boxes were found in them. The larger served for dining-rooms, and in some suitable accommodations for cold and hot baths are to be met with.

The manner in which a whole room might be perfectly heated, was what particularly struck me. Against the usual wall, a second was erected standing a little distance from the first. For this purpose large square tiles were taken, having like our tiles a sort of hook, so that they kept the first wall as it were off from them: a hollow space was thus left all round, from the top to the bottom, into which pipes were introduced that carried the warmth into the chamber, and rendered the whole place one stove as it were.—The ancients were also attentive to avoid the vapour or smell from their lamps. In some houses there is a nich made in the wall for the lamp, with a little chimney in the form of a funnel, through which the steam ascended.—Opposite to the house-door we see the largest room; which is properly a sort of hall, for it has only three walls, being quite open in the fore-part. Perhaps this was the place where the good woman sat at her work, surrounded by her children; enjoying the coolness of the well before her, and welcoming all the guests who entered. The side rooms have no connection with each other: they are all divided off like the cells of monks, the door of each leading to a well.

Most of the houses consist of one such square, surrounded by rooms. In a few, some decayed steps seem to have led to an upper story, which is no longer in existence. Some habitations, however, probably of the richer and more fashionable, were far more spacious. In these a first court is often connected with a second, and even with a third, by passages: in other respects their arrangements pretty generally resemble the rest.—Many garlands of flowers and vine-branches, and many handsome pictures, are still to be seen on the walls. It was formerly permitted

for the guides to sprinkle the pictures with fresh water in the presence of travellers, and thus revive their former splendour for a moment: but this is now strictly forbidden; and indeed not without reason, since the frequent watering might at length totally rot away the wall.

It is more certain that another of these houses belonged to a statuary, for we find his workshop still full of the vestiges of his art. A third was probably inhabited by a surgeon, whose profession is equally evident from the instruments discovered in his chamber.

A large country-house near the gate undoubtedly belonged to a very wealthy man, and would in fact still invite inhabitants within its walls. It is very extensive, stands against a hill, and has many stories. Its finely decorated rooms are unusually spacious; and its terraces airy, from which we look down into a pretty garden that has been now again planted with flowers. In the middle of this garden is a large fish-pond, and near that an ascent from which on two sides six pillars descend. This is usually called an *amphour*; but I know not why, for it has not the smallest resemblance to one. The hinder pillars are the highest, the middle somewhat lower, and the front the lowest: they appear therefore to have propped a sloping roof. A covered passage resting on pillars incloses the garden on three sides: it was painted, and served probably in rainy weather as an agreeable walk. It has a fine arched cellar underneath. It receives air and light by several openings from without; and consequently its air is so perfectly pure, that in the hottest summer it is always refreshing, and agreeable for a ramble. A number of *amphoræ*, or large wine-pitchers, are to be seen here, which are still leaning against the wall as the butler left them when he fetched up the last goblin of wine for his master. Had the inhabitants of Pompeii preserved these vessels with stoppers, wine might have been still found in them; but, as it was, the stream of ashes rushing in has of course forced out the wine, and the king of Naples is thus deprived of the pleasure of drinking that delicious liquor eighteen hundred years old. Instead of this we found more than twenty human skeletons, of fugitives who once thought to save themselves under ground, and certainly experienced a tenfold more cruel death than those suffered who were in the open air.

Ah! when we wander through the desert streets and houses, the question every moment recurs, What became of all these inhabitants? who appear to be just gone away for a moment only, leaving every thing lying or standing about as they had used it. Their destiny was dreadful. No stream of fire encompassed their abodes: they could then have sought refuge in flight. No earthquake swallowed them up: they would then have endured

nothing of the pangs of death from the sudden suffocation. *A rain of ashes buried them alive BY DEGREES!* Read the delineation of Pliny: "A darkness suddenly overspread the country; not like the darkness of a moonless night, but like that of a closed room in which the light is on a sudden extinguished. Women screamed, children moaned, men cried. Here, children were anxiously calling their parents; and there, parents were seeking their children, or husbands their wives: all recognized each other only by their cries. The former lamented their own destiny, and the latter that of those the dearest to them. Many wished for death, from the fear of dying. Many called on the Gods for assistance: others despaired of the existence of the Gods, and thought this the last eternal night of the world. Actual dangers were magnified by unreal terrors. The earth continued to shake; and men, half-distracted, to reel about, exaggerating their own and others' fears by terrifying predictions."

This is the dreadful but true picture which Pliny gives us of the horrors of those who were, however, far from the extremity of the misery. But what must have been the feelings of the Pompeians, when the roaring of the mountain and the quaking of the earth waked them from their first sleep? They attempted also to escape the wrath of the Gods, and, seizing the most valuable things they could lay their hands upon in the darkness and confusion, to seek their safety in flight. In this street, before one house, seven skeletons were found: the first carried a lamp, and the rest had still between the bones of their fingers something that they wished to save. On a sudden they were overtaken by the storm that descended from heaven, and sunk into the grave thus made for them. Before the above-mentioned country-house was still a male skeleton standing with a dish in his hand; and, as on his finger he wore one of those rings that were allowed to be worn only by Roman knights, he is supposed to have been the master of the house, who had just opened the back garden-gate with the intent of flying, when the shower overwhelmed him. Several skeletons were found in the very posture in which they had breathed their last, without being forced by the agonies of death to drop the things which they had in their hands. This leads me to conjecture that the thick mass of ashes must have come down all at once in such immense quantities as instantly to cover them. I cannot otherwise imagine how the fugitives could all have been fixed, as it were by a charm, in their position; and in this manner their destiny was the less hideous, for death suddenly converted them into motionless statues, and thus was stripped of all the horrors with which the fears of the sufferers had clothed him in imagination. But what then must have been the pitiable condition of those

who had taken refuge in the buildings and cellars? Buried in the thickest darkness, they were secluded from every thing but lingering torment; and who can paint to himself without shuddering, a slow dissolution approaching him, amidst all the agonies of body and of mind? The soul recoils from the contemplation of such images.

We have visited the inhabitants in their private houses: I now conduct the reader to the public edifices. The temple of Isis is yet standing here, with its Doric pillars. On these altars victims were offered, and from these white marble steps flowed the blood of the sacrifices. From that vault issued the voice of the oracle. The walls of this place were painted with emblems of the service of Isis; the hippopotamus, the cocoa-blossom, the ibis, &c. We still found here the sacred vessels, lamps, and tables of Isis. From a little chapel still existing, a poisonous vapour is said to have arisen formerly, which the heathen priests may have used for every species of deception. Seneca makes mention of it in his time; and after the violent eruption of Vesuvius, this vapour is said to have increased: but I did not observe the slightest smell.

A small Grecian temple, of which only two pillars remain, had been probably already destroyed by an earthquake, which in the reign of Titus preceded the dreadful eruption of the volcano. On the opposite side of this temple there is still an edifice named the quarter of the soldiers, because all sorts of armory-pictures of soldiers, and a skeleton in chains, were found there. Others considered it to be the forum of Pompeii.

Two theatres are in an excellent state of preservation; particularly the smaller one, which might be fitted up for representation at very little expence. The structure of it is such as was usually adopted by the ancients, but is unfortunately out of date with us. Whoever has seen the theatre of the Hermitage at Petersburg, in the emperor Paul's time, and figures it to himself uncovered and without boxes, has a true image of the theatre at Pompeii. I cannot conceive why this mode of building is not usual in the present day. The spectators require commodious seats, a free view of the stage, and facility of hearing, as much now as ever. All this is obtained in none of our modern theatres to such perfection as here. I have gone over the little theatre at Pompeii entirely from top to bottom, and seated myself in different places, but have never had occasion to complain of any one as not affording a good view. Though it is large enough to hold two thousand persons, yet the rabble standing in a broad gallery at the very top, were just as able to see all that was passing on the stage as the magistrate in his marble balcony. In this gallery the arrangements for spreading the sail-cloth over

the house were still visible. The stage itself is very broad, as it has no side walls; and appears less deep than it really is. A wall runs across it, and cuts off just as much room as is necessary for the accommodation of the performers. But this wall has three very broad doors; the middle one is distinguished by its height, and the space behind it is still deeper than before. If these doors, as I conjecture, always stood open, the stage was in fact large, and afforded moreover the advantage of being able to display a double scenery: if, for example, the scene in front was that of a street, there might be behind a free prospect into the open field. I should very much like to see a piece performed in such a theatre.

Our author finished his melancholy view of this place at the graves. Only one third of the city is yet dug out, and but twenty people are daily employed on it. M. Kotzebue suggests, that the 30 or 40,000 idle Lazzaroni, and the galley-slaves which fill the prisons, should be set to work at it. The French, during their stay at Naples in the last war, dug out several pretty houses. The buildings which have lately been discovered have fine marble fountains, and contain many beautiful pictures.

The French have plundered the museum of Portici of all its valuable relics; though there are still to be seen in it many things highly interesting and curious.

#### HERCULANEUM AND ITS MANUSCRIPTS.

No traveller, says Kotzebue, should be induced to descend deep in the ground for Herculaneum. The money which he must give his cicerone he may as well throw into the street; for his curiosity will be only wearied with a perpetual sameness in every cellar. Great preparations are made; torches lighted up; a burning wax taper given into every one's hand; after which we descend an incalculable number of steps. We hear the carriages rolling in the street over us, like distant thunder; and what do we see remarkable? Immense masses of lava, which once buried the city. For all the rest we must take the word of the guide. We are dragged up and down through all sorts of damp cold passages, that resemble subterraneous labyrinths, and are totally without air.—These walls are said to have belonged to the theatre. A small specimen of the marble is still to be seen. Those stairs lead down into the pit; here the unfortunate inhabitants sat witnessing the performance, while Vesuvius was brooding their destruction. We gape at the wall and the stairs, nod our approbation to the cicerone, remain as wise as before, and are at length heartily glad to get out of this cellar and see the day-light. Formerly this passage was very rich in curiosities; temples, theatres, pictures, statues, &c. were then in abundance to be ad-

mired; but now almost the whole is again closed, for want of room to dispose of the lava taken out at present; and there is, properly speaking, nothing to see. The magnificent works of art which have been brought to light, are, in one assemblage, to be found in the

#### MUSEUM AT PORTICI;

But the most remarkable objects in this museum, are the manuscripts found in two chambers of a house at Herculaneum. Though they have been so frequently described, they must be seen to furnish a correct idea of them. They resemble cudgels reduced to the state of a cinder, and in part, petrified; are black and chesnut-brown; lie in many glass cases; and unfortunately are so decayed, that under every one of them a quantity of dust and crumbs is to be perceived. Being rolled up together in the manner of the ancients, and perhaps also gradually damaged by the moisture penetrating through the ashes, it appears almost impracticable ever to decypher a syllable of them. But for the industry and talent of man nothing is impossible, and his curiosity impels him to the most ingenious inventions.

The machine by which the manuscripts are unrolled, is of such a nature that I despair of describing it clearly. It resembles, yet only in the exterior, a bookbinder's frame on which he usually sews his books. The manuscript rests on some cotton in the bow of two ribands, with one end fastened above in cords, exactly like the curtain of a theatre. Goldbeater's-skin is then laid on with the white of an egg in very small stripes, by means of a pencil, in order to give something to hold by. To this skin silk threads are fastened; which, together with the riband, wind above round the peg, in the same manner as the string of a violin. When the workman has, with the skin, laid hold of however small a part of the manuscript; and, by means of a sharp pencil, has loosened the first leaf as much as possible; he turns the peg with the greatest precaution, and is happy if he succeeds so far as to unroll a quarter of an inch: upon which he begins the operation afresh. It must not, however, be imagined that this quarter of an inch, which was undone with such infinite difficulty, remains an unconnected whole. Not at all: it rather resembles a piece of tinder that is full of holes.

After the workman has gained thus much of the flimsy leaf, he carries it, with his breath held in, to a table, and gives it to the copyists. These men must be very expert in distinguishing the letters. Their task is not only transcribing, but drawing; for they copy the whole leaf, with all its vacancies, in the carefulest manner; after which a man of learning tries to supply the parts that are wanting. These supplements are, of course, very

arbitrary. There is scarcely a line in which some letters or words are not wanting; often whole lines, or whole periods, must be filled up. What a wide field for conjecture! What is thus supplied is written in red ink, between the black; we may therefore instantly perceive at first sight, how much belongs to the original, and how much has been added. It is said that the manuscripts are also to be printed; in that case I anticipate how the linguists of Europe will employ themselves in cavilling, each in his way, at the supplies which have been thus made, or substituting others in their room.

The endless trouble which the whole must occasion, may be conceived. It was some time ago nearly laid aside, as every thing else is here; but the Prince of Wales has taken it upon himself, and defrays the expences without giving offence to the royal sportsman of Naples. Eleven young persons unfold the manuscripts, two others copy them, and a meritorious and zealous Englishman, named Hayter, has the direction of the whole. He assured me that the persons employed began to work with greater skill and expedition than some years ago. He by no means despairs of decyphering all the six hundred manuscripts still extant; and does not doubt of finding a Menander and an Ennius, as he flatters himself with having already found a Polybius, in his work. The very day before I visited the museum, he had discovered an unknown author, named Colotos.\*

His business requires a philosophical temper. As the name of the author is always put on the last page, he cannot know whose work it is till that leaf is unrolled. Seven Latin authors have fallen into Mr. Hayter's hands; but unfortunately all in such a state that it was not possible to open them whole. He complained the more of this, as there appeared to be among them a work of Livy's; at least, it was certainly an historical work written in his style, and began with a speech in which much was said of a family of Acilius. Unfortunately, no more could be made of it. Mr. Hayter lamented that the first person to whom the manuscripts had been entrusted (a Spaniard named Albuquerque) had thrown them all together; for he himself thought that they might have been of various merit in the different chambers in which they were placed.

At present five writers have been discovered: Philodemus, of whom the most works have been found, and among others a treatise on the vices which border on virtues—certainly a very copious subject, if it has been discussed with ability; Epicurus; Phædrus; Demetrius Phalereus; and now Colotos. Mr. Hayter is not perfectly satisfied with finding nothing but philosophi-

\* Κωλωτος,

cal works; yet he says that even in these many historical notices yet unknown are interspersed. There is, for example, a treatise on anger, containing an instance in which Bacchus punished Cadmus for indulging that passion; a circumstance of which we were never before informed. All travellers interested for the sciences, will catch (as I did) with eagerness every word from the mouth of the meritorious Hayter, and join with me in wishing him health. He is fully possessed of every other requisite qualification.

In a fresh conversation with Mr. Hayter, I have learnt that the manuscript of Colotos, lately found, contains a refutation of Plato's treatise on friendship. Mr. Hayter has also traced the name of Colotos in Plutarch; who has written against him, as he has against Plato. Thus it was the same with the ancient philosophers as with those of our times.

A new and important discovery has been made within these few days. The writings of Epicurus have hitherto been found only in detached parts, but now they have been met with all together. This manuscript is in the best state of preservation; and Hayter will now be able to rectify his own former supplements by the original. It must be extremely interesting for an intelligent man, to be able to ascertain in such a case whether he has properly supplied the sense.—A hundred and thirty manuscripts are either actually unrolled, or unrolling.

The numerous churches at Naples, and their curiosities, next occupy the attention of our author; but in our analysis his statements on this subject must give way to others of superior interest.

His visit to the cave said to contain Virgil's tomb, produces from him some severe remarks on that ridiculous vanity of individuals, which causes them, in all parts of the world, to scratch their names on the walls of every public place which they examine. He had no reason for believing that Virgil was buried in this cavern.

#### THE POST-OFFICE AT NAPLES.

As we go from the place Largo del Castello to the Mole, we must pass a corner where the lists of the letters arrived are hung out. As the throng of people is there at all times very considerable, it gives rise to some singularities, which, in my opinion, are confined to Naples. The letters are numbered, and the names of those to whom they are addressed are marked alphabetically; but these are the christian and not the surnames. This does not, however, apply to all without exception; for whoever has the good fortune to be a prince will have a place apart, marked by the letter P.

Many who cannot read come also to inquire if there a reetters addressed to them. A shrewd fellow has converted the ignorance of these into a source of emolument. He stands there with a packet of blank papers in his hand: the person who wants his assistance approaches him, and giving him a farthing or two, mentions his own name. The other casts a glance immediately over the list, and when he finds the name there, he does no more than write on a piece of paper the number under which it stands: this he gives to the inquirer; who hastens with it to the post-office, and receives his letter without ceremony: whether the receiver be right or not, is no matter of concern, if he will but pay the postage.

The letters of foreigners are not put on the list, but are thrown in a heap in the post-office. When a person of that description inquires for a letter, they direct him to the heap; which he turns over till he finds it, or is satisfied there is none for him. But if he chooses, he may take one not addressed to him, provided he pays the postage, which is the only evidence required of its being his property. It may easily be imagined that disorders must necessarily arise from such a want of all arrangement. Every foreigner will do well to have his letters addressed to a banker.

But to return to the corner I before mentioned. The man who marks down the numbers is not the only one who has found a source of profit there, though indeed he collects his receipts with the most ease and convenience. There are half-a-dozen small tables in the street; and as many men sitting before them, with phisiognomies as worn out as their coats. They hold pens in their hands, and a folded letter-case lies before them. They need only dip their pens in the ink-stands near them, and they are ready to write letters of any conceivable purport to every quarter of the habitable globe. A second chair opposite to theirs, invites the needy letter-sender to sit down, and communicate his thoughts to one who will give them the polish of good diction. Here we see an old woman; there an honest sailor; in a third place a warlike hero; and in a fourth a brisk lass: they have sons and mothers, and all sorts of concerns of the heart, far and near, in the Old and the New world. The old mother, for example, takes a seat (a scene that I have myself witnessed) opposite to the first writer, who had lost his nose (which is no uncommon thing here). He immediately puts his pen to paper: the date he had already written beforehand on the edge of the sheet, in order now to lose no time. He was right, for the good old dame is a little prolix. Her only son was roving about the world; and she wished him much to return, for she felt her latter end approach.

ing. She affords proofs of her sickly condition by frequent coughing, which interrupts the torrent of words, and the shower of tears that frequently gushes down, betrays the emotions of her mind. What I have comprehended in a short space, costs the poor old woman a multitude of words; which all imply the same thing, for she was in want of nothing less than expressions, her tongue appearing to be the healthiest part about her. The man listened patiently to her, digested her copious flow of thoughts with the greatest rapidity, and committed them with no less expedition to paper. The old woman put on a pair of spectacles, and followed every stroke of the writer's pen with strict attention. She often spoke in the mean time; recalling what she had forgotten, and making such amplifications as she found requisite. The gentleman of the quill paid no regard to her; but having fathomed the spirit of the intended letter, wound it up with expedition, not letting his pen drop till he had brought himself through the labyrinth of conceptions to the close of the epistle. He then read it over to the old woman; who nodded approbation, and let a smile steal through her wrinkles. The dexterous penman presented her with the instrument for subscription; which, however, she declined at this time *for various reasons*. He then desired her to spell her name, which he wrote; and closing the letter with a wafer, put upon it the name and address of her son, and delivered it to the tottering old dame. She laid hold of the paper that expressed her wishes but not her ardour, with her left hand, and directed her right to her pocket; which after much apparent trouble, at length reluctantly opened, and afforded a copper coin, which she gave to the writer, who had long stretched out his hand to receive it. She then hobbled with the letter to the post-office; and he quickly folded another sheet, unknowing and unconcerned whether he next should have to express the overflowing of a joyful or an afflicted heart.

All this correspondence is commonly conducted in such a loud and public manner, that the post-office has no occasion to break open the letters: it need only dispatch a few idle persons with good ears among the *spulace*. Soldiers and sailors proclaim their affairs to the world without hesitation: their gesticulations while dictating are none of the gentlest, and they often beat with vehemence on the table of the writer. It might, indeed, be more difficult for a listener to catch the sensations of a bashful maid. I have seen some of this description also sitting and dictating, and I will venture to affirm that the letters were to the constant or inconstant ones who had stolen their hearts: but I have no other proof of this than the unintelligible whispering, the down-

cast looks, the varied colour of the cheeks, on her side; and the friendly glances of the secretary.

These men of genius have, however, not erected their pulpits in the street for only the dispatch of letters, but also to decypher such as arrive for those who cannot read. On the day when the post comes in, a different scene is exhibited from that which we have just enjoyed. All pens are at rest: the lips only are in motion; and, as may be easily conceived, there is another interesting supply for the curious observer. The fixed attention with which the hearer hangs on the lips of the reader; the varying passions, the accomplished or defeated hopes of the former; are well contrasted with the perfect indifference of the latter, and the unchanged voice with which he proclaims both joyful and melancholy news. Such various scenes are to be witnessed no where but in the open street. A friend of mine was once present upon a droll occasion of this kind. A sailor received a letter which he appeared to have waited for with the greatest impatience, and carried eagerly to the reader. The latter unfolded the paper, and commenced with the greatest unconcern the following billet, while the rejoiced sailor appeared ready to seize the words out of his mouth: "A greater rascal than you I never saw." It may be easily imagined how the looks of the gaping sailor were in an instant changed. He had no inclination to hear a continuance of the letter in the presence of a laughing crowd; but snatched it out of the hand of the reader, and crept away uttering imprecations.

We daily meet with these street-pulpits, surrounded with more or less bustle; and it is a characteristic of the Italians, in which they distinguish themselves from the French, that they display their ignorance without hesitation. The common French are just as little able to read as the Italians, but they never can be brought to acknowledge this to others. The Frenchman is vain and ignorant; the Italian ignorant only.

Our author was well entertained by the Carthusians at their monastery. He describes them as a generous and cheerful people, extremely partial to the good things of this world.

His excursion to Puzzuoli did not prove to him very satisfactory.

On visiting the different theatres at Naples, he saw nothing better worthy of notice than the spirited performance of the Italian grenadiers, who mixed with the dancers, and kept time with them by their military movements. The theatre of San Carlo at Naples, he takes to be the largest in Europe. It has six tiers of boxes, with ninety-eight boxes in each. The performers at it receive enormous salaries.

For an account of the living artists and collectors at Naples, with the particulars of what they have in their possession, we shall refer our readers to the work itself.

#### A SCENE OF HORROR AT NAPLES.

As I was one morning, says M. Kotzebue, passing through a populous street, I perceived a crowd of people assembled before the stall of a shoemaker, round a woman lying on the ground. It being a custom with me to neglect no opportunity of watching the people, I pushed through towards the place; where lay a woman dying. At the same time I heard from the lips of many by-standers the words (which chilled my blood), "*She is dying of hunger.*" The sight of the suffering creature confirmed this but too powerfully. She was scarcely covered with rags, and appeared a miserable skeleton of about thirty or forty. She lay on the pavement close by the shoemaker's stall; and by her side stood a broken straw-bottomed chair, which had been pushed towards her. That she was in the agonies of death, was evident. No one passed without standing a moment to survey the hideous spectacle; but all went on again as soon as they had satisfied their curiosity, without attempting to assist her. I had pushed through the crowd till I was nearest to her. With my purse in my hand, I prayed for God's sake, I called on the holy Virgin, that some one would have mercy on her; but in vain! In the open stall were a master and two journeymen: I offered them all I had by me if they would take the woman in, and lay her on a bed; but to no purpose. One of the men actually laughed; probably at my bad Italian. It is some consolation to think that the dying person understood my motions, if not my words; for her look rested on me, and I was the last object on which her closing eye was fixed. Upon that, she immediately died.

I was still not disposed to believe it; I retained the hope of being able to save her, and therefore continued to keep my post near her: but a person, probably a physician, passing by, took hold of her hand, and feeling her pulse, pronounced with great composure, "*She is dead,*" and went on. I also now stepped back to a little distance, but did not leave the street, that I might witness the end of this scene. The corpse lay a quarter of an hour in the street, stared at by thousands; till at length some shirri came, and dragged it away. Yes: I now deprecate this horrid incident before all Europe. I say aloud, *On the fourth of December, 1804, at ten in the morning, a human being perished with hunger in the street Giacomo, one of the most populous streets in the city of Naples.*—N. B. The king.

went to the chase to-day; when I saw twenty or thirty dogs passing, and all in excellent condition.

#### THE CATACOMBS.

The entrance to these is by a little church of St. Januarius, lying in a very distant part of the city. To describe these habitations of the lower world in a clear manner, is a difficult task; yet I will attempt it.

A wide cavern opens upon us, which we descend with a lighted torch. An altar is shown us, in which the body of St. Januarius was once inclosed; and behind the altar a chair fixed in the wall, from which the ministers of the first Christians are said to have preached. I will not vouch for the truth of this assertion: but thus much appears certain; that this chair is very old, and that it has not been fastened into the wall without an object. A person has certainly sat upon it, who has chosen to sit alone: he was without doubt surrounded by many people, whom he addressed sitting. The place is by no means damp; nor in any way filled with bad air, or very dark: for the wide entrance to the cave stands open, and indeed appears to have never been shut. I do not believe therefore, that the primitive Christians held *secret* meetings here: but the poor people had no money to build churches; and finding here one ready and suited to their necessities at that time, they made use of it.

Perhaps also the funeral service was performed for those buried here, and then the corpse was carried to the pit on the left-hand side. The spacious streets in this city of death are over-arched with rocks, that extend along to a sufficient height and breadth for the procession to pass unobstructed. It strikes into a passage which seems endless: the torches burn more dimly; and we fancy we see the *ignis fatuus* dancing before us. On both sides the rock is seen still inhabited; for on the right and left, beds, as narrow and low as those in a ship's cabin, are hewn out for the dead. In rows like the cells of bees, the little chambers are cut in the rocks, suited to the different sizes of children or adult persons; but we see no difference between the cell of the nobleman and that of the beggar. The train passes on for miles amidst these dumb inhabitants, seeking a place for the new-comer. At length a fresh-made bed is seen: here they lay him; and he slumbers calmly, perhaps by the side of his enemy. A stone is placed before the tomb with his name, and then the mourners leave him; for the torches begin to flag in their light, and they hasten back with anxious solicitude. Their eagerness is not without reason: for if a side passage should mislead them, or their torches be extinguished, no one can ever hear their voice supplicating assistance; they continually lose themselves

more and more in the labyrinth of death, and wander in desperation from tomb to tomb, till at length, half stifled and starved, they may dig their own graves with their nails.

This must not be taken for a picture of fancy: many have already found their death here, from wandering too far, or from their torches betraying them; for the passages are dug in the rocks without any order, apparently according to accident or caprice. Three subterraneous stories rise above one another, and their arches rest on numberless pillars. Sometimes we mount imperceptibly the upper story, and sometimes are obliged to guard against slipping down into the lower one through a gap formed by the earthquake. Whoever chooses (and some of this description there have been) may extend his gloomy perambulation for many miles, even as far as Puzzuoli.

The numberless receptacles for the dead are for the greater part filled with skulls and bones, but some are entirely empty. Whether these bones belonged to Christian martyrs or heathens, or whether the people who died some centuries ago of the plague, were thrown in here, is perfectly indifferent to me. My two guides believed the first with pious confidence. On leaving Germany I had promised a friend to bring back for him a bone from the catacombs: I now remembered this, and begged the favour of one. The cicerone freely consented; but the torch-bearer, a little old man, opposed it very earnestly. The cicerone, who expected a liberal recompence, tried to satisfy his companion by the suggestion that my desire sprung merely *per devozione*, "from piety." I directly confirmed this, with an asseveration to the same purpose; which finally satisfied the scruples of the torch-bearer, who stepped into the pit for the purpose of selecting one. But he was very difficult in making his choice, and rejected many which appeared to him more important. He at length fixed on a small bone; and, if my eyes did not deceive me, actually kissed it before he delivered it into my hands. I was obliged to promise him that no Neapolitan should be informed of this transaction; and, satisfied with my mouldered plunder, I hastened out of this gloomy region.

I shall not weary my reader with tedious conjectures relative to the origin of the catacombs; for, after all, I should only be obliged to copy them from books which are in every one's hands. As the most natural interpretations are the most agreeable to me, I think with those who imagine that originally stones and Puzzuoli-earth were taken out of the mountain for building; and that the cavities and passages thus increased, till they were at length so deeply dug in, that the getting out materials for building became too difficult, after which some person hit on the idea of burying the dead here. This was approved of; and has been

practised even in the pagan times, as thousands of inscriptions and urns still extant evince.

When speaking of the extreme misery of the people, and the upstart arrogance of the court, our author, in many parts of his works, makes such severe reflections on the latter, that could we persuade ourselves of the truth of his statements, (and we really have but trivial reasons for questioning his veracity,) we should think their late overthrow had been most justly merited.

#### NEAPOLITAN GAMESTERS.

If I were to say, observes Kotzebue, of a people, without naming them, that they are lazy, dirty, sensual, superstitious, violently fond of gaming, perfectly indifferent to the sciences, attached alone to ragged shew, strangers to honesty and fidelity, would it not be thought that I was speaking of Hottentots and Iroquois? Right: the higher classes in Naples are indeed the *savages* of Europe. They eat, drink, sleep, and game. They neither have nor want any other occupation than this last. The states of Europe are overthrown: they game not the less. Pompeii comes forth from its grave: they game still. The earth shakes; Vesuvius vomits forth flames: yet the gaming-table is not left. The splendid ruins of Pæstum, a few miles distant, shining as it were before every eye, must be discovered by strangers; for the Neapolitans are gaming. The greatest dukes and princes are keepers of gaming-tables. A prince Rufando, one of the most considerable noblemen of the country, keeps the first gaming-house in Naples; and besides his, there are twenty others of the same description. Thither all the great world are driving at the approach of evening. Strangers must be presented by some acquaintance; yet this is only for form. The stranger makes a slight inclination to the host, and the latter as slightly returns it; but it is a rule that not a word be uttered. In other respects it is like being at a coffee-house; or worse than a coffee-house, for there one can have what one will for money: but here are no refreshments, except perhaps a glass of water after having ordered it ten times of the servant.

A large but ill-furnished drawing-room is the rendezvous of *rouge et noir* and *faro*. A pile of chairs heaped up in a corner of the room, proves that a numerous company is expected. Scarcely have the gaudy throng rushed in, when they seat themselves, with greedy eyes fixed on the heaps of gold which glitter on the table. These meetings are called *converzationes*, but no one here must begin to *converse*. We hardly dare whisper single words: if any thing more is attempted, an universal hiss commands deep silence and attention to the mysteries of the game. Old women, particularly, sit either gathering up money

with their long bony fingers; or with their green outstretched eyes fixed on the *rouge et noir* table, lamenting the capriciousness of fortune. Even handsome young women degrade the dignity of their sex, setting beauty and the graces at defiance. The princess N., for example, is a professed gamester. Many others come to make new conquests, or to secure their old ones; in both which businesses they lay no restraint on themselves. A stranger is at the first look apprised of each lady's favourite: the husbands are either absent, or concern themselves not the least about the women; for of the execrated Italian jealousy here is not a single vestige. Even divines and children game: for example, the daughter of the marquis Berio, who is not more than eight years old. The marquis is one of the most enlightened noblemen.

Some maintain that this degrading conduct brings the prince Rufando yearly five thousand ducats. Others say that he receives no more than twelve ducats a day for converting his palace into a gaming-house. He himself does not hold the bank; but perhaps he has a share in it, and so both accounts may be true. The holder of the bank is, *in his way*, esteemed an honest man. This, at least, is certain, that he plays without suspicion; and sometimes, by express desire, tells out the sum gained twice, as an attentive by-stander assured me he had seen. Another, no less to be depended on, informed me that the winner must in general be very quick in taking up the money gained; for if he does but turn round, some neighbour will ease him of the trouble. Perhaps this was only done through inadvertence; but *done* it is.

Whoever has been once introduced to these parties, may go daily in and out as he would to a tavern; and can in his turn present other strangers, whose names are no longer remembered than his own is, unless he plays very often and very high, for that is the only possible way of attracting the attention of the polite circles in Naples.

Thus till two in the morning they play away their time, money, health, and property. They then drive home, and sleep till noon; at which time they take a ride in the Villa Reale, where it is now the fashion to catch at the fresh air. The young gentlemen drive thither in a curricule, in order to shew their horses. Two, or at latest three, is the hour of dinner; after this follows a walk, either in the Santa Lucia, or upon the Magdelene bridge, or wherever the sun shines in the winter. They would, in reality, even care very little in their minds about the sun, except for the sake of displaying their charms, their dress, or their carriages, which last are of great importance to the Neapolitans. It is not absolutely necessary that these should be either

costly or elegant: if they only appear tolerable, with a pair of horses to them, it is enough; for nothing is dreaded more here than the terrible evil of going on foot. Thus they say of any one who has ruined himself by gaming, not, "Poor man! he is starving;" but, "Poor man! he goes on foot." The Neapolitan horses have survived their fame: since the French, who have a laudable passion for every thing they can steal, have carried off their finest stallions. After this they repair to the theatre, to chatter; or home, to kill the time in solitude till the wished for hour again approaches. This is the daily round of a fashionable Neapolitan. Some among them (Prince Anglo, for example) who possess eight or ten villas, yet never stir out of Naples.

In order to render the *conversazione* more inviting for the younger part of the guests, the host sometimes gives a ball, in a small and intolerably hot room, miserably lighted. The company are negligently drest; the music is bad, and the dancing worse. This lasts a couple of hours, and is easily perceived to be only a prelude to higher joys. The noise and chattering of the ladies is more insupportable here than any where else in Europe, being sufficient to stun the ears of a stranger; and is accompanied with the most violent gesticulations of the face. The common and disgusting dialect of the place is broad and *bleating* (I must be pardoned this word, which is indeed appropriate), and the ladies speak it with as little restraint as the fishwomen. No one will accuse me of exaggeration, on hearing that the Neapolitans learn the Tuscan as a foreign language, just as the Pomeranian peasants learn High German. I have seen the advertisement of a master of languages, in which, besides the Latin, German, Dutch, and Spanish, he expressly offers also to teach the Tuscan. The Neapolitan dialect is as different from the true Italian, as the Siberian is from the Russian; and has just the same drawling as is peculiar to the Siberian peasants. Whoever understands both the Italian and Russian, will hardly be able to distinguish one from the other, when they are both spoken at once. The circumstance of the ladies speaking the dialect of the common people, gives a proof of their total want of cultivation, and at the same time casts a censure on their lovers. One would suppose that most ladies would at least speak French; particularly now, as they so often come in close acquaintance with persons of that nation: yet we rarely find one speaking this language, even among the *literati* or nobles; for should any happen to use it, they pronounce it so intolerably bad, that it requires some trouble to be understood. The present minister for foreign affairs, Micheroux, is an exception: he speaks well, and is upon the whole a pleasant man; and is

not prevented by a painful disease from entertaining, even for hours, in an intellectual manner, those who visit him. But he is the descendant of a French family, and has spent much time in embassies at foreign courts.

Yet I forget that we are still at the ball: where while conversing we may be left in the dark; for about eleven o'clock, as soon as the musicians retire, the candles in the room are extinguished, whether the company are there or not. This is not done to save candles, but to give the company to understand that they should proceed to the gaming-table, which, however, is done by most without this hint; and now commences the grand scene. Each is thankful that the ball is over.

But I think I hear the reader exclaim, "Enough of gaming-companies: conduct us where no such vices pollute the palaces, or at least where commercial speculations only are carried on." I am sorry that I cannot fulfil this very moderate wish; but there are in reality no other societies in Naples than these infamous *converzationes*. Let it, however, be remembered, that I speak alone of Neapolitans: some foreigners have indeed introduced here the manners of their countries, and endeavour to keep them pure by admitting none but foreigners into their circles. I mention, for examples, the English minister Eliot, and the Russian countess Skawronsky. The latter has resided here for several years: she gives pleasant entertainments; which, notwithstanding her great age, she seasons with her humour. No Neapolitan can gain access to her: she is only visited, as it were, by birds of passage during their flight.

#### ITALIAN MORALS.

From the terrible Italian jealousy the stranger has nothing to dread; it is no longer to be found except in novels. The husband does not lay the slightest obstacle in the way, and even that doubtful animal the *cicisbeo* exists no more. Conjugal fidelity might be here depicted as flying, or concealing itself from ridicule: thus the Neapolitans are the only people in Europe who at the representation of my "Stranger" laughed instead of crying, because they cannot conceive how any one should make so much of a *common trifle*.

The few hours which gaming, debauchery, the theatre, &c. leave unoccupied, are devoted to religion. I have been informed that the genivel female sinners sometimes condescend to attend the sick in the hospitals, which perhaps turns out like the washing of the feet instituted by the emperor. The disguised brotherhood consist partly of the first nobility. I have sometimes seen individuals of them begging money for the souls in pur-

gatory, who might be considered as beaux among the spirits. The long hoods which covered them were of the finest snow-white linen, and on cool days they wore a small mantle of scarlet over them: the pilgrims' hats which hung by the side, appeared to be made of the softest beaver; and their shoes and silk stockings betrayed that the whole mummery covered a still better dress. They proceeded from house to house with an elegant bag, which they held out to every shop-keeper, and on receiving only a shake of the head, went without complaint farther. They conceive that this miserable farce will ensure them the favour of heaven.

#### SUPERSTITION OF THE NEAPOLITANS.

Superstition sometimes discovers itself in the most ludicrous manner. Lately, at the theatre Florentini, a comedy by Federici was performing, when in the middle of the representation some pious ears were struck with the sound of the little bell which announces that the sacrament is carrying through the street to a sick person. A loud hissing followed; and some voices called to the performers to retire, and assigned the reason. With the rapidity of lightning all the players flew from the stage, and the whole audience were upon their knees. Behind the scenes, decorated and painted actors and actresses were kneeling with heads bowed down; till the tingling of the bell was no more to be heard. This ceremony being over, the stage was again filled, and the play went on. Who would choose to reside in a place where such folly reigns, though Nature should have emptied her full horn as liberally as she has done here?

One chief object of the refined superstition of the Neapolitans, is founded on the doctrine of purgatory. It is shameful to see how their pious simplicity is by this means abused. People masked and unmasked are to be seen daily and hourly running through the streets, with bags and boxes, and in the most despicable manner enticing the people to part with their money, which they have with difficulty earned or even begged. I have seen flames painted on many houses and churches, among which several heads both old and young appear with up-lifted hands supplicating the passers-by; or even carved in wood, and placed in a theatrical style before the holy booth, where a trade in masses is carried on. Immense sums must thus every year pass through the hands of the priests, far exceeding any royal revenue. I am almost inclined to think that the government have done wisely in restoring the Jesuits; as this may prove a powerful means of substituting a judicious priestly despotism for a stupid one. No more can at the instant be effected.

In every church innumerable masses are daily said, and even

by several at the same time. The laziness of the Neapolitans find daily its excuse in the churches. They must hear mass, that is a spiritual duty: they infer, naturally enough, that the more they hear the better; and thus crowd into the churches, while they let their children starve at home. I think it must be very difficult to feel devotion in a place so ill calculated to inspire it: where all is confusion and noise; and where the *heretical* admirer of the arts walks about during the service, and can at pleasure have the curtain which conceals a fine altar-piece drawn away, even at the moment when the priest consecrates the host. In this manner I have for a few pence had many pictures shewn me, without having ventured to desire it.

Whoever is not satisfied with these proofs of the stupid superstition of the Neapolitans, let him recollect the blood of Saint Januarius, which even yet on certain days is liquefied. The thing is so well known, and has been so frequently related, that I may spare myself the trouble of repeating it. It is generally believed that the liquefaction of the red matter is produced by the warmth of the priest's hand; but this is an error. The small phial which contains what is called the blood, is inclosed in a large glass bottle, so as to leave an empty space between, which it would be difficult for the warmth of a hand to penetrate. Well-informed persons have assured me that the miracle is performed by chemical means, and therefore sometimes requires so much time; though it cannot fail if the bottle is sufficiently shaken. Few people, and even few priests, are in the secret; and among the latter class there are otherwise reasonable men who stedfastly believe in the miracle. When general Championet entered this city, he sent to request that the archbishop would liquefy the blood, in order to prove to the people the *divine mission* of the French. At first the prelate refused; but when the general informed him that if he continued obstinate, he would *himself* work the miracle, he yielded: for which the court, in my opinion very unjustly, sent him afterwards into exile.

#### IGNORANCE OF THE PEOPLE.

Of the attention paid by the great to the sciences, the booksellers' shops enable us to form an accurate estimate. There are indeed many of these; but religious books, and some translations from foreign languages, are all that they have to offer the inquirer. If we complain, the proprietors answer with a candid confession, that nobody in Naples writes, nobody reads, and consequently nobody buys books, except when some great man happens to purchase a collection for shew. The same may be said of paintings, which are also bought only for fashion's sake.

With statuary it is still worse: I have not been able to discover a single artist of any eminence in this line. Should there be one, it must be only for sepulchral ornaments.

#### ITALIAN LOTTERY.

I know too little of the middle class to venture giving a judgment of its manners. But this I know, that it is as ignorant and superstitious as the higher; and that with them the lottery takes the place of *rouge et noir* among their superiors, and appears to be followed with equal ardour. I have been present at one drawing: it is a popular spectacle which no stranger ought to omit witnessing. A number of men drest in black, with curled wigs, assemble in a large room at the town-hall (*vicaria*) every fortnight, for about a quarter of an hour; for which condescension they are amply paid. A charity-boy, as is usual in other countries, draws the numbers: he is hung over with relics; and before he enters his office, is blessed by the priest, and sprinkled with holy-water. Nearly a thousand persons had forced themselves into the room; and though every door and window was open, yet the air was so impregnated with mephitic vapour, that I will venture to say it would have extinguished a lighted candle. The shouting and hissing of this multitude is even worse than the horrible smell: I was often tempted to think myself in a madhouse. Whenever one of the grave gentlemen who were to preside over the ceremony appeared, he was received with a loud and universal hiss for being rather too late. The turning of the wheel was attended with a most hideous noise. The first-drawn ticket (taken from the boy by one of the presidents, and given to a lazarone behind him) was received with universal applause, and the building resounded with shouts. On the contrary, the second number was violently hissed. I now hastened out, for fear of being squeezed to death.

On the stairs also I found business was going forward. A pious man had taken his station to beg money for the souls in purgatory: this was no bad speculation, particularly *before* the drawing; as each then wished to procure the favour of heaven. Besides this, the stairs were filled with begging cripples; and, that the leading features of the Neapolitan character might be complete (superstition, love of gaming, poverty, and filthiness), it was permitted for every one to use the landing-place for easing the necessities of nature.

When I reached the street, I found the crowd who were shouting above multiplied repeatedly. A heavy shower fell, but no one regarded it. The rabble with and without umbrellas formed a long thick line, from the *vicaria* to the building (at the dis-

tance of several streets) where the prizes were paid. When a ticket of this description was drawn, it was announced from a window to a porter standing for that purpose in the street; who immediately proceeded with the intelligence to the before-mentioned house, stopping however by the way to impart the news to the anxious multitude. As soon as the mob perceived, at a distance, one of these porters, all was noise and confusion; and thousands of hands were waving in the air, for without using his hand no Neapolitan can speak. For half a minute every lip was in motion, in communicating the important observations which this great event produced: but the storm was soon over, and all still again till another porter appeared; who with a second number created the same uproar. It was worth the trouble to witness this scene.

The rage for lotteries extends itself farther here than any where else, because superstition finds thereby an ample field to work in. It is truly ridiculous to see what trifles influence the Neapolitans in their choice of numbers. Should any lounge who has nothing else to do, write five numbers by chance upon a wall, and remark that these will surely be prizes, it is probable that out of ten persons who see the numbers, eight will choose them. This diabolical passion has seized the lowest classes, and every tattered beggar carries the trifle he has received to the lottery.

#### GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE NEAPOLITANS.

However dark the colours are in which I have sketched the Neapolitan character, they must become yet more so as I descend to the common people. With the vices of the gentry they combine some which are properly their own; yet men of respectability, and foreigners who have passed five and twenty years here, assured me that they are in reality true-hearted and generous. I neither can nor wish to deny what these persons say, for they have had too frequent opportunities of observing them. To me it is very clear that uncultivated people may commit great crimes, and yet be really willing to do great actions; their vices being only habits.

Formerly the Neapolitans had a frequent habit of stabbing each other in the breast with knives on the slightest quarrel. At present, however, this exists no more. We may pass the streets by day or night as securely as through our own apartments. This happy change has also been effected by a strict ordinance of the duke of Ascoli. No person whatever, except officers in uniform, can appear in the streets armed, or venture to make any disturbance; for besides the punishment of the law, the offend-

er receives upon the spot military correction, either with a stick, whip, or the pillory. The prince has enforced respect for these regulations by a newly-formed guard, drest in black and yellow, and distinguished from the common sbirri by the privilege of entering houses and arresting any person without distinction, not excepting officers. The severity of this measure is another melancholy proof of its necessity.

The Italians are in general extremely irritable and revengeful, though not malicious. In the first moments of their fury they are not masters of themselves. A supposed injury must be revenged on the spot; and, if possible, with a stiletto. I once saw a lad who had been wounded by another in the head with a stone. He ran after the offender, but could not overtake him. He foamed with rage, bit his handkerchief, and tore it with his teeth. This strange eruption of his fury often returned; and after he had gone away apparently quite calm, I heard him suddenly again roaring at a distance, and saw him again biting his handkerchief. Had this fellow caught his adversary, and not been previously disarmed of his knife by the beneficent duke of Ascoli, he would have become a murderer.

#### MISCELLANEOUS ANECDOTES RELATIVE TO THE MANNERS AND CHARACTER OF THE NEAPOLITANS.

We shall now present our readers with a series of particulars relative to this debased and subjugated nation, which at the present time cannot fail to prove highly interesting. We have selected them from various parts of the celebrated work before us.

Very little trade is carried on by the natives of the Neapolitan dominions, though commerce might there be so flourishing. They possess the finest articles for exportation; corn, oil, raisins, figs, silk, wool, wine, &c. They have excellent harbours on the Mediterranean and Adriatic sea; but—they have no credit. They transact business in the same manner as the Russian merchants: they wait for orders from foreigners for their commodities. To make speculations at Naples is extremely hazardous, excepting you are connected with some good foreign house. The payments are very irregular; and if you send hither a greater quantity of goods than can be disposed of in three months, you are sure to have them returned upon your hands. Foreign commodities are, therefore, very dear, notwithstanding the facility of procuring them on every side.

It is a singular custom, but which places the credit of the Neapolitans in a very unfavourable light, that when you make any agreement with a Neapolitan,—for instance, with a vetturino for the journey to Rome,—you do not pay him part of the money in advance, as is customary in other countries, but he de-

posits a sum in your hands. If you omit this precaution, you are not safe. The unknown stranger, therefore, has more credit than the resident native.

For those who reside at Naples, that city is a cheap place: for nature produces without trouble all the necessaries of life the whole year through, and consequently the price of them is very low. Strangers, indeed, are obliged to pay more for them, and to such Naples is as dear as Paris. This applies in particular to lodging. For a handsome decorated hall and four apartments, I paid 120 dollars (about twenty guineas) per month; but they were, indeed, in the best part of the town, in the *Largo di Castello*, surrounded by all the theatres, commanding a view of Mount Vesuvius, in a very clean house, called *Albergo del Sole*, which is kept by an amiable Englishwoman, and where the accommodations are very good. This house I recommend to every traveller, except he would rather choose to have the credit of living at the very first hotel, *la Grande Bretagne*, where the charges are said to be exorbitant. Living is good, but not cheap. The price of ten carolins a-head, for which I bargained, was uncommonly low. In this sum wine was indeed included; but the ordinary table-wine, which is excessively sweet, is not fit to be drunk, so that you must pay extra for *Lacrymæ Christi*: but for about nine-pence a bottle you may procure tolerably good wine of that kind. The bread is not extraordinary, and is far inferior to the French. The vegetables are by no means so good as those of more northern countries: the carrots and turnips are scarcely eatable; the cauliflower only is good, and grows to a vast size. Fish and fruits are excellent and abundant; but only those which nature brings forth without the aid of art: on the contrary, pine-apples (though reared here with very little trouble) are dearer than at Berlin, because there are no hot-houses. A coach is, as in all other countries, one of the most expensive articles for a stranger; it costs daily four dollars and a half. If you take a coach and four horses for an excursion of a few miles into the country, it is an expence of nine dollars. Boxes at the theatre are scarcely to be procured at all. The whole box must be engaged at once, for single places are not to be had; and yet no ladies are permitted to be taken into the pit. It is therefore fortunate for a person if he is not often tempted to go to the play. The ordinary wages of a lacquey are six carolins per day: this, in comparison to other capitals, is not much; but it is necessary for a stranger to be upon his guard, as these people are real blood-suckers, charging for every thing double what they pay, and thus putting one half into their own pockets. Besides, among all the indolent animals at Naples these are the most indolent. The articles of female dress may here be procured handsome

and elegant, but at extravagant prices. With pictures and antiquities you are completely overwhelmed. Those who are not connoisseurs should beware of imposition; nor should they suffer themselves to be led, by the price demanded, to believe that the article is at least worth one half. They should offer one third, and that is often too much. At Villa Franca may be purchased copies of the most celebrated paintings, which are, in general, admirably executed in miniature by the young artists there, who are satisfied with a very moderate remuneration. But whoever is desirous to purchase originals, whether pictures, vases, or gems, would do well to consult some connoisseur. Rega, the stone-cutter, is accounted one of the first, and I know that many collectors would never make a purchase till they have heard his opinion.

A scene took place under my window, which was not calculated to excite any prepossession in favour of the fair-sex of this city. A woman, very decently dressed in black silk, and with a large black hood (which is commonly worn here) over her head, was engaged in a quarrel with another female, who, from her white dress, did not appear, any more than the other, to belong to the lowest class of the people. The dispute continued for some time, with a horrible noise; when the woman in black suddenly gave the other a sound box on the ear, which was immediately repaid in the same coin. She then tore the hood from the head of her antagonist; and, fixing both hands in her hair, dragged her along the market-place, and pulled her with great violence. The white one, spying her advantage, tripped up her opponent, and threw her with such adroitness on the pavement, that the light of the sun saluted her——, on which she began to hammer away like a cook on a chopping-board. A mob of several hundred persons thronged so closely around them, that the combatants had scarcely room to move their nervous arms.

The battle was accompanied with howling, shouting, hissing, clapping, but nobody took the trouble to part the frantic females, who might have beaten out each other's brains for what the spectators cared. At length some soldiers came and separated them; but they were not confined. On the contrary, a well-dressed man approached, offered the black lady his arm, and quietly conducted her from the scene of action. No one concerned himself about the white one, who quitted the field of battle as conqueror. These women bit their handkerchiefs for rage, which expression of anger seems to be peculiar to the Neapolitans. On all occasions of a similar nature the people remain quiet spectators; not even considering it their duty to prevent accidents. When boys fight in the streets, a circle is immediately formed, and it is not till blood is drawn that any of the bye-standers attempt to part them.

The Neapolitans are excessively afraid of rain. No where are so many umbrellas to be seen as at Naples, and in rainy weather it is extremely difficult to avoid the thousands of them which you meet in the many narrow streets. It is diverting to see how the hackney-coachmen in the public places drive off in all directions, on the fall of a sudden shower. At the very moment when there is the greatest occasion for those vehicles, not one of them is to be met with in the streets. This singular fear arises, as I was informed, from the idea, which probably is nothing more than prejudice, that the rain here is highly prejudicial to health. —They have a custom which I never remember to have observed elsewhere, but which is worthy of imitation. When heavy rains have formed streams in the middle of the streets, which it would be very inconvenient for pedestrians to wade through, small bridges on wheels are immediately brought out to these places, where they remain till the water has run off.

The common hackney-coaches in Naples are very far from elegant, and are remarkably filthy. Some idea of the inside of one of these vehicles may be formed from the following circumstance. At noon the driver opens both the doors, throws his oats at the bottom of the coach, and places one of his horses at each door, so that the animals feed head-to-head out of the vehicle.

At the approach of Christmas, hundreds of bag-pipers are to be seen at Naples; whose dress of sheep-skins, with the wool outwards, forms a singular contrast with the light clothing of the Lazzaroni. They are herdsmen from Apulia and other remote provinces; who consider it as a religious duty to make a pilgrimage at this season, with their bag-pipes, to the metropolis, to entertain the Holy Virgin with their music, in imitation of the shepherds who went to see our Saviour in the manger at Bethlehem. They go from house to house, and from shop to shop; and it is quite diverting to see with what devotion they stand before the image of the Virgin, and with what pious looks they gaze on the Madonna, while their lungs and fingers are thus busily engaged. I wonder that no painter has yet chosen such a scene as a subject for his pencil. Several weeks before Christmas nothing is to be heard in the streets but this music; which, however, is very harmonious: during the nine days preceding that festival, it is said to be the worst. I have been assured that many of these shepherds attend upwards of forty houses daily. As a quarter of an hour at least must be devoted to each Madonna, one of these people consequently plays for ten successive hours on the bag-pipe. What lungs!

The *Patres Scolari*, in the Collegio Caravaggio, announced the commencement of their lectures on the 12th of November.

Curiosity led me to the place, though with small hopes of gratification. I found a small gallery hung round with with geometrical and mechanical figures. On each side were some benches, on which seven young men were seated: at the further end, behind a table, was a man who could scarcely be thirty years of age; he wore an ecclesiastical habit, and had placed his cap by his side. He was just ready to begin when I entered: he immediately rose, came politely to meet me, and enquired what was my pleasure. It was some time before he could comprehend that I came merely with a view to listen to his discourse: astonishment was legibly imprinted on his countenance at the unexpected visit of a man with a star at his breast. Instantly collecting himself; he very civilly shewed me a place, seated himself, briefly repeated to me what he had said in the forenoon on the history of philosophy, and then proceeded with a suavity and a choice of expression, which astonished me as much as the sound reason that pervaded all his discourse. That he should ground all philosophy on mathematics, as he did, was what I was not prepared to expect. It is true, he advanced nothing but what is perfectly familiar to every German educated in Protestant seminaries; but it afforded me no small pleasure to hear such things, in such a place, and from a person in such a habit. At the conclusion of the lecture I went away, filled with sincere respect for the young man, whose features were as intelligent as his discourse. I am only afraid the seven young persons who gazed at him with open mouths, understood but little of what he said. These were the only philosophical lectures at Naples of which I heard any tidings. As it contains, according to report, seven hundred thousand inhabitants, it follows that only one out of one hundred thousand feels any inclination to study a little philosophy.

A philosopher, of a description very different from the preceding, says in a printed advertisement, "There have at all times been many ungodly people, who maintain that the study of nature is prejudicial to revealed religion. This assertion is, however, unfounded: religion is rather a herald of the mysteries of God, and Nature proclaims his omnipotence. Mankind are, notwithstanding, so perverse as to regard religion as an enemy to the progress of the human mind, and to look upon freedom of thought in me or any other as irreligious. To refute this opinion," he continues, "I have written a book entitled, 'Irreligious free-thinking an enemy to the advancement of science;' in which it is proved that all works written by men who were not pious believers, swarm with errors, that they merely follow the ancients without ever soaring higher than they have done, and that christianity has exercised the most beneficial influence on all modern

discoveries." This admirable work may, in a short time, be procured of Messrs. Terres, at Naples, for seven carolins.

#### PALACE AT NAPLES.

Of the royal palace at Naples I can say nothing further, than that it has a handsome and imposing exterior. The interior I saw but once, on being presented, and consequently had but little opportunity for observation. The apartments through which I was conducted were hung with tapestry, of the manufacture of the country, but which is far inferior to that of the Gobelins. Most of the designs were extremely rude; the colours were lively, and almost glaring. On one of the walls the Graces were holding a medallion, containing the portraits of the king and queen: that of the king in uniform is a striking likeness; but the queen is represented in a dress which was in fashion about twenty years ago, and of course now looks horribly. The Graces who hold this tasteless medallion, likewise bear a billet, on which is written the following sentence from the proverbs, *Rex sapiens dissipat impios* (A wise king disperses the wicked.) It must be acknowledged that no where is such shameless adulation practised as at Naples. I, however, saw two fine marble busts, of the emperor Francis, and the German hero, the Archduke Charles, whose open and intelligent countenance produces the most favourable impression on the mind of the spectator.

#### JUSTIFICATION OF THE QUEEN.

I arrived at Naples with strong prepossessions against the queen, partly derived from books, and partly from verbal information: I left that city convinced of her amiable manners and disposition. I admit that, in these difficult times, she has not always conducted the helm with a steady hand; that she often adopted measures which she was obliged to retract, as well as others from which it was not in her power to recede: but may not the same be said of almost every prince in Europe? Extraordinary circumstances require extraordinary measures. He with whom they succeed is denominated great; but those who are unsuccessful sink in the estimation of mankind. I am certain that the queen always acted for the best; but when the way to it is enveloped in the thickest mist, the instinct of a Frederic is required to find it. The queen is a most tender and affectionate mother to her children: this maternal heart is likewise a royal heart; nothing but the worst usage is capable of hardening it against the people, or of blunting its sensibility. "To make the people happy," said she to me, "we are often obliged, though against our inclinations, to act the despot; and if we do, we are not beloved." I expressed my opinion that this was not always the

case, and as an example I mentioned Maria Theresa. "Oh!" replied she, "my mother was nevertheless unhappy towards the conclusion of her life; for the ungrateful people universally wished her death. And why? On account of a paltry impost." Of the illusions of royalty she speaks with an amiable candour and sincerity, which excite irresistible prepossessions in her favour. She longs for the period when general tranquillity shall allow her to resign the burthen of public affairs, and to withdraw, with her husband, into solitude. "Then," said she, "then it will be seen who was attached to Maria Carolina, and who merely paid their court to the queen." Assuredly those who have the happiness to be near her, and to hear her often speak in this manner, must be attached to her. "The highest felicity on earth is the happiness of being a mother," said she to my wife, who expected shortly to enjoy it. "I have had seventeen living children; they were my only joy. Nature made me a mother; the queen is only a gala-dress, which I put off and on." At these words she took her dress between two fingers, and loosed it again almost with an air of contempt. "He who possesses an independence," said she, with an emphasis that was not affected, "is far more happy than the prince on his throne." It would be improper to repeat all that she said concerning the present times, the Jesuits, &c. All, however, manifested an enlightened mind, and a heart, filled indeed with acrimony, but excellent at the bottom. She is accused of falsehood and artifice; but I really doubt whether it is possible so grossly to deceive one whose principal employment has, for thirty years, been the observation of mankind. What she said to me, she both thought and felt; nobody shall ever persuade me of the contrary.

Sincerity and good-nature are legibly inscribed on the countenance of the hereditary prince. Prince Leopold and the two princesses appear to be rather bashful. All of them conversed with me in the German language; which the hereditary prince, in particular, speaks very fluently. The reciprocal behaviour of the children to the mother, and the mother to the children, which I had an opportunity of observing, is so tender, so unaffected, as to inspire the bosom of the stranger with the most agreeable sentiments. It is likewise a commendable trait in the character of the queen, that she is still so strongly attached to her native land. On entering her antichamber you hear nothing but German, and honest German faces every where smile upon you. The queen receives every week from Vienna a written account of all occurrences remarkable or not in that city. She calls it her chronicle of lies, but has suffered it to be sent for thirty years without countermanding it.

## ALGERINE SLAVES.

As you go to the street St. Lucia, you may look down into an extensive court-yard belonging to one of the buildings of the Admiralty. Here the captive Algerine pirates are permitted to take the air; and I have sometimes observed the half-naked, tawny fellows, with fierce, hideous countenances, amusing themselves with playing at ball, or with folded arms smoking their pipes. They are about forty in number, and were all taken in the same ship. On the contrary, as I was informed, at least four thousand Neapolitans languish in captivity at Algiers; so superior is the marine of his Algerine highness to that of his Sicilian majesty. The pirates, knowing they had no danger to fear, had already become so bold as to land at Castel-a-Mara, not ten miles from Naples, where they plundered and carried off whatever they pleased. A well-informed man declared, that if these barbarians had sufficient courage and local knowledge, they might land in the night at Portici, and carry the whole royal family into captivity. Is it not a shame, that not a ship can sail for Sicily without running the risk of being taken as soon as it has quitted the port of Naples?—Now, however, tranquillity is restored at sea for a few weeks: for Micheroux, brother to the secretary of state, who has the command of a squadron, watched for the corsairs, attacked them with great bravery, and handled them very roughly. They were obliged to seek their own ports: so that at present the sea is quite clear of them. I became acquainted with this Neapolitan naval hero, who is as accomplished as he is brave, and speaks with great modesty of his victory. The Algerines received a tremendous fire for a full half-hour before they fled. They were superior in number to the Neapolitans, but their guns were badly served.—Of what advantage is this victory to the four thousand wretches who groan far from their native land in the fetters of slavery, and who are kept incessantly to hard labour? On the other hand, the few Algerines at Naples are well treated, and do nothing at all. Is it possible that these plunderers should continue to be tolerated by so many naval powers? I know that Louis XIV. once said, “If there were no Algiers, we ought to wish for one:” but how he could reconcile that expression either to sound sense or policy, I cannot comprehend.

The native galley-slaves at Naples are treated far worse than the Algerine captives. They are not much employed in labour; for as often as I walked along the coast to Portici, I saw them in a castle sitting behind two iron gates, situated at some distance from each other, so that the fresh air had a considerable space to traverse from the outermost gate to the innermost. At the windows women and girls are usually standing, and talking with their husbands and lovers, often weeping, and sometimes laughing;

and supplying them with all kinds of eatables. At certain hours they are driven into a small open place, which cannot be more than twenty feet square, and which is surrounded with high and strong palisades. Besides this, numerous detachments of infantry and cavalry, who surround the place with muskets charged and swords drawn, are commanded to fire and cut them to pieces, if the slaves make the least motion to effect their escape. To this, however, they shew no disposition; but content themselves with thrusting their black (absolutely *black*) linen through the intervals between the palisades to the women who wait for it without. If a prisoner ever escapes at Naples, it is not the fault of the government, which does not fail to provide a sufficient number of guards. In cases where, in other countries, two guards are employed, it allows a dozen. I have several times seen single individuals, who were bound, escorted to prison by ten or twelve well-armed *sbirri*; and when I asked, "Why so many?" I received for answer, "If there were only three, the prisoner, though bound, would overpower them and escape." It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that a few unmanacled Frenchmen should so speedily put to the rout armies of eighty thousand men. State-prisoners are conveyed in well-secured sedan-chairs: they are surrounded, besides, by six or eight *sbirri*; and processions of this kind, which I met four or five times, actually excited considerable attention. I wonder that the government does not direct these removals to be made at night. It has a great number of spies in its pay, and among them are people of the highest rank. One of the most notorious is said to be a chevalier R—, who frequents the first companies.

To express the power of hunger in a manner somewhat disgusting, but extremely energetic, it would be necessary only to copy a scene which I have several times witnessed. A man sells melons, cut into small pieces. A poor devil buys one of these pieces, devours it, bites off the rind with his teeth, and throws it away. A beggar-boy immediately picks it up out of the mud, voraciously gnaws it once more, and does not drop it, with a sigh, till it is as thin as post-paper.

#### CLIMATE OF NAPLES.

I have already several times made mention of the delightful climate of Naples, and I must acknowledge that it surpasses every description. I was, at first, very apprehensive of the cold: for, thought I, where there are no stoves, where chimnies are but seldom met with, and the floors are of stone, the mildest winter would be more severely felt than the rigours of a Russian season, which by means of proper stoves they know how to overcome. But

I was mistaken. In my four or five apartments there was but a single fire-place for cases of necessity; and in this I never had a fire made, though I did not leave Naples till the sixteenth of December. Through the whole of November, the thermometer was generally above twenty degrees: day and night were equally warm. Notwithstanding my custom of sitting down to my writing-table at four o'clock, and sometimes earlier, I never felt the least cold. The people here use a kind of copper pan, with an arched cover, in which myrtle-branches are burned, and diffuse a pleasing warmth: but in houses that face the south these may be dispensed with; for my part, I never had occasion for them. Two days, on which the temperature had fallen about four or five degrees, seemed to the Neapolitans intolerably cold, and they all declared they had never experienced more inclement weather. I naturally laughed at them when I met them with their faces muffled up in their cloaks. The floors are covered with mats made of rushes, which entirely counteract the effect of the cold stones. Scarcely a day passed without much lightning either in the morning or evening: sometimes these storms were extremely violent; and in one of them, during the last days of my residence at Naples, the lightning killed three men at Castel Nuovo. Had it fallen two or three paces further, it would have set fire to a powder-magazine, and would probably have prevented me from ever describing its operations. It is remarkable that, though thunder-storms are so frequent, not a single lightning-conductor is to be seen at Naples. The circumjacent country is decked with eternal verdure. Few trees entirely lose their leaves, and none of the hedges become quite bare. The sun's rays are often scorching, and almost always too warm. The natives complain of the sea-breeze, called Sirocco, which they imagine relaxes the system, and makes them indolent and ill. With me, however, the Sirocco agreed extremely well. Though its name was before so terrible, I became acquainted with it only as a warm delightful zephyr, which never produced in me any disagreeable sensation. I revelled in this heavenly climate, amid these enchanting beauties of nature, these monuments of antiquity; and yet—I candidly acknowledge it—yet did I feel no regret at quitting Naples, but drew my breath more freely when I had turned my back on a city containing half a million of people, with none of whom I could contract a friendship. To lead what may with propriety be termed an agreeable life, we must reside among good men. Nature and the climate are of very little consequence. We may accustom ourselves to every thing, but not to people without hearts.—Farewel, proud Parthenope! never do I wish to behold thee again.

## EXCESSES OF THE LAZZARONI.

Among the atrocities of the revolution, every one still relates with horror that the Lazzaroni roasted men in the streets, and begged money of the passengers to purchase bread for their roast meat. Many of them carried in their pockets fingers, ears, &c. which they had cut off; and when they met a person whom they looked upon as a patriot, they triumphantly exhibited their bloody spoils. One of these murderers shewed with exultation a reeking dagger to one of my acquaintance, boasting that he had plunged it into the bosom of a Jacobin. The person to whom he was speaking was obliged to feign excessive joy at the account; he inquired who the Jacobin was, and heard the name of one of his most intimate friends. On this occasion the women were the most outrageous; it was sufficient to be pointed out by one of these furies as a Jacobin, to be instantly sacrificed. All who wore cropped hair were devoted victims. False tails were procured; but the deception being perceived, the people ran behind every one that passed, pulled him by the tail, and if it came off, it was all over with the wearer. Upwards of two thousand houses were completely plundered. The Danish consul was often in danger, because his uniform was mistaken for French. Every thing was done *par la santa fede*, so that *santa fede* is now become an opprobrious term. For three months Ruffo and his Calabrians indulged in these excesses. The French at length came, and in twenty-four hours tranquillity was restored. Their number did not exceed four thousand, but that was sufficient for such a pusillanimous enemy. The measures they adopted were indeed severe: when, for example, they met a suspected person, all they did was to smell at his hands; if they smelt of powder, he was cut in pieces without mercy.

There is at Naples a species of begging more disgusting than that of the street-beggars. On my presentation at court, one of the attendants first appeared in my anti-chamber, and in the name of all his comrades wished me joy on my happy arrival. I shrugged my shoulders, and made him a present. A quarter of an hour afterwards, one of the halberdiers (the guards in the interior apartments of the palace) came with the same compliment. He was followed by several others; and at length the domestics of the master of the horse were announced, though that officer had no concern at all with the presentation. I had no other alternative than to throw away fifty piastres, or to send them away with as little ceremony as they shewed of modesty. I was assured that a German prince, who had recently visited Naples, had been obliged to give in this manner eighty piastres.

This is disgraceful! The example of the court is followed by the great. If you have dined with any one, you are sure to have one or two of his people with you the next morning, to make you pay for your dinner three times the price for which you might have had it at a tavern. This is truly disgraceful!

For the particulars of the author's journey from Naples to Rome, we shall refer the public to the book itself. A very interesting account is given by Kotzebue of

#### ST. PETER'S CHURCH.

This building is esteemed a wonder of the world by every one: but my usual fate at the sight of wonders attended me here also; I felt no sensation of satisfaction in beholding it. I did not find it elegant, nor even imposing: for its immense size is lost in endless little decorations.—But I must describe it with regularity:

The church is built on a spot which formerly made part of the circus and the gardens of Nero. Its ground, however, has been consecrated by the blood of martyrs. Its origin is dated more than three centuries ago; but it has been frequently altered, and at times entirely neglected by one pope or zealously pursued by another. Bramante, the celebrated architect, took it into his head to put an immense dome on it; yet, dying soon after, he could only erect the four capital pillars, which were subsequently found too slender by Raphael Urbino, and therefore better secured in their foundation. The church was to be built in the form of a Latin cross at one time, and like a Greek one at another: yet this unfortunate cross was adhered to by every one, even by Michel Angelo Bonarotti; and this is the cause why all endeavours at producing a grand effect have proved abortive. Michel Angelo took the famous Pantheon as a pattern for the dome: he intended to copy its front also, but he died too soon. James de la Porte finished the dome, and Charles Maderno the rest of the building. Bernini (who acquired his fame nobody knows how) has been pleased to put a steeple on it; but he was compelled to take it down again, as the walls began to burst in several places. During the pontificate of Pius the sixth a sacristy was added.

More than a dozen popes, and several dozens of architects, have been busy at the building; mending, ornamenting, and spoiling it. Towards the end of the seventeenth century the expences already amounted to seventy millions of Roman dollars; and they now perhaps exceed twice that sum. The front is grand; yet the last pope took a fancy to modernise it, and placed there two dials, which have spoilt the whole. Every writer gives an account of its dimensions; yet to furnish an idea of its magnitude I shall only mention that the height of the body of the church from the

ground to the upper part of its ceiling is 432 feet, and that sixteen persons may find sufficient room for themselves in the globular top over the dome. On the 29th of June, annually, the dome is lighted by four thousand lamps and two thousand fire-pots: this must be a fine spectacle. The pope also bestows his blessing annually, on Maundy-Thursday, from the middle balcony.

The vestibule of the church is grand and beautiful. Over the second entrance we admire a mosaic from Giotto, executed in the year 1303. At the corners to the right and left we see the statues of Charlemagne and Constantine on horseback. We, however, need not approach them; for neither of them is worth examining. Charlemagne appears in the act of riding through a triumphal arch, from which a *curtain* descends. What an idea! to treat a triumphal arch like an alcove. Yet this invention of Comarchini delighted the pliant Bernini in such a manner, that he has made his Constantine in the act of riding through a sort of *tent*, where the horse must necessarily be entangled at the first step.

Of the five doors leading to the church itself, one is generally shut up by brick-work. This is called the holy door; and is opened only at a jubilee, and not then till the pope has knocked at it with a hammer. The middle gate is of bronze, with *bas-reliefs*; which do not add to the true dignity of a temple, but shew the vanity of the popes. Among other subjects represented in these, we find the ceremony of an audience which was given by some pope to the ambassadors of several nations. The absurdity is made complete by the heathenish decorations of these pieces of workmanship.

I expected to find the church more narrow at first sight than from its outside it appears to be; yet I doubt whether the great art of keeping up due proportions be, as it is said, the cause of this; I rather ascribe the effect to the childish theatrical decoration at the high altar, where the Holy Ghost waves in a transparent glory; and especially to the accumulation of ornaments of every kind. If nothing were to be seen within the church but the white marble sparingly decorated with bronze, the eye would ease itself by an involuntary tear of admiration: but these angels with holy-water pots; these marble flourishes of every colour; these tombs every where interspersed like swallows' nests; this gaudy gilt ceiling; these escutcheons of the popes without number, the marks of their vanity;—are together sufficient to destroy all the grandeur: and this famous church now appears like a handsome woman of the seventeenth century, who has taken all possible care to counteract her charms by a hoop-petticoat and a preposterous

KOTZEBUE.]

head-dress. Such, at least, was the impression which it made upon me.

I shall speak, however, of its different parts.—The tomb of a pope, by Canova, ought to be particularly noticed. Religion is certainly represented here as a very formal lady, though indeed that may be its genuine yet displeasing character: but the Genius on the opposite side makes amends; it is of unspeakable mildness, and the two majestic lions refute the envious calumny which accuses Canova's chisel of wanting energy.—A statue of St. Peter, seated, is said to have been re-cast from a bronze Jupiter Capitolinus. The pious catholics take every possible pains to kiss away its feet. A hundred and twelve lamps are burning continually round the tomb of this saint; and this is the most important remark I can make on it.—The high altar close to it, on which nobody reads mass but the pope, is overshadowed by a ceiling which exceeds that of any palace of Rome in loftiness. This, however, might pass; but the act of disfiguring the Pantheon by taking away nearly two thousand pounds weight of bronze, for the sake of this pitiful work of Bernini, is a disgrace to the memory of Urban the Eighth.—The great and truly awful dome is only two feet less in diameter than that of the Pantheon, being 137: but it exceeds the latter in height by twenty feet; being 159 besides the lantern, the basis pedestal of the top, the globular top itself, and the cross above it, which measure together about 120. Notwithstanding all this, no pleasing nor grand impression is made like that we irresistibly feel in the Pantheon; yet, to compensate for this deficiency, a remnant of the holy cross, and another of the spear that pierced the side of Christ, with many more relics, are preserved here, and locked up within pillars. An immense cross is suspended under the dome every Good Friday, and lighted up by above three hundred lamps.—In the back-ground of the church we ascend on steps of porphyry to the altar, over which the pretended pulpit of St. Peter presents itself. This we may easily suppose to have been in reality nothing but a sorry wooden chair; we see, however, a large bronze arm-chair, surrounded by indifferent colossal pillars of the same metal.—Quite close to it, on a papal tomb, is the famous statue of *Justitia*, done by James de la Porte.

Of the hundred and thirty statues placed in this church, there is none which I should be inclined to take particular notice of. Its greatest ornaments are the excellent mosaics; all copied from the most renowned pictures, which thus are guarded against oblivion. Most of the originals are now at Paris. It seems as if the Romans had felt a presentiment of their loss, and taken every means to prepare for it.—A bas-relief by Algarde, representing pope Leo the Great in the act of forbidding Attila, king

of the Huns, to approach Rome, is particularly remarkable.—Among the sepulchral monuments I saw one by Bernini, which, like many other works, betrays the utterly unpoetical mind of the artist. A colossal skeleton is raising a marble curtain, having caught it with a hand like an eagle's claw.—Another is erected in honour of the Swedish queen Christina. On a bas-relief we see this strange woman renouncing Lutheranism. The nose and the hands are mutilated; which may perhaps be the effect of the just indignation of her countrymen who have travelled hither.—One should do the same to the scene which is represented on the sarcophagus of the famous countess Matilda. We cannot help recollecting how the emperor Henry IV. has been abused in her presence. The sovereign pontiffs should tear out the leaves from their history on which such transactions are recorded; but they endeavour to eternize them by marble.—There is but one monument in the church that represents a sensible action of a pope; it is the correction of the calendar by Gregory XIII.: the rest are devoted to remind us only of wonders or revolting cruelties.—I could certainly fill a much greater space by descriptions of the contents of this church: but at every new visit to it I felt as if I saw only a collection of goods and articles of inferior workmanship, brought together without regularity for some future sale; and I heartily wished they were disposed of, that I might be permitted to admire the building itself.

Underneath is the spot where the martyrs were interred formerly, and which has been carefully preserved with the new splendid temple. It contains so little deserving of notice, and exhaled so foul an air, that I thought better not to descend into it. Several emperors, kings, and popes, lie buried here: and many inscriptions, paintings, and mosaics, of the primitive church; some of which may be sufficiently interesting.—The splendid sacristy was built under Pius VI.: and as it is of so recent a date, the critics have a great deal to say against it; for with them nothing can be good but what is ancient.—We ascend the roof of the church by easy steps, and the delicate ladies may even be carried up by asses. We here seem to have entered a small town; for we suddenly find ourselves among a number of houses, which either serve as repositories of implements and materials for repairing the church, or are inhabited by the workmen. The dome, at the foot of which we now arrive, seems to be the parish-church of this town; and the inferior domes appear as if intended only for ornaments, to fill up the vacuities. Add to this, that we cannot see the streets of Rome, on account of the high gallery surrounding and its colossal statues, and a stranger may easily conceive how singular such a scene must be. I was assured, be-

sides, that sometimes there is a market here of provisions for these aerial inhabitants.

Though we are now on the roof, we have still a great height to ascend before we reach the summit of the dome. Previously to entering on this adventurous enterprise, we are conducted to the inside gallery of the dome. From this spot the people within the body of the church appear like children. The higher we go, the more uncomfortable we find it, on account of the oblique walls over the narrow staircase; and are often compelled to lean with our whole bodies quite to one side. Several marble plates are affixed in these walls, informing us that some persons of distinction have had the courage to mount this dome, or even to climb up to the lantern and the top. The emperor Joseph II. is mentioned twice; and Paul I. as grand-duke. At some places, where the stairs are too steep, more commodious steps of wood have been prepared for the king of Naples: by these we can walk to the lantern with greater ease. The view which awaits us there, may be imagined without the help of description. It is an immense panorama bounded by the sea. The storm that always blows in these high regions, spoils this grand scene. I advise every one to guard against taking cold, though the air may be ever so warm and mild below. I have found the necessity of this caution, from my own experience.

I must say a few words respecting the noble Place of St. Peter, which in my opinion exceeds in beauty the church and all its appendages. It is elliptic. The church appears in the background; and on both sides we see a row of quadruple arches, resting on two hundred and eighty-four pillars and eighty-eight pilasters: the arches support a hundred and ninety-two statues, each twelve feet high, representing (to my sorrow) nothing but saints. For the sake of this place, I can pardon Bernini many incongruities. Two noble fountains throwing a mass of water to a height of nine feet, from which it falls in a very picturesque manner, add to the beauty of the whole in a very great degree.—Those who consider the obelisk in the middle as an ornament, do wrong in my opinion. It is nothing to me that it was transported by the emperor Caligula from Heliopolis in Egypt to Rome; that its removal to this place by Fontana, at the command of Sextus the Fifth, is an astonishing exertion of mechanism; that its erection cost nearly seventy thousand dollars: I insist that its massy greatness hurts the effect of the noble front of the church. Any one who will try by forgetting for a moment the obelisk, will instantly find the whole improved, and much grander than before. We are disgusted too at the pitiful inscriptions by which this monument of remote antiquity is profaned, informing us that a papal blessing has cleansed it from all

its impurity. But I have done with these insipidities, which disgrace all the pillars and obelisks here.

Much highly interesting matter is to be found in the description given by M. Kotzebue of the library and museum of the Vatican, the churches, and obelisks at Rome, the villas of Medicis and Lodovici, the palaces of Barberini and the Cæsars, and particularly the various ancient edifices and ruins. The account of the

#### PALACE OF LUCIEN BUONAPARTE,

a man who once lived for years in a garret, must impress the reader with very sublime ideas of the secret motives of Providence. Lucien, however, is allowed to be the best member of the usurper's family; and though he have participated in the spoils of a conquered nation, he committed no crimes to obtain them. Speaking of this palace, M. Kotzebue says, at last we meet with an elegantly-furnished house, and a comfortable habitation. Even though we should happen not to know in whose palace we are, we should instantly guess, that at least no Italian is its owner. Lucien, it is true, has not yet bought it; he is only in treaty about it; but he has already made alterations and improvements according to his own ideas, and at every step the visitor discovers the man of taste, the connoisseur, and the lover of the fine arts. A majestic statue of Minerva, which he bought of prince Justiniani, and which rivals the celebrated palace of Velletri, the highly extolled basso-relievo of Jupiter or Bacchus suckled by Amalthea, and a beautiful antique altar, are the chief ornaments of the grand saloon.

Lucien has not yet purchased any other works of sculpture; but the little he has obtained may be called a great acquisition. Nor is his collection of pictures very numerous; but there is not a single bad one among them; and here at least we may enjoy the pleasure of admiring nothing but masterpieces, without being first tired with a crowd of indifferent pieces or wretched daubings. The Massacre of the Children at Bethlehem by Poussin is the best representation I have seen of this horrid scene. The child has already received a wound, lies bleeding and screaming on the ground. The executioner is aiming a second blow; the mother catches it with one hand, whilst she fixes the nails of the other into the murderer's back. Her countenance—ah!—the pencil of a great master only could paint it! No words can do it. It is not pale, yet it has no colour; Despair has breathed upon it; it is the colouring of the infernal regions, the hue of the tortures of hell, which we do not see, which passes through the eye, and runs like a cold tremor down our backs—I will not speak longer of it; it makes my heart ache. Had I been doomed to paint that picture, it would have killed me. Poussin certainly had no

children, or did not love children; for how else could it have been possible for him to kill the poor little innocents with so much cruelty? The executioner dispatched them with one blow of his sword, but the painter was obliged to have them bleeding for weeks and months at his feet. I had no cicerone with me to name the different masters, yet think I have guessed many of them: one of the *Madonnas* is, beyond doubt, by Raphael; and one of the most lovely of his works. If the masterly group of several heads illuminated by the light of a lantern, be (as I conjecture) by Honthorst, it is certainly his most successful production. A *Venus* in the bed-room does honour to the pencil of Sizian. But why tire my readers with this dry catalogue? especially as this art of guessing is even by Dubos pronounced to be very fallacious, and the most experienced judges are frequently mistaken. In short, I found at most but two or three middling pieces, and this was the only gallery at Rome which I left with perfect satisfaction. I will not deny, that the tasteful furniture of the rooms might contribute to heighten the beauty of the paintings; and that it puts a stranger in good-humour when he finds that he is not obliged to wander about on a dirty brick pavement, among old-fashioned leather chairs. Lucien intends to increase the number of his pictures to three hundred, but every one of them is to be a master-piece; if he realises this idea, his collection will be the only one of the kind in Rome, and perhaps in Europe. With respect to the palace, he has likewise vast plans in contemplation, and is said to have an idea of purchasing a whole street to enlarge it. I am unable how to reconcile this love of magnificence with his partiality for domestic life and comforts, which is so conspicuous in his palaces at Paris as well as at Rome. His study is close to the room for his children; and this latter furnished and arranged for them with an affectionate care, that at first sight every thing betrayed the tender father. The *custode* assured me, that Lucien would not survive the death of any of his beloved children. He has bought a villa near Rome, and also a palace at Milan; hence it seems as if he intended to settle in Italy for life.

The present state of the descendants of the Romans is admirably described in the following series of

#### MISCELLANEOUS OBSERVATIONS.

When a foreigner returns to Rome after visiting Naples, he will be more than ever struck with the stillness and solitude in the streets. He has no need to force his way through the crowd with both arms as in the Toledo-street of Naples; he may walk without being much incommoded, even on the *Torso*. Rome seems as if it had been depopulated by a plague: but it is only the effect of the pestilential dominion of priests. The city con-

tains 120 convents for monks, and 51 nunneries. At first, however, this quiet is not displeasing, after having been stunned with the incessant noise of Naples; and he now observes with greater satisfaction the cleanliness that prevails here. Many of my readers may perhaps laugh at me when I speak of cleanliness at Rome: but it is indeed clean when compared with Naples; and without having been in the latter city, it is impossible to conceive how far the love of filth may be carried. It must be owned, that on many walls in Rome, we find the word *immondezzaio* inscribed; signifying a place where every one may throw all manner of dirt—a privilege which is but too frequently made use of: but these are only particular places; and, however near they may be to each other, the intervals are clean. At Naples, on the contrary, *immondezzaio* should be written over the gates: for the whole city is a temple of Cloacina.

In winter the women of the lower classes carry about with them a small earthen pot with handles. This pot contains live coals, over which they warm their hands; and so much are they attached to it, that even when looking out at the window, they hold it before them. They have given it a very whimsical name, *marito* (husband): but whether this be meant as a satire or a compliment to their husbands, I could not learn.

The art of conversing by means of gestures and signs, is well known in every part of Italy; but it is at Rome where it is most practised, and brought to the greatest degree of perfection. Very amusing observations may be made relative to this language in almost every church and every company. A lover will there seldom approach his mistress, but addresses his discourse to her at a distance; and they may, perhaps, be saying the tenderest things to each other, without it being possible for the uninitiated to understand a single syllable, without his even suspecting they are conversing together.—To lay the hand open on the chin, and then cross the lips with two fingers, signifies “You are beautiful, I should be happy to speak with you.” If the lady only repeats the latter part of the sign, it is understood that she consents; but if she adds a motion of the hand, as if fanning herself, it means “Begone! I do not wish to speak to you.” Raising almost imperceptibly the point of the fan over the mouth, and then gently lowering it, means, “Yes: I have no objection.” Ladies of quality have a still more refined method of giving this answer. They slowly bend forward the upper part of the body, and then resume their former attitude. In general, whilst making the sign, they avoid looking at the man of their choice: they only give a quick glance of the eye at him immediately after it is done, and that is quite sufficient. In Germany, to beckon with the hand signifies “Come hither;” but in Italy it means only, “I salute

you." A stranger, unacquainted with the meaning of that sign, very naturally goes towards the person making it, imagining he has something to communicate. This mode of saluting particularly well becomes a beautiful young lady. To beckon with the hand backwards, signifies with us, "Go away;" but in Italy, "I shall come directly."—Sometimes we see the Italians use both modes of beckoning immediately following each other; which means, "I salute you now, and shall soon be with you."—To beckon with the inverted hand over the shoulder, means, "Go: I do not believe you."—To pull the corner of the eye down towards the nose with the fore-finger, means, "That is a man of mettle, who will not be played with."—Sometimes they act at the theatres an interlude or farce, where all these signs are introduced; and which therefore must prove very interesting, especially to strangers. I can give no further information about this subject; and leave it, as a more suitable task, for young travellers to study this excellent language. I thought, however, I could observe that the much more excellent language of the eyes is thus lost, or at least not sufficiently cultivated. The Roman ladies depend entirely on their signs; the German belles on the language of the eyes; in which they have become such proficient, that they do not at all feel the want of the Italian mode of conversing.

The Romans esteem it a vice to steal, but murder is thought no crime. They are ashamed of being seen in company with a thief, but a murderer is only called a "poveretto" (poor fellow), and they willingly assist him to make his escape. The wearing of offensive weapons is prohibited here, but not so strictly as at Naples: and fatal stabs with knives are still very frequently the consequence of quarrels; but there has not been an instance for several years back of a stranger having been assassinated. The Transteverini (Romans living on the other side of the Tiber) distinguish themselves still by their audacity and fierceness. A number of them lately went to a wine-house, before the gates of Rome, where they drank freely. On their return to town they divided into two parties. The one had reached town before the other, and had entered a coffee-house to refresh themselves; the other followed them, entered the coffee-house, but left it sooner, without bidding good night to the first party. These latter found themselves offended. From words they proceeded to blows, from blows to throwing stones, from stones to knives, nay, some fetched muskets from their houses in the neighbourhood. Several were killed on the spot, many were carried home badly wounded. The *sbirri* (officers of the police at Rome) did not dare to interfere; and it was not till the affray was over, that they endeavoured to take some of the ringleaders singly. One of the latter, at whose door they knocked during night, asked from the window,

“Who is there?”—“The officers of justice,” was the reply. “Stop a moment,” said he, “I shall come down immediately.” He accordingly came, armed with a pair of pistols, opened the door, killed one of the *sbirri* on the spot, and mortally wounded the other; on which, having himself received a stab, he sunk, expiring to the ground. It is of no avail that petty insignificant crimes are immediately punished with the *cord*, which is, indeed, an inhuman torture. The arms of the culprit are twisted out of joint at the shoulders, in such a manner that he is very frequently rendered a cripple for life. The kind of sport so very common at Naples, in which two persons endeavour to push their fingers into each other’s faces, I never observed in the streets of this city; where it is strictly prohibited, on account of the many disputes which it occasioned, particularly in the night-time. The Romans are said to be proficient in the game. If they only see a stranger stretch out his fingers half a dozen times, they are sure to be at him; for they instantly observe not only which of them he generally uses, but their eyes are by practice accustomed to perceive, from the slightest movement in the muscles of the hand, which fingers he intends to stretch out, on which they instantly regulate their own accordingly.

At the merry season of Christmas, the bagpipers of the kingdom of Naples ramble as far as Rome; where, as in their own country, they disturb the morning slumbers of every stranger with their music. On Christmas-eve the streets exhibit a cheerful spectacle: Not only the shops with toys for children (which are far inferior to the toys of Berlin), but all those where eatables of any kind are sold, are decorated in the most singular and whimsical manner. As the poorest Italian must have a turkey at this festival, you see those birds hanging up plucked, by hundreds, and almost all of them have oranges in their bills. Beef and veal are covered with gold and silver tinsel, and even adorned with ribbons. Hundreds of sausages are suspended like garlands; and in their vacancies are placed for a contrast, in paper cases, the white *ricotta*. Oranges are even fixed at the top of every pineapple, and the latter are arranged in the form of little pyramids. Instead of the fir-trees which decorate the market-places of the north, the Romans use small laurel-trees, to which they affix oranges and lemons. The whole produces a very pleasing effect. In the night of Christmas-eve the streets are very noisy. The peasants from the adjacent country assemble early in the evening in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore, whose beautiful white columns are covered and disfigured with red damask. Thousands of lights illumine this magnificent temple. But as the great mass is not read before midnight, the peasants, many of whom come from a considerable distance, naturally grow tired and sleepy, lie

down, and throw themselves upon one another in the corners and colonnades, or recline against the monuments; where they enjoy profound slumbers, and amid the enchanting illumination form groups exquisitely picturesque. I know artists who, accordingly, never fail to pass this night in the church, and always leave it in the morning enriched with new ideas. There is yet another attraction which allures artists as well as those who are not artists: the most beautiful females of the highest as well as of the lowest classes repair thither about midnight, that amid the illusive lights they may exhibit their charms to greater advantage. Here you may study forms, and plan intrigues that lead to the production of new forms. When the bell at length rings, the peasants start up half-asleep; the females assume a pious air; Christ is born, and placed on the high altar in a magnificent silver cradle, which is in fact a master-piece of art. On this occasion an indecency is committed of which heathens would scarcely have been guilty; it is this: two common fellows climb up on the altar, and trample about upon it for a long time with their clumsy feet before they can place the cradle in a proper situation. Besides this silver cradle, the church is said likewise to possess the real cradle of our Saviour, which I had not the honour to see. An immense multitude of candles are lighted up around it; and on each side are stationed four men of the pope's Swiss guards, as a proof that, at least, the dress of the harlequin is still retained.

From the first day of this festival a great number of *præsepia*, or mangers, are exhibited at Rome. These are representations of the nativity of Christ by means of puppets. Most of them are in churches; I went to see them all, and they are mere children's play. At one of them I was diverted with a boy who was relating to the people the extraordinary history of Mary's delivery with vehement pathos and great gesticulations, but so rapidly that you could scarcely understand a word he said. One of these mangers distinguishes itself every year among the rest, and displays some ability in the artist. It is called *della Regola*, I believe from the street in which it is exhibited. Some devout genius, assisted by the contributions of the pious, executes it annually in such a style, that the best scene-painter would scarcely equal him. It is placed on the flat roof of his house. The whole is composed of a few boards, some cork, and puppets. In the fore-ground is the celebrated stable itself, with every thing appropriate; but being too near produces the least effect. But, on the other hand, if you look over, and on one side of the stable, you discover a landscape most beautiful and animated, distant mountains, with towns and villages on their sides, cottages, pastures, corn-fields, streams, &c. The illusion is so complete,

that, notwithstanding my excellent sight, I could not for a long time be persuaded that they were the work of art. I could have sworn that what I saw over the roof was the open country; and that the man had only availed himself with dexterity of the distant mountains, so as to make them serve for a suitable back-ground to his pretty performance. But the artist, flattered by this declaration, took me himself to the roof, where I beheld with astonishment at how small an expence this enchantment was produced. The stream which I had just before seen *wet* and *running*, was nothing more than a painted board laid in an oblique direction. The same were the mountains, which had appeared to be many miles distant, and which now reclined not more than two paces from me against a chimney. The trouble of executing this little performance is a mere act of piety. You pay nothing to see it: even the sentinel who made way for us through the crowds that were flocking to see it, and to whom we offered a trifle, refused the voluntary present, but with great politeness reminded us to take off our hats.

The *Monte Testaccio*, or mount of potsherds, is said to have been produced by all the potsherds, which, since the time of Tarquin, the potters residing in that neighbourhood have been obliged to carry to this spot, that the river might not be choaked up by them. It is, indeed, scarcely possible to conceive how a hill of such magnitude can have arisen from such potsherds. This is, however, the fact, be its origin what it may. It has now become a natural curiosity, on account of the extraordinary coolness it affords in summer, by means, as it is said, of the air, which acquires such a temperature in the interstices between the potsherds. The finest wine-cellars are constructed in it; and in consequence, great numbers of people resort to the place, especially in October, to drink the cool beverage. A multitude of tables are set out under the trees, and the bottle is pushed merrily round. On the shore of the Tiber they dance the saltarella. Those who love quietness retire to their homes at the approach of night, when disorders and even assassinations are not rare. The burying-ground of the Protestants is separated from the Monte Testaccio only by a meadow bordered with trees.

The eve of the Epiphany is celebrated by the Roman people with as much festivity as Christmas eve in Upper Saxony. All the fruit and pastry-cooks' shops are splendidly decorated: and are provided with a kind of hobgoblin; which is in some a figure with an ugly mask and fiery eyes, and in others a person disguised in the same manner, who plays all kinds of tricks. To this extraordinary but universal custom, the origin of which I should like to know, belong stockings filled with oranges and other fruits. These stuffed stockings are seen suspended every where,

and sometimes letters are fastened to them with pins. Lovers present to the objects of their attachment, stockings of this kind, which do not even appear to be new. In large shops they go to a still greater expence. You there see puppets, of the size of children twelve years old, which are seated or standing, and apparently conversing: each has a stocking stuffed with fruits hanging at its side. The confectioners vie with those of Berlin in the exhibition of their art, and often surpass them, especially in the choice of the subject. The former generally content themselves with low scenes: but here I observed the conflagration of Troy, the death of Mark Anthony, the discovery of America; in a word, nothing but dignified subjects, which usually occupy a space ten or twelve paces in length, and two in breadth, the theatre of which is not rarely painted, decorated, and illuminated with the utmost elegance: the small figures being ingeniously grouped, and in general executed with great correctness, at least as far as regards the effect. It may easily be conceived what a crowd of joyous spectators surround these shops. Nevertheless, people of rank, regardless of the convenience of the people, drive their carriages in long rows through the streets, crammed as full of people as the stockings of oranges, and even stop before the shops, so as to produce a pressure that is really dangerous. I must acknowledge that I have myself been guilty of the same impropriety; but were I governor of Rome, I would certainly not suffer it. A native of the north, who is accustomed to perpetual winds, is struck on this and various other occasions with the many thousand lamps, burning without any cover in the streets, and which are yet never extinguished by the wind.

By a singular privilege the police of the Spanish Place, in which I resided, is under the jurisdiction of the Spanish ambassador, whose palace is situated in it. The person who has him for his friend may commit murder, or any other atrocity he pleases, in this place. No *sbirri* dares to lay hands on the culprit, who stands unconcerned, and turns the ministers of justice into ridicule. Even in cases when the Spanish ambassador does not extend his protection to the offender, he at least gains sufficient time, by this admirable regulation, to provide at his ease a secure retreat. The inferior court must first present its report of the circumstance to the superior; the latter must transmit information of it to the governor, and the governor must acquaint the minister of state; the minister of state must dispatch a written note on the subject to the Spanish ambassador, to which the Spanish ambassador must return a written answer. It is easy to conceive that, during this interval, the assassin has abundant time to escape. A year or two ago an unfortunate man who was stabbed in this place, expired at the corner of the street, where his

body lay from morning till night before the usual formalities allowed it to be removed. The ladies of pleasure are not permitted to follow their profession in any other place in Rome: they too are under Spanish protection; for this reason they all reside in the houses round about it, and the place swarms with them as soon as evening arrives. It is highly ludicrous, or, if you please, highly indecent, to see the grave deportment of the Spaniard, and at the same time to consider him as the supreme protector of the ladies of easy virtue. The Imperial ambassador likewise possessed similar privileges in the place surrounding his Venetian palace, but his wiser government long ago relinquished them. Is it not the height of folly to permit foreign powers to exercise a peculiar jurisdiction in a city like Rome; and by the inviolable respect paid to that jurisdiction, to encourage the commission of crimes?—Pius VI. suppressed many sanctuaries, as they were called, in and near churches; and since that period the number of assassinations has considerably decreased. On great festivals, patrols parade the streets of the city on horseback, from morning till night. This, however, did not prevent two persons from being stabbed on new-year's-day, at the fountain of Trevi. "The better the wine is," say the Romans themselves, "the more frequent are assassinations."

With all these atrocities a high degree of Roman-catholic piety is, as usual, combined. Before the assassin sneaks to execute his bloody purpose, he hears mass, goes to confession, and is then perfectly prepared. If you only pay the Roman clergy for masses, you may do whatever you please. The only capital crime in this state is, to neglect the mass. Accordingly, the book of post-roads begins with the following exhortation: "Let him who is about to set out on a journey, above all things, go devoutly to confession and the sacrament; then let him procure a mass to be said for the souls of the deceased, or one *pro itinerantibus*. On the morning of his departure he must hear another mass; and when he enters his carriage, or mounts his horse, or begins his journey on foot, let him repeat a psalm, or tell his beads, or whatever else God may inspire him to do. When he has actually left his home, let him say with a contrite heart a *confiteor*, and then the annexed prayer." Here follows a long Latin prayer, in which the angel Raphael is implored to accompany the traveller. To this succeeds the song of praise, of Zechariah, likewise in Latin; and the conclusion is an eternally long *oremus*, in which God is reminded that he conducted the children of Israel through the Red Sea, the three kings from the east to the manger at Bethlehem; and Abraham out of Chaldaea; and that, therefore, on the present occasion, he must be to the traveller a parasol in heat, an umbrella in wet weather, a mantle in cold, a conductor in

weariness, a staff in slippery paths, and a harbour in shipwreck. Excepting these edifying things, the Roman book of roads is the most wretched of the kind in all Europe, for scarcely a single station is correct; and, in particular, the accounts of foreign countries betray the most diverting ignorance.

Naples is in general considered as a cheaper place than Rome. I found it the reverse, though in the latter I resided at the best hotel. Apartments, equally good with those at Naples, are cheaper by a full third. The same is the case with regard to the keeping of a carriage. The expences of the table are nearly alike in both places. The lacqueys are rogues in one city as well as in the other. Articles of dress are dearer at Rome, and display less taste than at Naples. Good drinkable table-wine is more easily procured in the former; excellent Florentine wine, which is not to be had in the latter, costs only one shilling a bottle. The vegetables are very fine. I never met with better brocoli, cabbage, Swedish turnips, and particularly onions. The latter are here boiled whole with beef: they are deliciously sweet, and produce none of the disagreeable effects, either on the palate or the stomach, which proceed from those of other countries. The bread might be better. The *macaroni* are brought from Naples, and it is said that they can no where be made so well: but in that city they are not all alike in quality, and I often found them sandy. Sea-fish are as plentiful here as there, and of the same species; but not so fresh, as it is necessary to convey them from the nearest ports. Poultry is the favourite food of the Italians; but geese are very seldom eaten. Most of the soups are seasoned with grated cheese. The celebrated Roman flower-cheese, *casco di fiore*, is, however, notwithstanding its fine name, very insipid stuff. It resembles fresh goats'-milk cheese, but is said to improve with age. The best cheese in Italy, and perhaps in Europe, is undoubtedly that which is denominated *strachino di Milano*. Coffee and sugar are exorbitantly dear. A pound of good coffee costs nearly three shillings. For coffee for three persons, with a few slices of bread and butter, I was obliged to pay at the rate of five shillings per day.

We shall now conclude our analysis of this interesting work, by recommending it to the attention of all who intend, in more tranquil times, to visit the classical soil of Italy. It contains by far the best account of that country which has ever been published; and, notwithstanding the extent to which we have carried our abridgment, there will be found, in the edition of four volumes, many other curious particulars, which will serve as a guide to the traveller.

# INDEX.

- AERONAUTS**, dangers attending their excursions, 21.—Alexander, of Russia, attachment of his subjects to him, 3.—His humane feeling, *ib.*—Algerines, strictures on their perpetual warfare with Naples, 76.—Altenburg, costume of the peasants in the duchy of, 8.—Anthony St. the rival of St. Januarius, as patron of Naples, 44.—Arrests, their frequency at Naples, 77.—Ascoli, duke of, his salutary measures for suppressing assassination, 68.—Assassination, its restriction in Naples by the duke of Ascoli, *ib.*—Assassination, atrocities attending it at Rome, 93.
- Bag-pipers**, account of them and their performance, 72, 89.—Baia, reflections on the ruins of that celebrated place, 45.—Ball, Neapolitan, account of a, 63.—Balloons, result of some experiments relative to their filling, 18.—Beggars, disgraceful tolerance of, at Naples, 33.—Begging, specimen of, the most disgusting and disgraceful, 79.—Buonaparte, Lucien, remarks on his palace at Rome, and its contents, 85.—His attachment to his children, 86.
- Calves**, singular and cheap method of keeping, 33.—Catacombs, the, historical remarks on. description of the interior, &c. 59.—Christ, the nativity of, represented by means of puppets, 90.—Christmas, its celebration at Rome described, 89.—Cicero's villa, reflections on wandering in, 28.—Climate at Naples, account of the delightful, 77.—Coliseum, description of that once magnificent structure, 25.—Respect paid to it by the rude Goths, and its dilapidations by the popes, 26.—Colotus, the manuscript of, in refutation of Plato, 54.—Converzauene, description of a, 61.—Conversation by signal, and gestures well known in all Italy, 87.—Cord, the, its application as a punishment described, 89.—Courts, judicial, their establishment for the peasants in Eastland and Livonia, 4.—Crédit, not easily given to Neapolitans, 69.
- Decorations**, childish, remarks on some in St. Peter's church, 81.—Devil, remarkable confession of the, 24.—Devotion, perversion of true, 66.—Dialect, the Tuscan, the knowledge of, an accomplishment to Neapolitans, 63.—Dominic, St. singular miracle performed by, 24.
- Eastland**, abolition of vassalage in the province of, 4.—Eliot, Mr. admired for his deportment at Naples, 64.—Epictetus, discovery of a complete manuscript of his writings, 54.—Epiphany, its celebration by the Romans, 91.
- Fashionables**, Neapolitan, their degrading mode of living, 61.—Females, battle between two, at Naples, 71.—French, specimen of their conduct in the Tyrol, 17.—Funerals, their singularity described, 38.
- Gaeta**, remarkable on account of Cicero's villa, 28.—Galley-slaves, the natives, treated worse than the Algerines, 76.—Gaming, its disgraceful prevalence at Naples, 61.—Generosity, of a merchant at Riga, 7.—Genius men of, the exertions of some at Naples, 57.
- Hackney-coaches**, description of Italian, 72.—Hayter, Mr. his indefatigability in restoring the manuscripts as found at Herculaneum, 53.—Herculaneum, remarks on the subterraneous labyrinth there, 51.—Honig, Peter, ingenuity of this peasant, 14.—Host, ceremony attending its conveyance to dying persons, 39.—Hunger, disgusting, but energetic, specimen of its power, 77.
- Imposition**, greatly practised on strangers at Naples, 70.—Inspruck, singular appearance of the town of, 16.—Isis, the temple of, sketch of the ruins, 50.—Italians, sketch of their general character, 69.
- Jacobins**, persecution of them at Naples, 79.—Januarius, St. his presence unavailing to check an eruption of Mount Vesuvius, 44.—Diminution of his credit with the people, *ib.*
- Lava**, its progress described, 42.—Lazzaroni, excesses committed by the, 79.—Lectures, philosophical, interesting sketch of, 73.—Lectures, public, description of some given at Naples, 54.—Leopold, characteristics of the Neapolitan prince, 75.—Letter-writers, public, singular description of, 55.—Lightning, its frequency at Naples, its injurious effects, &c. 78.—Literature, disgraceful state of, at Naples, 66.—Livonia, rejection of freedom from bondage, by many peasants, 4.—Lottery, ceremonies attending its drawing in Italy, 67.—Luxuries, of the populace at Naples, account of some, 32.
- Maccaronies**, manner of dressing and eating them, 50.—Manuscripts, manner of unrolling them, 52.—Account of some lately discovered in the ruins of Herculaneum, 53.—Mass, consi-

- dered by the Romans as the most essential part of religion, 93.—Massacre of the children of Bethlehem, description of Poussin's painting of the, 85.—Mendicity, general system of, in Italy, 33.—Monte Tesaccio, remarks on the, 91.—Morals, Italian, general remarks on, 64.—Mules, convenience derived in travelling with them, their superiority to horses in mountainous countries, 7.—Magnificence, imperial, striking instance of, 14.—Museum at Portici, remarkable for the antiquities of Herculaneum deposited there, 52.
- Naples, custom of the inhabitants to perform their labours in the streets, 29.—Naples, its pure climate attributed to the occasional eruptions of Vesuvius, 45.—Naples, mode of living there, price of provisions, &c.—70.—Neapolitans, instance of their superstition, 44.—Neapolitans, strictures on their superstition, 65.—Their general character, 68.
- Obelisk at Rome, account of the, 84.—Oertter, the highest mountain in the Tyrol, 13.
- Palace of Lucien Buonaparte, description of the, 85.—Penitents, farcical specimen of their charity, 64.—Peruque-makers, German, their consolation at Augsburg, 9.—Peter's, St. brief description of the church, and its interior, 80.—Ascent to the roof, 83.—Philosophy, its state at Naples, 73.—Piety, ridiculous, observable in the Tyrol, 17.—Pliny, his delineation of the eruption of Vesuvius, and destruction of Pompeii, 49.—Pompeians, the remains of several dug out of the ruins, *ib.*—Pompeii, visit to the ruins of the city, 46.—Particulars relative to some of the buildings, 47.—Pompey, the statue of, particulars relative to, 94.—Post-Office at Naples, description of the, 54.—Potsherds, description of the mount of, 91.—Prince of Wales, his munificence in preserving the manuscripts found at Herculaneum, 53.—Prisons, dismal description of them at Nuremberg, 8.—Purgatory, shameful abuse of the doctrine on, 65.
- Quack, eloquent address of a, 56.—Queen of Naples, interesting justification of the, 74.
- Religion, its importance to the improvement of science, 73.—Riga, generous actions of its inhabitants, 6.—Rocco, father, account of the celebrated street-preacher, 36.—Rooms, manner of perfectly heating them described, 47.—Rufando, prince, his degrading conduct in countenancing gaming in his house, 62.—Romans, their detestation of stealth, and countenance of murder, 83.—Rome, miscellaneous observations on the city and its inhabitants, 86.—Manner of living, price of provisions, &c. 94.
- Shepherds, from Apulia, singular act of devotion at Christmas, 72.—Secretaries, curious kind of, at Naples, 55.—Shell-fish, curious manner of eating them at Naples, 31.—Skawronsky, countess, her entertainments exemplary, 64.—Spanish-place at Rome, remarks on the privileges attached to the, 92.—Starvation, terrific scene of, 58.—Statues in St. Peter's church, account of the, 82.—Storm, description of a most tremendous one, 5.—Street-preachers, peculiarity of them at Naples, 35.—Their influence on the lower orders, 36.—Superstition, rendered subservient to the purpose of speculation, 67.—Switzerland, comparison between it and the Tyrol, 11.
- Theatres, Italian, bad regulations respecting the admission to the, 24.—Theatre at Pompeii, description of the, perfection of its structure, 50.—Theatres at Naples, fugitive remarks on the, 57.—Tournament, beautiful painting of a, 9.—Trade, remarks on the Neapolitan, 69.—Traveller, his duty in writing an account of his travels, 1.—Necessity of his possessing the talent of observation, 2.—Tyrol, the, compared with Switzerland, 11.— beauties of the country, *ib.*—Travelling in that part of the continent, 12.—Tyrolese, sketch of their character, 13.—Tyrolese, their propensity for hunting, their attachment to the government, 15; their pertinacity at sharp-shooting, 16; national physiognomy, *ib.*
- Vassa age, its abolition in Eastland and Livonia, decreed by Alexander, but declined by many peasants, 4.—Veipus lake, account of a dreadful storm over it, 5.—Vesuvius, mount, particulars relative to an eruption of, 40.
- Umbrellas, why so numerous at Naples, 72.
- Water-sellers at Naples, description of the, 2.—Wedding, spiritual, description of a, 10.
- Zambecani, account of his aerial voyage, 18.—Dangers attending it, 21.



